

sive presentations. The lever in the problem box is a stimulus which evokes the habit of lever-pressing in the rat. Yet, if we measure the exact pattern of light waves on the retina of the rat's eye, we find that this pattern varies with the angle of the eye, with his position in the box, and with a number of other factors. Yet after the habit is learned, the sight of the bar of the lever is adequate in the box situation to evoke the habit. It is said that the response *generalizes* to stimuli similar to the stimulus which first evoked the rewarded response. Without generalization adaptive habits would be impossible because each habit would depend upon a precise, minute duplication of its original stimulus. In human life we see this principle operating frequently. Race prejudice is in part explained by it. One is trained to react with hostility to a specific Japanese, for example. When he subsequently meets other Japanese, his hostile response will generalize to them as well. The categories of social behavior are built upon generalization. As a child one may be trained to respect his father as a purveyor of rewards; in later life he reacts respectfully toward other older individuals in positions of authority, unless or until the habit is extinguished through lack of reward.

At this point we should mention that the individual seldom reacts to single stimuli, but rather to a *stimulus situation*, in which one stimulus or group of stimuli is dominant. The rat responds to the lever, to be sure, but to the lever in the problem box of certain dimensions with certain colors, etc. One responds, if hungry, to a roast turkey in a restaurant, but also to the total situation—type of table service, tablecloth, cleanliness of the floor, amount of light, etc. Generalization operates with respect to stimulus situations as well as with respect to single stimuli. A habit is more likely to be evoked in proportion as the stimulus situation resembles that in which the habit was originally learned. There is a tendency for habit strength to decline with decrease in similarity of the dominant stimulus and its situation to the original stimulus and situation of training, and this decrease in generalization is called the *gradient of generalization*. A man's hostility to Japanese may decline when confronted with Americanized half-bloods in a modern drawing room.

Although generalization is a matter of everyday observation, a counter tendency is also at work, namely, *discrimination*. This is the process whereby stimuli and stimulus situations are distinguished one from another and appropriate reward-producing responses made to them. For example, in our society one must learn to discriminate between the friendly words of relatives and the "friendly" words of salesmen. One must know the difference between members of the upper and lower classes, between members of different professions, members of different families, and so on. Dis-

CULTURAL SOCIOLGY

A REVISION OF *An Introduction to Sociology*

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The New Fascist Corps, or "Sons of the Wolf," carrying miniature rifles and parading past Mussolini in Rome, 1935. (Photo by Brown Bros.)



American Boy Scouts checking supplies for a week-end camping trip. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

Youth groups in peace and war

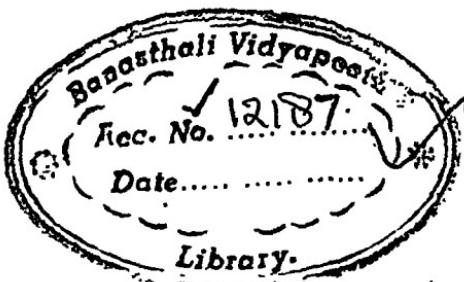
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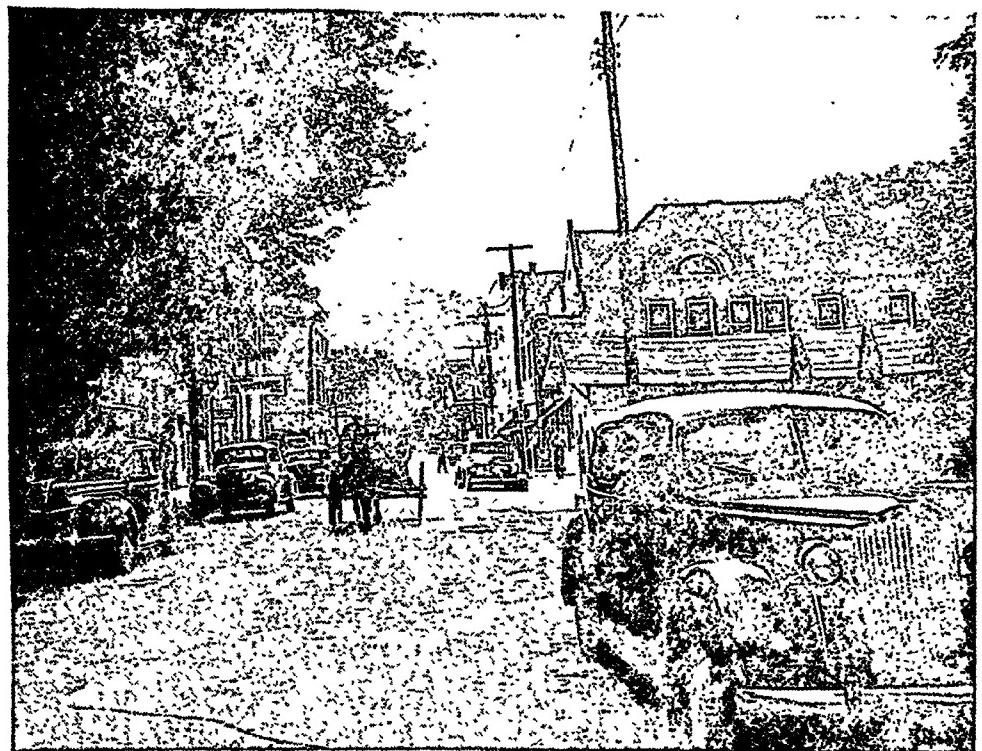
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The rural village.



The rural non-farming town. (Photos from Acme Newspictures, Inc.)

Villages and towns

Preface

This volume is a revision and rewriting of *An Introduction to Sociology* published in 1942 by the same authors. The general reception accorded that book by our colleagues and the profession generally has stimulated the present presentation. No radical departure from the approach, content, or method of exposition of the former book is involved in this one. The title has been changed, however, to give more explicit recognition to the contributions from both social anthropology and sociology which characterize what we believe to be the most useful presentation of the basic fact and theories of social science. Although social anthropology and sociology are still distinct academic disciplines we feel that there is every reason that the findings and points of view developed by both of these sciences which are so closely allied should be made known to the student beginning the study of social life.

In the middle of the twentieth century it seems to be especially necessary for a student starting the study of mankind in society to be acquainted not only with groups, forms of interaction, social processes, institutions, and ideologies of our own society, but also to have some awareness of the nature and influence of culture upon the life of man and societies throughout the world. If the average educated man has some familiarity with the great variety of customs and institutions among the different societies of men, if he is able to attain even a modicum of that objectivity concerning human behavior which is possible through a dispassionate contemplation of other cultures as well as our own, if he has even an elementary grasp of the principles of cultural dynamics and change, we feel that he will be in a much better position to assess proposals for social and cultural adjustment than if he remains in ignorance of these things. He will be provided with a scientific basis for participation in rational programs of change in education, economics, politics, international relations, the treatment of disturbed and disorganized groups and individuals, and other such "social problems" to which the citizen is required to give some attention. He will also be furnished, perhaps, with an antidote against the reckless impetuosity of certain misguided zealots who believe customs and value systems can be changed over night.

The organization of the book has been altered somewhat, as compared with the former version, in the interests of a more logical treatment. Several

Economic interests, as they are known to members of modern society, are an aspect of the cultural configuration. Several features of this economic culture are worth mentioning.

1. Wealth is measured in terms of monetary units in our culture. Slight reflection will convince anyone that, despite its convenience, money is not necessarily the only way of measuring wealth. Wealth may be reckoned in



By permission of *The New Yorker*

Look at it this way, Simpson. When you ask for a raise, you're asking our stock-holders to take a cut."

ONE'S POINT OF VIEW IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS OFTEN DEPENDS UPON ONE'S ECONOMIC GROUP

Sociology in cartoons

are available in any library, e.g., Barnes, Harry Elmer, *Economic History of the Western World*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1937; Ely, R. T., *Outlines of Economics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937; etc. For an interesting account in terms of culture patterns, see Arnold, Thurman, *The Folklore of Capitalism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937.

entirely new chapters have been written and some of the chapters of the old book have been omitted and others rearranged. New factual, theoretical and illustrative materials have been introduced to bring the book up to date.

In spite of our most careful attention some mistakes will probably be found. We are most grateful for suggestions made by those familiar with the previous book, and we shall appreciate any constructive criticisms of the present volume.

J. L. G.
J. P. G.

Contents

part one: Introduction

chapter 1	Definitions and procedures	3
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part two: The basic conditions of sociocultural life

chapter 2	Some types of social life	27
chapter 3	Man, the animal	45
chapter 4	The fundamentals of learned behavior: organism and environment	74
chapter 5	The significance of population	97

part three: Culture and social groups

chapter 6	Culture	139
chapter 7	Culture—continued	165
chapter 8	General characteristics of groups	194
chapter 9	Kinship groupings: family groups	223
chapter 10	Physical groupings: bodily characteristics	239
chapter 11	Physical groupings: spatial	258
chapter 12	Groups based primarily on cultural interests	289

part four: Social institutions

chapter 13	General features of social institutions	313
chapter 14	Domestic institutions: courtship and marriage	328
chapter 15	Domestic institutions: changing family patterns	352
chapter 16	Economic institutions	374
chapter 17	Educational institutions	400
chapter 18	Political institutions	430
chapter 19	Religious institutions	459

part five: Dynamics of social organization

chapter 20	General social process: interaction	487
chapter 21	Associative processes: accommodation	505

Contents

✓ chapter 22	✓ Associative processes: assimilation, integration, and ✓ associated cultural processes	523
chapter 23	Social change	559
chapter 24	Dissociative processes: competition	587
chapter 25	Dissociative processes: contravention and conflict	611

part six: The individual in society

chapter 26	Socialization	643
chapter 27	Culture and personality	665
chapter 28	Social control	693

part seven: Social pathology

chapter 29	Nature and genesis of social pathology	739
chapter 30	Poverty and dependency	754
chapter 31	Delinquency and crime	783

part eight: Recapitulation and the forward view

chapter 32	Summary and conclusions	821
index of authors cited		831
index of subjects		839

part I *Introduction*



chapter I Definitions and procedures

The need for social science

The aftermath of the Second World War has made monstrously clear the necessity for a more widespread knowledge of a theoretically sound and practically applicable science of human relations. Although scholars and other thoughtful observers have been warning us for many years of the dangers of the increasing unbalance in our culture, the startling advances, culminating in the atomic bomb, made in physical science during the war, have at last awakened even the most complacent citizen to the need for comparable competence in social science. Although the dangers in the present situation should not be exaggerated, it is obvious that, if human constructiveness cannot at least balance human destructiveness, the prospects of our own and of future generations may be dim indeed. If science can organize the forces of the atom so as to flatten whole cities with a single blast, but is not able to organize the forces inherent in human beings and in human society so as to render such holocausts impossible, science has become a Frankenstein's monster which may destroy us all. Thus the mastery of social science has become a task which is not only something we *ought* to do, but an obligation we *must* fulfill in mutual self-defense.

It is common to speak of a people's resources in material terms, such as coal, iron, oil, forests, soil, domestic animals, and the like. But a fundamental fact which is still only dimly appreciated is that the most important of all resources are *human* resources—the energy, intelligence, and purposiveness of people. Our society, through physical and biological science, has been able to organize the "material" elements of many "natural" resources and to control them so as to wring from them the utmost in energy and "usefulness." But we still lag far behind in finding ways of organizing the potentialities of human beings in the interests of the general welfare of the species. This is not so much because the scientific principles

4 Definitions and procedures

of society are entirely unknown and untested as because they have been comparatively sparsely disseminated throughout the population. Our government does not hesitate to spend \$2,000,000,000 for scientific research to harness the atom in times of mortal danger to the nation, and society as a whole applauds the expenditure. But in a time of even greater danger no one thinks of appropriating one-tenth of that sum for intensive investigations in the field of social science. Our society, which insists that only the best and most exact scientific methods be applied to atomic energy, industrial processes, and the treatment of raw materials and domestic animals and plants, is still content to handle its social problems by rule of thumb, by untested theories, and by selfish political manipulation.

There is a myth still widely current that just as any boy born in the United States may be president, so anyone without special training has a right to consider himself a social scientist or a cultural engineer. This is to some extent based on the belief that social science is merely the statement of the obvious and that therefore any intuitive person can "get the answers" without following the tedious requirements of the scientific method.

The present state of the world is perhaps sufficient evidence of the falseness of such a notion.

The great practical value of the scientific method is that it provides us with a reliable basis for *prediction*. Scientific techniques are procedures for furnishing reliable information upon which such predictions may be made and for affording checks on the authenticity of such information. Once we are able to predict, we are able to plan intelligently. A steel-maker does not sit around wondering what will emerge as a product each time a blast furnace is emptied; on the basis of metallurgical science he is able to predict the type of steel which will be produced, the known types of fabrications in which it can be used, the stresses it will stand, and so forth. The "atomic" scientists were obviously able to predict what would happen when certain processes were started in motion in the bomb as it was released from the plane over Hiroshima; we may be sure that they were reasonably certain, for instance, that it would not immediately explode upward against the plane that carried it.

If the scientific method supplies the key for such reliable prediction and planning of the interactions of material things, it should likewise prove at least equally helpful in an understanding and control of social interactions. This book is an attempt to introduce the student to some of the basic principles and facts of the science of sociology and to suggest some of their applications.

✓ What is sociology?

Sociology in its broadest sense may be said to be the study of interaction arising from the association of living beings. It is quite proper, of course, to speak of animal sociology as contrasted with human sociology, but in this book we are primarily interested in the social interaction of human beings, and we shall therefore deal with the social life of animals only as it may illuminate the problems of human sociology.

It is a matter of common observation as well as of scientific verification that man is not a solitary animal continually shunning the company of his fellows, but that on the contrary he generally lives in societies and his activities affect not only the natural environment, but also have a constant and profound effect upon other human beings. It also requires no highly technical proofs to convince us that the presence and activities of other people, which we seldom completely escape even should we wish to do so, have an important bearing upon our own activities and indeed upon our whole outlook on life. These observations are true not only for us in this country but are familiar in some form to human beings the world over. It is, therefore, the *interaction* and its types that seem to result from contact between human individuals in which we are interested.

When we consider these matters, if we are at all of a curious frame of mind, certain questions occur to us. Why is it that man is apparently a social being—that is, why does he seem generally to live in contact with his fellows? Is there something in his germ plasm that causes the craving or preference for society which seems to be characteristic of his species? How does the society of men differ from the societies of other animals? How long have human beings been living and acting socially, and when and how did human societies originate? Questions of this sort have been the subjects of speculation from time immemorial and have given rise to various theories and explanations. Contemplating our own social life we ask: What are the principles that underlie it? What are the causal factors which make it work or function? Is our society the same as that of other peoples of different race or of different geographical environment? What are the factors which interfere with the smooth functioning of society, and how may they be corrected or removed, if at all? Although the ultimate answers to these problems may take a form which at first glance appears abstract, we wish to emphasize that sociology is rooted in human curiosity and is concerned with some of our most common experiences.¹

¹ Other definitions have been given by sociologists. Some have used a colorless definition like "Sociology is the science of society" (Ward, L. F., *Popular Science Monthly*,

Science and sociology

The Approach. Let us begin with the assumption that a human society is as "natural" a thing as a shoal of fish, a range of mountains, or a hill of ants. This is simply another way of saying that we propose to take the scientific approach, for human forms of interaction and human institutions can be explained by understanding the reaction of human beings to conditions to which they are exposed. If that method has thrown light on other natural phenomena—and natural scientists have proved that it does—there is no *a priori* reason why it should not result in a better understanding of human social phenomena than legends, myths, and theories which grew up before man had as much knowledge as he now has of the biological and psychological characteristics of human beings and of the conditions under which they have lived. That does not mean that science can explain everything. Science perhaps raises as many questions as it answers. But if it has not solved the problem of "first causes" or the purpose of life, it has proved to be a method by which man has to a degree unraveled some tangles in the universe, a method by which considerable control has been obtained over certain aspects of the physical world.

June, 1902, p. 113), or "the scientific study of society" (Giddings, F. H., *Inductive Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1901, p. 9), or "the science of social phenomena" (Ross, E. A., *Foundations of Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905, p. 6). Others have defined sociology as the "science of social process" (Small, A. W., *General Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1905, p. 35), or "the study of men considered as affecting or affected by association" (*Ibid.*, p. 23), or "the study of human association, including whatever conduces to it or modifies it" (Dealey, J. Q., and Ward, L. F., *Textbook of Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905, p. 2), or "an attempt to account for the origin, growth, structure, and activities of society by the operation of physical, vital, and psychical causes working together in a process of evolution" (Giddings, F. H., *Principles of Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1900, p. 8). Several more recent definitions may be mentioned, e.g., "Sociology deals with the behavior of men in groups" (Young, Kimball, *An Introductory Sociology*, rev. ed., American Book Co., New York, 1939, p. xiii); "the subject matter of sociology is social relationships as such" (MacIver, R. M., *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937, p. vii); "a study of the relations between individuals—their conduct with reference to one another and the standards by which they regulate their association" (Hiller, E. T., *Principles of Sociology*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1933, p. 3); "a study of man and his human environment in their relations with each other" (Fairchild, H. P., *General Sociology*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, p. 90); "the general problem that sociology sets for social interactions, that account for the development of personality and the changes in culture" (Reuter, E. B., and Hart, C. W., *Introduction to Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933, p. 6). See also Wright V., and Elmer, M. C., *General Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1939, pp. 3-4. See also Eubank, E. E., *The Concepts of Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1932, pp. 46-49, for a collection of further definitions, and Sorokin, Pitrim, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1928, *passim*, for a survey of various expositions and definitions of sociology.

Though man for a long time has used the scientific approach in other fields of human concern, he has been singularly reluctant to apply it to himself in his social relations, as if he were in this world but not of it. In part this was due to religious belief which held that man was especially created and uniquely constituted, a belief resting partly upon certain easily recognized differences between man and other animals, such as speech, abstract thought, assumed free will, and religious attitude. In part it has been due to certain prescientific mystical types of thinking, which throughout human history, and even today, have exerted a strong fascination over human speculation. In part it was due to human self-consciousness and egotism. We cannot discuss the general aspects of science at length, but it is desirable that we have in mind certain features of scientific attitude and method which should prove useful to the beginner in sociology.

The true sign of science is a certain type of approach toward the field which we wish to investigate.

Basic assumptions of science. 1. All scientific investigations begin with an assumption in the essential orderliness of the universe, the conviction that events and entities are related to each other in some regular fashion. No thoroughly proved exceptions have appeared which would cause scientists to repudiate these assumptions, and it is only on this basis that scientific procedure can operate. Even common sense and casual observation tell us that order exists in the world about us. The regular succession of day and night, of the seasons, of birth, maturity, and death, of the moon's phases and many other periodic changes in nature had been recognized long ago. But before the birth of modern science many of these regularities were explained by the intervention of personalized or magical forces conceived of on a religious, mythical, or poetic basis. Witness the conception of the Greek poets that the sun rose and followed a regular course about the heavens because of the intervention of a horseman who drove his horses and chariot across the sky, or the creation myths of the Babylonians according to which the world came into being owing to the conflict of evil with a good god. This method of explaining nature conceives of the universe as a dead, static thing in which change is effected by the intervention of outside personalities or forces. Science is simply the extension and refinement of common sense and observation in the interest of more exact determination of the nature of what we perceive by our senses and of the relationship between phenomena, regardless of whether one is considering the structure of the atom, the customs of a tribe of cannibals in Central Africa, or the institutions of contemporary civilized societies. The task of the scientist is to discover relationships between

8 Definitions and procedures

events and between entities in fields of experience, or as Jevons has it, "The object of all science is the separation of what is common and general from what is accidental and different,"² that is, the search for regularities.

2. A second assumption underlying the scientific approach is that the regular and recurring relationships of phenomena are "natural" in the sense that they can be explained in terms of relationships between forces resident in things as we know them through our senses and reason without invoking the aid of extrasensory agencies, such as *mana*, *orenda*, divination, magic, ghosts, or gods. That does not mean that the beliefs in ghosts, gods, divination, and magic have no part in men's interactions or do not influence their institutions. They are as real for sociology as the data of light and sound are for physics. Significant relationships between phenomena are frequently far from obvious; instrumental aids together with profound thought and analysis may be necessary for their discovery. For example, casual observation classifies a whale as a fish, whereas careful scrutiny shows that unlike a fish the whale breathes with lungs and suckles its young. Among some preliterate peoples whirlpools in rivers are thought to be caused by angry spirits, who must be appeased by offerings, if the traveler is to get through them safely. Science proceeds on the theory that phenomena can be explained by discovering the way in which elements in the universe act and react upon each other. Although many questions still remain unanswered by science, so many which formerly puzzled mankind have been answered that scientists hold the faith that such a method is likely to be more revealing than conjuring up spirits. We follow this method to explain the behavior of societies; we shall try to see ghosts where empirical evidence tells us they are, in the minds of men rather than under their beds or in haunted houses.

If one is tempted to say that the scientific approach destroys religious faith, let him remember that many scientists find no reason to disbelieve in God nor to abandon religion. But, in so far as they join their religious and scientific attitudes, they do not regard the works of God, as they affect the world perceptible to our senses, as being capricious or disorderly. They also are aware that science leaves unanswered the large questions as to what theologians have called "first causes," that science has nothing to say about the origin of matter and energy, but concerns itself only with the way in which they work.

Can sociology be scientific? Are these scientific assumptions applicable

² Jevons, W. Stanley, *The Principles of Science*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905, p. 13.

to the study of human society? Are the relationships of human beings in association orderly in the sense that they form certain identical or similar patterns? Assume that human beings are characterized by certain qualities revealed by such sciences as biology, physiology, and psychology; that they live in a natural environment; that they associate together and interact with each other; that they have received from their predecessors traditional and customary ways of behaving; and that they experience changes in their natural environment from time to time. Can social institutions, i.e., systems of relationships, the disorganization of these relationships, the alteration of these institutions, and the formation of new institutions be explained by the interaction of human beings without resort to any supersensory, magical, or mystical theory?

Although the application of the scientific method to society is much more recent than its application to the study of the physical universe, the results so far achieved give promise of achievement in understanding contemporary social life. Obstacles similar to those met by the natural scientists present themselves, especially as to the origin of society, and as to the sanctity of social institutions. Prejudices, religious, political, economic, and moral, oppose some of the findings of scientific sociology. For example, consider the resistance of time-honored theories about the form of the family, the nature of the state, economic relationships, and the nature and function of the church, to the discoveries of social scientists. Yet the main difficulty social scientists experience in applying the scientific method to social relationships is to be found in the complexity of the materials themselves and in the inadequacy of scientific procedures when applied to sociological phenomena. How true are the remarks of Jevons on this point! He says, "No one will be found to deny that there are certain uniformities of thinking and acting which can be detected in reasoning beings, and so far as we detect such laws we successfully apply scientific method. But those who attempt to establish social or moral sciences soon become aware that they are dealing with subjects of enormous perplexity. . . . Before we can investigate the actions of any aggregate of men, we must have fairly mastered all the more abstract sciences applying to them, somewhat in the way that we have acquired a fair comprehension of the simpler truths of chemistry and physics. But our physical sciences do not enable us to predict the weather two days hence with any great probability, and the general science of meteorology is almost unattempted as yet. What shall we say then of the general problem of social science, which shall enable us to predict the course of events in a nation?"²

² *Ibid.*, pp. 759, 760.

10 Definitions and procedures

Yet, in spite of this complexity of social phenomena and of the enormous number of variables in any social complex, we shall make little progress in understanding society without using the methods which have been fruitful in the physical sciences and devising others applicable to our more involved problems. We cannot, as in the physical sciences, put humanity into a laboratory under strict control, vary conditions, and measure the variations which occur, but we can by statistical methods now known alter our arrangements of several factors and by means of multiple correlation hold one factor constant while shifting about the others, observe what happens, and thus measure the relative importance of each. Also by describing carefully the reactions of men under different circumstances we can arrive at somewhat definite conclusions as to how they behave when subjected to varying stimuli. So numerous, however, are the conditions to which men are subject and so many are the variables of human response that precise generalizations concerning human behavior in groups are very difficult to make.

✓ **Scientific attitude.** Herbert Spencer in his book, *The Study of Sociology*, published in 1874, called attention to the difficulties to be found in man's prejudices and beliefs received from the past, and in his emotional and intellectual characteristics for an unbiased study of social relationships. All of us possess biases—educational, patriotic, class, political, and theological—which interfere with an objective appraisal of a society of which we ourselves are a part, or of other societies, the institutions of which are so different from our own. The institutions of the society in which we live seem so "reasonable" and those of others so queer that our evaluations are liable to be determined by our biases. Since we are to consider the social behavior of ourselves and our fellow human beings, it is essential to give some attention to our attitudes, lest we become blinded by emotion, prejudice, or egocentrism. An attitude may be regarded as a tendency to act in a certain general way, and in our studies of societies, it is desirable that we cultivate the following qualities of a scientific attitude. Science demands of us that detachment which is necessary if we are to see the facts as they are, rather than as we might wish them to be.

1. Perhaps most difficult for the sociologist to develop is *objectivity* or detachment. In his field of study any scientist must make up his mind to forego the pleasure of giving way to his emotions. This is not generally so difficult in the physical and biological sciences as it is in the social sciences. One does not easily become emotionally attached, for example, to either neutrons or protons, but emotional entanglements when studying "fascism" or "democracy" are often very difficult to elude. The sex life of

the rat may be viewed with an equanimity which tends to disappear when we turn our attention to analogous activity among humans. Thus the social scientist in particular must constantly be on his guard against emotional involvements which may obscure the essential aspects of the situations he endeavors to understand.

2. *Patience* is another aspect of the general scientific attitude which the layman sometimes finds difficult to understand. There are often social pressures at work demanding that investigators give answers to certain problems which claim public attention, so that a scientist may be under the temptation to announce a "solution" or a "discovery" before he has collected sufficient proof to make sure that it is sound. We see illustrations of this pressure in the field of medicine where, for example, the public demand for a cancer cure periodically leads various individuals to announce that they have found it. The scientists continue doggedly and patiently to carry on their investigations, regretting that they cannot satisfy the public demand at the moment, but confident that the solution when finally found will have behind it the weight of irrefutable evidence. If medicine is the scene of occasional quack pronouncements, the field of the social studies is even more so. Anyone who lived through the great depression will call to mind the innumerable and often diametrically opposed solutions which were put forward for the problems of unemployment, industrial stagnation, fallen purchasing power, and so on. In the postwar years (1918-30) when certain apparent maladjustments appeared in the American family, there was no dearth of individuals from varied walks of life who announced, purely on the basis of hunch or inspiration, the most diverse explanations and solutions of the problems involved. The scientific attitude demands that one withhold pronouncements until he has accumulated and carefully analyzed all the data relating to the problem. Collecting and analyzing evidence requires patience.

3. It is obvious, though sometimes forgotten, that objectivity and patience without *hard work* are of no avail in scientific studies. Willingness to do the hard work which is so often necessary in uncovering the secrets of the world about us is therefore an essential component of the scientific attitude. And human society yields to understanding no more readily than do many other aspects of nature.

4. *Skepticism* concerning popular beliefs as to social relationships is a part of the scientific attitude. Skepticism is a constant tendency to doubt appearances and assertions lacking conclusive evidence. Science does not require that one disbelieve everything as a matter of principle but merely that one keep an open mind until the evidence is in and has been examined.

12 Definitions and procedures

Huxley properly urged his students always to look for the negative instance. This is, of course, an elementary precaution familiar to all who wish to avoid deception. Had Galileo not been skeptical of the accepted notion that the earth is the center of the universe, we should still be limited in our understanding of astronomy. Where should we be in the practice of medicine if Harvey had not been skeptical of the received notions concerning the noncirculation of the blood? What would be the state of animal husbandry today if someone had not had doubt about the conceptions of heredity current in the Middle Ages? What would be the situation concerning the control of tropical disease, if someone had not questioned the truth of the current notions of the miasmic origin of malaria? And what would be the character of our anthropology and sociology today, if venturesome spirits had not doubted the dominant theories of the theologians and poets concerning the origin of different languages, customs, and institutions of mankind?

5. Unrelated facts, however carefully collected, have very little value. They are like a pile of bricks gathered together before the bricklayer and the architect have coöperated to place them together in a building. *Creative imagination* is necessary in order to give facts a meaning. No student of sociology should be content merely to collect facts. Always before his mind should be the question, What do these facts mean? Only as his imagination marshals those facts into some order are they valuable in guiding him to a great truth. As Pearson has said, "The discovery of law is therefore the peculiar function of the creative imagination."⁴ Without imagination Galvani's observation of the jerking muscles of the frog's legs when brought into contact with iron and copper would have remained a singular phenomenon, but through the creative imagination of the scientist that observation was in part responsible for the Atlantic cable.

These attitudes—objective detachment, patience, hard work, skepticism of popular generalizations, and creative imagination—are especially necessary for the students of sociology. Why? Because social phenomena have been subjected to scientific treatment so much more recently than physical phenomena. It is still held by some who accept the role of science in dealing with the material universe that scientific methods cannot be applied to social relationships. They assert that human behavior is so complicated and unpredictable that it cannot be analyzed by the methods of science. Others think that common observation teaches us all we need to know about the behavior of human beings and their institutions. Fallacious ideas about society are widely held. The prevalence of these false notions makes

⁴ Pearson, Karl, *The Grammar of Science*, Black, London, 1900, p. 31.

it necessary for anyone seriously interested in understanding the social relations of mankind to cultivate the attitudes suggested above, and to beware of current fallacies. Let us look at a few examples.

Serious consequences, even involving the welfare of whole peoples, frequently follow the violation of the requirement of adequate empirical basis for logical thinking. For example, the idea that colored peoples are sub-human in comparison with whites, and therefore not to be taken seriously as intellectual competitors, led in part to the importation of several million negro slaves into this country and the subsequent "race difficulties." In the recent past the same idea has been partly responsible for some unfortunate mistakes at the start of our war with Japan. Men frequently base their action upon their hopes or upon their wishes. Obviously science cannot follow this road.

Fallacies to be avoided. 1. The first of these fallacies is widely current. It is the idea that "we know social reality because we live in it."⁵ It is in essence the "common-sense" approach to social studies and rests upon individual experience in the social world. We have only to call to mind the scientific discoveries in physical science to convince ourselves that living with or in a part of nature does not necessarily guarantee a knowledge of the fundamental realities. In respect to social life the common-sense approach is, if anything, even more misleading because of the practical impossibility of acquiring more than a relatively limited experience of societies on the part of single individuals, and because of the interests, prejudices, and emotions of individuals which cause them to ignore or reject large portions of the experiences which they do have. The scientific methods and the attitudes already discussed are a partial insurance against these defects of the common-sense approach.

2. Another common fallacy is the belief that all knowledge or information of any value or significance must have an immediate and practical application. From this point of view the study of, say, the family among primitive peoples is wasted energy unless we can show at once the direct bearing of such a study upon the problems of the modern American family. On the same grounds some object to any study of Marxism or of Mohammedanism because both of these social phenomena are "foreign" or "inimical" to the social system in which we live at the moment. Or, why study "criminals" when we already know they are evil in their very natures? Has not society long ago coined the results of common observation into the aphorism, "Once a crook, always a crook"? Why spend money, answer long question-

⁵ See Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, Vol. 1, pp. 4 ff.

14 Definitions and procedures

naires filled with "silly" questions, and make long complicated calculations, when so far as one can see this process will not be of any practical value? The danger of this whole point of view lies principally in the fact that it limits scientific curiosity to too narrow a field, when all experience in the other sciences shows how often investigations sprang out of curiosity about matters which seemed to promise no practical results. Who could have predicted that a country English clergyman's interest in population aroused by the speculations of Condorcet and Godwin concerning human perfectibility would stimulate Darwin to formulate his theory of natural selection, a theory which has taken some of the sting out of death and thrown light on the age-old problem of the origin of species? Of what great consequence to animal breeding and to society's treatment of the hereditary feeble-minded were Weismann's experiments in which he cut the tails off the progenitors of fifty generations of white mice to see if the last-born progeny were still born with long tails! Of course, one of the ultimate aims of science is the solution of problems having a practical importance, but a well-rounded view of the whole field is necessary to this end. "From the method of study itself all practical considerations must be excluded if we want the results to be valid."⁶

3. A third frequent error is the tendency to assume that a causal connection necessarily exists between two phenomena if they repeatedly recur together. This might be dubbed the fallacy of oversimplifying solutions and is usually the result of inadequate theory or incomplete observation which causes us to overlook other factors that may be the actual causal ones. This is the old logical fallacy called *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* (This occurred after that, therefore this was caused by that). Thus, for a long time swamp air was thought to be the "cause" of malarial fever, because the latter often occurred in conjunction with exposure to swampy conditions. Later investigation, however, has shown that swamp air has no direct connection with malarial fever, the immediate cause of which is the malarial parasite (*Plasmodium* sp.), which in turn is injected into the human body only through the bite of a certain mosquito (*Anopheles* sp.). This mosquito, often, but by no means invariably, frequents swampy areas owing to the fact that it breeds in stagnant water. In social studies we must be equally careful and thorough if we are to find true causal relationships. For example the practice of birth control and the divorce rate seem to have increased together in America. Is there a direct causal connection between them?

It is accepted that, if two variables occur and change together repeatedly,

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

this is a good indication of causal relationship between them, *provided* that causal relationship with other variables can be ruled out or otherwise explained. But our present concern is always to keep in mind the possible influence of *all* elements in the situations which we are studying.

In this connection we should point out that even when a causal connection between two phenomena is indicated, this does not in itself constitute a full explanation of the event in question. Thus, there seems to be some connection between sunspots and rainy weather cycles, but as yet we are not certain of any causal relationship because we may be unaware of all the factors involved.

4. Last among the fallacies we shall mention here is the idea that science is impossible without the use of the laboratory or experimental method. The experimental method, which is so widely used in physical and biological investigations, consists of a series of procedures whereby the phenomena being observed are placed under control. By this means the variables may be manipulated at will and the situation repeated until causal relationships can be definitely established. The rudiments of this method have been used by most housewives in concocting new cake recipes. Certain of the physical sciences owe their progress to the use of this method. It is almost impossible, however, to place human social groups under laboratory control, so that the sociologist cannot observe his phenomena with the manipulative ease which is available to certain other scientists. This is apparently no fundamental cause for dismay, for, after all, the laboratory method is only one general procedure of accurate observation. In the laboratory one controls the field under observation. Certain successful physical sciences, for example, structural and glacial geology, are similarly "handicapped" by inapplicability of strict laboratory technique. The social scientist, likewise, controls his observation *in the field*. Also, he is able in some cases to use control groups and statistical procedures which enable him to isolate and measure the factors in a problem.

Operational procedures and the pitfalls of language. One of the criticisms sometimes levelled at the social and humanistic sciences is the allegation that they often use words and concepts with loose and interchangeable meanings. Merely as illustration, take the word "culture." To the man in the street this word (with a capital C) means "refinement"; to a sociologist or anthropologist, the word (with a small c) refers to the complex of patterned, learned reactions common to members of a society or social group. The same words, in short, often do not mean the same thing to different people.

16 Definitions and procedures

Operationalism, as discussed by P. W. Bridgman, is a means of making sure that all persons interested in a given concept may check the word against observed "facts" and thereby be reasonably sure that their use of a given word refers to the same thing or type of thing. In its simplest form, operationalism simply means that no definitions can be given except in terms of the operations required to describe the phenomena to which they refer. Length, for example, is not something given by nature, but is described by means of the acts and artifacts one employs to arrive at the concept. Thus one may describe the length of a house by explaining the type of measuring rod used, the manner in which one subdivided the rod into units of measurement, the technique of applying the rod for the purpose of measuring, and the conditions under which the observer reads off the values from the rod itself. Obviously the operations employed in measuring a house are considerably different from those employed in measuring the length of a crater on the moon. The basic value of operationalism in science is the fact that it tells others "how you came to know" a certain idea or concept. It denies that words are sacrosanct in themselves and asserts that everyone has the right to know exactly to what operations the words refer. Thus doubters may be convinced by performing the operations themselves. Conviction of the reliability of the words or concepts in question thus depends upon first-hand investigative activity, rather than upon mere ability to receive sound waves and to associate them with other sound waves (words) which one has heard before.

However, we are often misled by words, which seem to have a reality in themselves. It is essential that the scientist realize that all words are to be questioned. Words are merely representations or symbols of something which has been observed by human beings, or of inferences from the observations. But words, like all other symbols, have a notorious tendency to slip their moorings, unless constantly checked.

Thus operationalism, and scientific empiricism in general, constitute methods whereby words and the ideas for which they stand may be referred to human experience which anyone, provided he is willing to master the necessary techniques of observation, may repeat for himself and thereby validate.

Recently there has been a good deal of discussion among sociologists about the definition of sociological concepts. The discussion grew out of Stuart C. Dodd's book, *Dimensions of Society*. His contention was that sociologists have been unscientific because they did not define their concepts in what he called "an operational definition." By this term he meant one in which the user of the definition specifies the procedure used in

arriving at the definition of a concept including citation of the authors using the definition in different or similar ways, and also a mathematical treatment of the various definitions of the concept to test its reliability, i.e., the degree of agreement among a number of people as to the meaning of the concept. As a concrete example let us take the concept "social process," or "social institution." Those favoring the operational definition urge, what all admit, that often different sociologists use these terms in divergent senses. Some include more or less elements in the concept than others. Consequently there is confusion among them as to the exact meaning of these terms and therefore there is divergence among sociologists in the analysis of a social group. Frequently they are not talking about the same thing when they use the terms. Under such conditions, if they attempt to measure the social phenomena subsumed under the concept, one will include certain things omitted by another. In short, the proponents of an operational definition are pleading for greater exactitude in defining a sociological term and greater agreement among sociologists as to what should be included and what excluded from any sociological concept.

Most sociologists agree on such a contention. The long and warm disagreements among sociologists at their meetings have centered about the problem of how to arrive at unanimity on the proper definition of a term, and on whether mathematical measurement of the degree of agreement is the way to determine the reliability of the definition. The discussion also spreads out to a difference over whether qualitative criteria can be measured in statistical terms.

The upshot of the matter to the writers of this book is that when a term is used on which there is no general agreement the user should carefully define that term in order that the reader may know exactly what he includes in the term. His definition of the term may not be that of another sociologist, but the meaning of each will be clear. Further discussion may result in agreement, or a new definition may be formulated that will be more satisfactory than either.⁷

In an introductory and general exposition of cultural sociology, such as

⁷ For further discussion of the problem see Bridgman, P. W., *The Logic of Modern Physics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1927; Dodd, S. C., *Dimensions of Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1942; Blumer, Herbert, "An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, in *Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1939, Vol. I; same author, "The Problem of the Concept in Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1940, pp. 707-719; Lundberg, George A., *Foundations of Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1938; same author, "Operational Definitions in the Social Sciences," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1942, pp. 727-745; Dodd, S. C., "Operational Definitions Operationally Defined," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1943, pp. 482-491.

18 Definitions and procedures

the present, we shall not have the space to describe in detail all of the operations behind every concept used. But we do wish to encourage the reader to subject such concepts and verbal descriptions to empirical verification. In sum, "don't believe everything you read, but go out and verify it or modify it from experience."

Sociology and the Other Sciences

The beginner in sociology cannot shut himself off behind a sociological wall, by ignoring other sciences. The importance of his general orientation in the other extant sciences should be recognized by him at the start. The sciences are generally classified into two or three principal groups: natural sciences and social sciences, or, physical, biological, and social sciences. For simplicity's sake let us consider the relationships between the natural and the social sciences.

The natural and the social sciences. It is sometimes considered that the several sciences differ only in concrete objects which they study. Thus a natural science such as physics might be, according to this view, concerned only with tangible inanimate matter and the forces which affect it. Physics would then be distinguished from sociology because the latter investigates human social behavior, i.e., animate beings of a certain type and their actions. This view is only partially correct. It is true that in each science a general class of objects tends to receive more attention than other classes of objects, but it is also true that different sciences may study the *same* objects, but from different points of view. For example, consider man as the object of study. The physicist might be interested in the system of stresses in his skeleton; the chemist in the elements and compounds of his body; the anatomist in the relationship of muscles, bones, and organs; the psychologist in his reactions to stimuli; the sociologist in his behavior in relation to other human beings. Or, take another example. A mountain may interest a geologist as an indication of former movements of the earth's crust; a botanist might view it primarily as a site of plant life; a sociologist might be primarily interested in its influence on human migration or habitation, or he might be interested in the religious meanings which had been attached to it by a human society, and so on. These examples suggest that the same object may be studied from many points of view, and that the concrete subject matter studied is no infallible guide to the differences between the sciences.

In general the natural and social sciences have been distinguished as

follows: ⁸ (1) The theoretical or conceptual elements differ, and hence the laws governing their relations vary. Thus, "to speak of an act having mass is as meaningless as to speak of a star as rational." The natural and social sciences deal with different levels of reality. (2) They also differ in the type of empirical evidence which is relevant to each. The fact that the social sciences deal with human beings means that human thoughts, emotions, and other psychical characteristics become relevant data, which, however, are not available at all in some and less developed in others of the physical sciences. What Jones thinks, feels, and does about other human beings may be of considerable importance to a sociologist, because Jones is able to express something along these lines, either linguistically or otherwise. The relation of hydrogen to oxygen does not depend upon psychical factors; hence they are unnecessary in the frame of reference used by the chemist. (3) The natural and social sciences also differ as to the degree of isolation possible in studying the constituent elements of a problem. It is comparatively easy to isolate the atoms of hydrogen and oxygen of which a molecule of water is composed. How much more difficult is it to isolate the motives involved in the actions of a human being!

It is thus clear that while all sciences use the general procedures of investigation commonly known as the *scientific method*, the sciences differ among themselves primarily in their points of view, or foci of interest. Each science, in other words, deals with certain aspects of reality in the natural world. The specific techniques of investigation are therefore chosen with respect to their relevance to the problems which arise within the particular theoretical system and field of interest involved. Sociology, as we have said, is concerned with those aspects of nature which are relevant to our understanding of the interaction of human beings.

Descriptive and generalizing sciences.⁹ From our brief discussion it should be apparent that all science consists of procedure and reasoning aimed at giving us the "the truth" concerning the world  of us—the truth, that is, so far as it is available through our senses. Perhaps it is less apparent, however, that there are two general types of "truth." We may call these two types *descriptive* truth and *general* truth. Scientific approaches vary in the emphasis which is given to the one or the other. Thus descriptive science endeavors to provide us with a complete picture of the events which take

⁸ Parsons, Talcott, *The Structure of Social Action*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, p. 623.

⁹ For a fuller discussion of these problems, see *ibid.*, pp. 597-601, 757-775, and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Method of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1934; MacIver, R. M., *Social Causation*, Ginn, New York, 1942.

20 Definitions and procedures

place in certain definite situations in nature. The emphasis is placed upon the unique situation or series of situations, and the scientific endeavor is aimed at a clear reporting of the events themselves, their causes and interrelations with other events in the situation. History as generally written is a good example of a descriptive science. The scientific historian is interested in cause and effect, and he applies the general safeguards of scientific method, but he is interested primarily in the specific situations. For instance, in studying the question, Why and how did Hitler rise to power? he examines all relevant events in Germany, Europe, and the world at large during a certain period of time and endeavors to discover the particular combination of factors which resulted in the phenomenon under study. Field ethnology, the study of primitive cultures, has been predominantly a descriptive science, as has also economic history, political science, jurisprudence, and descriptive sociology.

Generalizing science, on the other hand, may be said to emphasize the general or universal aspects of phenomena. Specific situations are regarded, not from the point of view of their uniqueness, but rather as manifestations of certain general principles. Physics is a good example of a predominantly generalizing science. When Galileo performed his famous experiment of dropping heavy and light weights simultaneously from the leaning tower of Pisa, the particular events leading up to this act were of relevance for the historical *description* of the intellectual development of the sixteenth century. But from the point of view of theoretical physics this event was of importance as a demonstration of certain *general* principles covering falling bodies. Thus a descriptive science concentrates its attention upon particular concrete phenomena, but a generalizing science is concerned primarily with systems of general theory verifiable from concrete experience and applicable not only to particular cases but to a wide range of concrete phenomena.

In the social sciences in recent years considerable progress in the development of valid *generalizations* has taken place in political science, sociology, social anthropology, and economics.

Theory and fact in science. The classification of the sciences into "descriptive" and "generalizing" categories is mainly a pedagogical device, intended to aid the beginner in finding the way about the scientific world. If a certain science has traditionally tended toward "description," it should nevertheless be borne in mind that there is nothing inevitable about such traditions. Let no one tell you that such-and-such a science is forever doomed to a mere fact-collecting function, whereas another science is "entirely theoretical."

It happens that the human mind cannot consider empirical data without

theory. Likewise it is a psychological axiom that theory without fact is barren, or, at the most, merely an interesting fantasy or an exercise in logic. Therefore in actual fact there is no such thing as a purely descriptive (i.e., factual) science, nor is there any science, properly speaking, which may be described as purely theoretical or generalizing. It is unnecessary to pursue psychological explanations at this point in order to point out that one cannot collect facts without some kind of theory, and that theory which has not been tested by facts exists only in the realm of dream and fantasy. A common difficulty, however, is that fact-collectors sometimes fail to make their theoretical interests explicit. One collects facts because he believes—perhaps unconsciously—that they are “significant.” One must always ask, significant for what? It is therefore desirable that all investigators work out a logical framework for their interests. Such a framework, however modest, is a theoretical system. It deals with possible relationships between observed phenomena. It possesses the virtue of “showing you what to look for.” It enables one to ask himself coherent questions. Experience has shown, however, that one saves himself trouble and confusion if he makes such questions and hypotheses explicit and organizes them logically. A theory, in one sense, consists of a set of logically related possibilities which *could* be true when checked with the facts. This gives the investigator a guide, as it were, amid the maze of facts which surround him. However, every investigator must also command the facts or data. For it is only by checking them against his theory that he may preserve the reliability of his generalizations. Consequently the scientist must of course always be ready to discard a theoretical proposition which does not conform to the facts when the latter are gathered by the best empirical techniques available.

Applied science. Applied science deals with the alteration or control of practical situations from the point of view of human needs or desires. Engineering is considered to be applied physics, chemistry, and economics; animal husbandry, applied biology, chemistry, and economics. Social work is often said to be the applied phase of sociology. This is not entirely correct, for social work applies not only the principles of sociology but also the principles of all other sciences relevant to the social situations with which it deals. Numerous institutions such as settlement houses, slum-clearance projects, domestic-relations courts, community recreation groups, family case work, medical social work, probation and parole work, the care of dependent children, and the like are aspects of social work. But the social worker leaves perhaps his most important monuments in the lives of individuals who through the application of various sciences have achieved more satisfactory social adjustment—orphans, divorcees, unemployed, neg-

22 Definitions and procedures

lected children, abandoned wives, and so on. And in bringing about social adjustment in such lives the social worker applies principles derived not only from sociology, but also from psychology, dietetics, economics, psychiatry, medicine, and such other disciplines as are relevant to his problems. In social work and social legislation there is an interdependence of many sciences and approaches.

✓**The social sciences.** "The social sciences may be defined as those mental or cultural sciences which deal with the activities of the individual as a member of a group."¹⁰

All the social sciences are primarily concerned with the activities and behavior of human beings as members of social groups. They differ among themselves primarily in their respective systems of interest. Thus *political science* (called *politics* by the Greeks) views man primarily as a member of the state, or other political organization, and investigates human behavior from this point of view. *Economics* centers its attention upon those human social activities concerned with what we may call in a general way wealth; it views human groups primarily as attempting to satisfy their needs and desires from the offerings of the material environment. *History* claims a wider viewpoint in that it seeks to deal with the whole gamut of human interests and activity, but it views human social activity primarily as it is affected by past activity. Historians properly speaking usually deal with the social past in so far as it has been recorded by human beings, whereas *prehistoric archaeology* carries the story of human social life back into the periods before writing. *Jurisprudence* regards human social life chiefly in terms of laws and formal codes of behavior. *Linguistics* is concerned with the verbal aspects of human social life and *semantics* with the meanings which are attached to words in various social contexts. *Cultural anthropology* is concerned primarily with cultures, or the learned patterns of behavior which are common to members of a social group, and though the anthropologists have carried on most of their investigations among the simpler peoples, the anthropological point of view is applicable to all human societies. *Ethics* investigates those activities of men which have to do with conceptions of right and wrong, conceptions that are usually social in origin. *Human geography* deals with the interaction between social groups and the natural environment. *Social biology* in such branches as *eugenics* is concerned with social activities, principally those concerned with mating and reproduction, which have a bearing upon the biological composition of the group. *Social psychology* investigates the mental and

¹⁰ Seligman, E. R. A., "What Are the Social Sciences?" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, Vol. 1, p. 8.

psychical reactions of individuals as members of groups and the psychic manifestations of groups as units composed of individuals whose reactions are blended to some extent with those of other members. *Sociology* is merely the broadest of the social sciences in the sense that it is concerned with the fundamental forms and processes of *association*, whatever may be the particular objects of that association. Because it deals with the features which grow out of the living together of human beings, their interacting with each other and establishing forms and structures of behavior, sociology necessarily uses as data the findings of the other social sciences dealing with particular aspects of association.

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Exercises

1. Criticize each of the definitions given in footnote 1.
2. In what sense can one speak of animal sociology?
3. In what sense is human society a "natural" phenomenon?

24 *Definitions and procedures*

4. Can the basic assumptions of science be applied to human societies as to other phases of our universe? Why?
5. If religion be considered a social phenomenon, are there any difficulties in applying scientific methods to its study?
6. What biases would you have to beware of if you set out scientifically to study fascism? Democracy? The criminal? The chronic pauper?
7. How can sociology be scientific when the laboratory method can seldom or never be used?
8. What is meant by the statement in the text that sociology is “the broadest of the social sciences”?

part 2 The basic conditions of sociocultural life

chapter 2 Some types of social life

Social life lies before us to be explored. What is it like? What are its characteristics and its forms? How is it different from other types of life, if at all? Let us begin by taking a short excursion to British Guiana for the purpose of acquainting ourselves with different types of society and with the bases of society itself.

Societies in the jungle

The colony of British Guiana lies on the north coast of South America. All of its nearly one hundred thousand square miles are located well within the tropics, between 2° and 9° north of the equator. A comparatively narrow strip of land along the coast has been cleared and given over to rice and sugar plantations, and a certain portion of the southern part of the colony is semiopen country of the savanna type. But for the most part the country is covered by fairly heavy jungle where few white men are to be found, and those only temporarily. The region has been known to Europeans for about 350 years and has been a British colony consistently for the last 125 years. Yet at the present time European civilization is almost entirely confined to the narrow coastal strip where two cities, Georgetown and New Amsterdam, and the plantations are situated. Despite its many scenic attractions (Mount Roraima in the south, the geographical basis for Conan Doyle's *Lost World*; Kaieteur Falls, one of the highest cataracts in the Western Hemisphere; the Rupununi Savannas; etc.) and despite its considerable potential wealth, British Guiana, like many other tropical regions, figures only slightly in the affairs of the civilized world. Its jungle portions are for the most part typical from the environmental point of view of the whole vast South and Central American tropical forest area. Sitting amid his comforts at home reading a travel book during the evening or rushing about his appointed tasks during the day, the average American doubtless thinks of such regions as backward and unattractive except as a scene of

vicarious adventure. He hears that the jungle is infested with snakes and ferocious wild animals; that dysentery, malaria, and sundry other ailments stalk the explorer; that tropical rains and swamps and innumerable inconveniences detract from the pleasures of life in the tropics. About half of this is true. Yet British Guiana has been the home of scores of societies for thousands of years, and the seemingly impenetrable jungle is the scene of social life on a scale vaster than the stranger would at first suppose.

To take only a few informal glimpses of social life in the jungle, let us suppose that we have penetrated the interior via one of the rivers, which are the main arteries of human communication. At evening we tie up our canoes and on the bank throw a tarpaulin over a framework of saplings under which hammocks are slung for the night. All day the jungle has seemed a comparatively solitary place. An occasional fish jumping in the river, perhaps a deer seen for a moment amid the grass along the water's edge, a few deep blue Morpho butterflies floating in the sunshine, a turtle sunning himself on a log may have been the only signs of animal life. Human beings, other than those in our party, seem entirely foreign to this world of teeming vegetation. As we fall asleep in our hammocks the screech of a "tiger" or the chirping of a bird may remind us that the forest is full of life, but certainly society of any kind seems far away. This is Nature in the raw.

Before dawn, about four o'clock in the morning, the jungle becomes cold. We are awakened by the necessity for a blanket or more fire—and by the howling monkeys. These strange beasts (*Alouatta* sp.) in British Guiana are large, skinny, long-armed and long-limbed monkeys covered with lank, reddish hair. They spend their lives in the treetops. Their most peculiar anatomical features are the enlarged hyoid bone in the throat, the enormous larynx, and the huge underslung jaws which accommodate this noise-making apparatus. So bizarre are their appearance and voice that the early zoölogists named them *Mycetes beelzebubi* ("Howlers of Beezlebub"). Early in the morning from the tops of the near-by trees you will hear a bass growl, repeated in several tones, like an exaggerated attempt at throat-clearing. The pitch is struck, and a long howl resounds through the forest; repeated again and again in rhythmic cadence. Sometimes only one monkey howls, but usually several join in chorus which can be heard for miles. Is there a monkey society of the treetops? Seldom if ever are these monkeys seen alone.

A recent and detailed study of howling monkeys of the same general type on Barro Colorado Island, Canal Zone, by Carpenter,¹ has reported the

¹ Carpenter, C. R., "A Field Study of the Behavior and Social Relations of the Howling Monkeys," *Comparative Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 10, 1934.

following interesting features bearing upon the question. The monkeys live in geographically isolated groups which Carpenter calls *clans*. A clan population ranges from four to thirty-five individuals, with the median size being eighteen. In the average clan are 2.48 adult males, 7.10 adult females, 3.34 infants, 4.9 juveniles, and a widely varying number of "bachelors" or nearly adult males who attach themselves to the clan temporarily. The howler clan is more than an enlarged family. It provides not only for reproduction but for all other activities which are essential for the life of the individual and of the species. The group is a closed social unit which repels members of other groups, except for the occasional acceptance of a foreign unattached bachelor male.

Vocal communication and coöperative behavior are common to these simians. Concerted howling and barking repulse strangers, but, perhaps because of their vocal virtuosity, the howlers seldom resort to physical forms of aggressiveness. The clans are subdivided into subgroups, which may be typically composed of female and nursing infant, or of female, infant, and juveniles; other such subgroups may be considered play, defense, directing, and retrieving units; and, finally, there are assemblages of males about females. The clan moves about a certain recognized territory at the average rate of about five hundred yards per day. The territorial rights of the various clans appear to be rigidly respected. A battle of voices results when two clans approach one another, but quarrels and competition within the group seldom occur. Direction of the group's activities and movements is usually entrusted to one or more adult males, whose activities are to a certain extent imitated, although purely playful forms of physical exercise are also common. Vocal communication, though not articulated speech, is almost constant during waking hours, and Carpenter distinguished the several types of vocal expression. For example, the males utter a barking roar and the females a terror-like bark when confronted with disturbing situations. The leading male of the group may produce at regular intervals a deep metallic cluck, which seems to initiate progression of the clan, to control its rate and direction, and to draw the members together. When disturbed or apprehensive, an adult male emits a series of gurgling grunts and crackling sounds, which elicits similar response by other males, and seems to prepare the group for defensive behavior. When its child has fallen to the ground or beyond reach, a mother may produce a wail which ends in a grunt or groan and which serves to draw the attention of others to the situation and direct their activities toward rescue. A young one separated from the group will emit a series of cries usually in three notes which attracts attention and stimulates search. From what we can learn

of the howler monkeys, therefore, we may well begin to suspect that, even in the jungle, social life is not as unique a phenomenon as we had at first imagined.

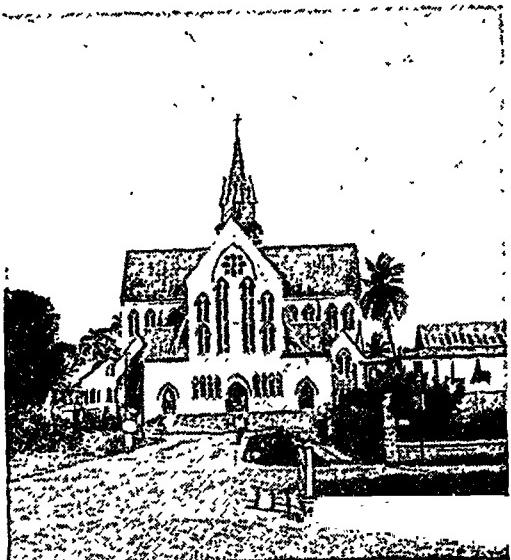
But let us return to our further explorations. After pondering over the life of the howlers, we get up and stroll into the forest. It will not be unusual if someone unwittingly steps into the middle of a pathway, varying in width from an inch to a foot, swept clean of the usual forest debris, but occupied by two lines of cushee ants (*Atta* sp.) each moving along in the opposite direction. Each member of one moving line carries a crescent-shape segment of green leaf held between its jaws and over its head rather like a small sail. These are moving toward the nest at one end of the path or ant roadway. The travelers in the opposite direction are resolutely returning to the tree which is being despoiled of its foliage. The ants are of reddish or chestnut color, most of the workers not more than a quarter-inch in length. Here and there are larger individuals with more ferocious-looking jaws. They are the soldiers. If one does not speedily remove his foot from their roadway, he will find that both types are capable of giving a hot, stinging bite. A close study of this group of insects will reveal a most methodical type of behavior, comparable in many ways to the life of human beings. Each worker climbs the tree on which foraging is progressing, methodically plants his feet on a leaf, and cuts out the arc of a circle necessary to detach a fragment about a half inch in radius; then begins his journey back to the nest. The nest itself is a huge underground system of chambers, tunnels, or catacombs, in the center of which lies the queen ant producing the eggs from which the various castes of the society are hatched. The activity of leaf-cutting and carrying is no idle amusement, nor are the leaves themselves directly used for food. Once arrived underground, the worker ant turns his leaf burden over to a member of third "caste," the underground garden tenders. It is their task to chew the leaves into a pasty mold and to plant thereon the fungus (*Rozanites gongylophora*) which forms the food supply of the ant city. In these underground fungus gardens the gardeners busily prepare the leaf "soil," plant the crop, and keep it carefully "weeded" of foreign growths and extraneous matter. And the strangest thing about the whole business is that this fungus is a domesticated plant. "It is quite unknown outside of the nests of these ants, and is as artificial as a banana"²—a food-plant domesticated by ants! Within the anthill, on the cleared pathways through the jungle outside, on the trees, everywhere the members of this society seem to know their respective places and to go about their appointed tasks with a minimum of confusion. If one crushes

² Beebe, William, *Edge of the Jungle*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1921.

a few workers on the roadway, a rescue crew removes the dead bodies to one side, while the injured individuals are carried back toward the nest. If we pour water down one of the holes of the nest we discover, upon opening it, that the well-organized inhabitants have carried the larvae from the nurseries to drier rooms. There seems to be no question that the ants lead a social life of a sort and a highly organized, apparently "civilized social life at that.

After breakfast we climb into our canoes and continue up-stream. By this time the sun is high above the jungle, and a faint steam rises from the damp vegetation to lend the suggestion of haze and mistiness to the air. The mora trees are in bloom, and about the blossoms at their tops, a hundred feet or more above the river, we hear a buzzing—a rhythmic and, perhaps to our ears, a drowsy sound. It is the buzzing of thousands of small jungle bees, busily collecting the nectar of the blossoms and transporting it to the paperlike hives, inconspicuously plastered like large and wrinkled footballs against occasional trees. Here again is social life, organized activity, the business of living successfully together.

Eventually, we may notice a strangeness about the bushes at some point along the river bank, as if something had disarranged them slightly. Drawing to the bank, we may find a dugout canoe tied by a long bush rope. The prints of bare feet in the muddy bank lead to a path, invisible from the river, which winds away from the bank, back into the forest. Following it we eventually come to a clearing. It depends upon what part of the country we are in as to just what we will see now, but it is almost certain that we are in the midst of another society. Assuming we are on the Barama River, we will see a collection of wall-less houses in the clearing, gable roofs of palm thatch on posts. If through experience, or the advice of a good guide, we know how to make our entrance with decorum from the native point of view, we will soon be welcomed by the Carib Indian inhabitants. In 1932, at least, most of the people still wore only loin cloths of bright colors. They are mongoloid in appearance, as are most Indians of America, coppery of skin, round of head, straight of hair, and short of stature—on the whole rather a handsome group. The headman or chief of the village will speak to us and ask us into his house. A woman of the household will provide us with a half-calabash full of cassiri, a weak beer brewed from cassava, as a sign of hospitality. Investigation over a period time will show that these people are organized into families, households, groups of friends, settlements, groups of relatives, and a cult group. Rather elaborate behavior is ordained by custom between the members of these groups. Social life for the most part goes on in an organized orderly fashion. The women, in addi-



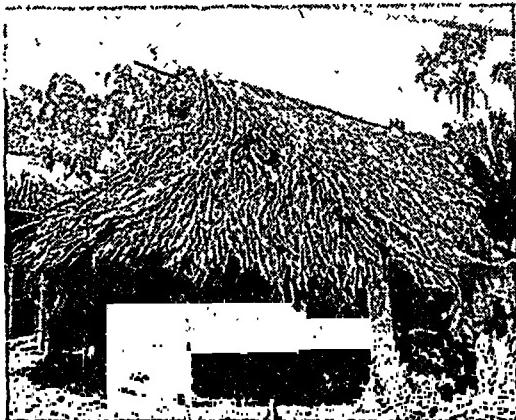
Georgetown Anglican cathedral.



Carib religious structure: hut used by medicine men.



Dwelling house in Georgetown.



Carib dwelling house.

Contrasts of culture in British Guiana

Here we see differing types of structures testifying to two different patterns of culture within the same natural environment in British Guiana, South America. On the right are structures characteristic of the Carib Indians, on the left buildings typical of European influence in the colonial city of Georgetown.

tion to other activities, work in the fields cut by the men from the jungle near-by, tending and gathering the various domesticated vegetables grown there, the most important of which is cassava, a white root full of starch and prussic acid. The latter, a poison, must be removed by reducing the cassava root to a mash on a grater made of small stones set in a slab of

wood, then by squeezing the mash in a tubular contrivance made of basketry. The men hunt with bows and arrows and fish by poisoning the streams and using hook and line. The settlement or village members congregate occasionally for drinking bouts, communal dances, or religious ceremonials. Conversation, accompanied by laughter, echoes about the clearing at evening after the fires have been lighted under the hammocks and the people have settled down to relax.³ How does this human society differ from those of the howling monkeys, the ants, or the bees? Or how does it differ from the society of Georgetown, the capital and chief seaport of the colony, which we left some weeks before against the better judgment of the "best people" who had never seen the inside of a jungle and who did not know how socialized and friendly a jungle can be?

Georgetown is a city of about 60,000 people. The population is somewhat mixed, owing to the checkered history of the labor situation. Large numbers of Negroes, descendants for the most part of slaves, constitute the largest segment of the population; East Indians from Madras, Portuguese from Madeira, Chinese from Canton, a few aboriginal Indians from the interior, and a handful of Englishmen provide the other racial elements. From these elements a considerable number of mixed bloods have been bred. Georgetown, therefore, presents a population of somewhat variegated hue, which, however, is certainly a society. Why? The 60,000 individuals live together, coöperate together. There is a certain stratification or grouping of the population upon the basis of wealth, a feature which does not appear in the Carib society. There are more types of groups, perhaps—tennis clubs, football clubs, golf clubs, literary clubs, agricultural clubs, purely "social" clubs, commercial clubs, business corporations, labor unions, the police, the militia, twenty or more churches, and so on. But the traffic on the streets reminds us of the cushee ants. The governor of the colony resides in a large building surrounded by parklike grounds and is officially the personal representative of the King of England. Does he most resemble the "queen" of the ant city, or the rather informal headman of the Carib settlement? Is there any difference between Georgetown social groups and the ant castes? What accounts for the modicum of order and coöperation, both among men and among ants, which is apparent in the behavior of individuals living together in society? The observant explorer in British Guiana and in most other parts of the world may well ask himself these questions. Let us turn to a brief examination of further evidence of societies

³ For a fuller description of Carib society, see Gillin, John, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1936; "The Social Life of the Barama River Caribs of British Guiana," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 40, 1935, pp. 227-236.

among animals. Perhaps a society is not so unique a phenomenon after all. Possibly association is necessary for survival.

Social life among the animals

Types of animal societies. There seem to be two general types of non-human animal societies known to naturalists. The first type is exemplified by societies of organisms, mostly single-celled organisms, which spend their social life in physical cohesion with each other. The second is the type of animal society in which the individuals composing it are multicellular organisms which live together, but are not physically attached to one another.

Colonies or societies of small organisms in constant physical contact. Many protozoa live in colonies which are formed by the continuous subdivision of the single-celled animals and their subsequent cohesion. The Green Volvox is such a colony containing as many as ten thousand cells forming a hollow ball and united together. Each cell in this colony has two flagella, small filaments used for propelling the organism through the water, and a directive eye spot sensitive to light. Each cell therefore seems to be a discrete individual. Nevertheless the individuals forming the colony act together, and the entire "society" normally moves through the water in a spiral as if it were a single organism. Among some species of colony-dwelling small organisms there is actual division of labor, based upon physical differences among the individuals composing the colony. This specialization of function which is correlated with structural difference is called *polymorphism*. It results in the presence of different "castes" within the colony. Thus in certain alcyonarians and pennatulids certain individuals within the colony (known as *siphonozooids*) keep up a current of water through the colony, while other individuals care for nutrition and reproduction. In other colonies, such as *Hydractinia*, division of labor enables us to distinguish nutritive, reproductive, sensory, and probably defensive types of individuals. In such forms as the Portuguese Man-of-War, the division of labor reaches its climax with as many as half a dozen different kinds of individuals each fulfilling his function in coördination with the other individuals.⁴

It seems to be generally agreed among zoologists that such colonies of small water-dwelling animals are not integrated organisms, in the sense that the human body is an integrated organism of cells. In the protozoan

⁴ Thompson, J. Arthur, "Social Animals," *Quarterly Review*, London, April, 1929, pp. 357-379. See also Huxley, J. S., *The Individual in the Animal Kingdom*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 36-38, 125. and *passim*.

colonies, and others mentioned, each individual is a discrete unit. In these societies, however, the bonds between the members are predominantly physical and physiological. In the second type of animal society, composed of individuals not in constant physical contact, the bonds which unite the individuals may be said to be more psychic than physical.

Societies of animals not in constant physical contact. A typical community among the "social insects"—ants, bees, and wasps—consist of a queen, which is the only fertile female in the group, and a large body of offspring, the majority being arrested females, or workers, and a minority being males or drones. Not all insects are social; in fact only about 3 per cent of the 500,000 known species of insects may be so described.⁵ In many of the solitary species reproduction is fatal. For instance, May flies (*Ephemeridae*) spend several years in water as larvae, only to have their winged, reproductive life often reduced to a single evening. Under such conditions it is difficult if not impossible for social life to be established. But, among the social insects the maternal life is prolonged beyond a single act of reproduction. This is not necessary in order that the mother may train her offspring for social life, but that she may produce sufficient offspring to make social functioning possible. Each individual ant, bee, or wasp, seems to be born with its behavior "already learned," that is, its behavior is instinctive. Certain termite societies, for instance, have eight different "castes" each having two dimorphic sexes—sixteen different forms in all, each with its own instinctive behavior pattern. Long life is required of the queen so that she may have sufficient time to produce these different types of individuals in sufficient numbers for social life to take place. In addition to their specific inborn patterns of behavior, the individuals among the social insects seem to be provided with an inherent recognition of kin and a readiness to be of assistance to other members of the community. Communication seems to take place by means of a sense of smell and by means of touch through the antennae. Foreign individuals, even of the same species, are usually excluded from the colony, at least, when they first approach, and actual battles between ant nests are not unknown. All of which indicates a mutual awareness and recognition of other individuals as members or non-members, respectively, of a certain social group.⁶

Advantages of group life for insects. Now there are undoubtedly advantages in insect social life. At present the social insects are man's only serious competitors for occupation of the earth. First among the advantages

⁵ Plath, O. E., "Insect Societies," in *A Handbook for Social Psychology*, Clark University Press, Worcester, 1935, pp. 83-84.

⁶ See also Haskins, Caryl P., *Of Ants and Men*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, particularly pp. 50-120.

is the strength which inheres in numbers. No sane man would contest occupancy of a house with a swarm of tropical army ants. All residents of the tropics quickly decamp upon the approach of a swarm of these insects, who literally cover all surfaces of a house, carrying away with them everything movable.⁷ Another illustration of the value of numbers is the strange case of the contest between the Madagascar (*Phaidole megacephala*) and the Argentine (*Iridomyrmex humilis*) ants. The former have been introduced into many countries and always succeed in exterminating native species of ants, except when they come into conflict with the Argentine variety which has also traveled about the world on ships and established itself in many foreign lands. The Madagascar ant is a well armored creature provided with a stinging apparatus. The Argentine ant is smaller, without armor, and provided only with powerful jaws and no sting. Individually it is the weaker insect. But the Argentine ants form a better organized and more numerous society; within a short time after the two species come into conflict, the Argentine usually has destroyed the Madagascar nests, carried the young out and killed them, and put to flight the larger workers and fighters.⁸

Another advantage of group life for insects, and for animals as well, is the increased efficiency gained by combined effort. The so-called tailor ants of the tropics build their nests of leaves glued together. Large leaf edges are drawn into position by ants bridging the gap in the form of a living chain, each member gripped in the jaws of the individual behind it. While the two edges are held together in this fashion, they are glued by means of glutinous threads formed from a sticky secretion of the larvae. The larvae are held in the mouths of workers and literally used as animated paste bottles. This entire operation requires the coöperation of several individuals.

A third advantage of social life is the fact that it produces more or less permanent products, such as anthills, ant roadways, underground gardens, and the like. The young therefore have an objective basis on which to work, and these objective surroundings probably serve as stimuli for liberating the instincts which guide their behavior. For instance, certain investigations of the hive bee by Rösch⁹ show the following succession of stages in the life of the worker. The young workers just out of the pupae go to work preparing and cleaning the wax cells in which the queen will lay eggs. After a few days they are "promoted" to the status of nurses, watching over the

⁷ See Beebe, *op. cit.*, Ch. 8, for a non-technical description of these ants.

⁸ Wheeler, W. M., *The Social Insects*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1928, pp. 319-321.

⁹ Recounted by Thompson, *op. cit.*

young bees in the cells. First they attend only the older larvae, supplying them with pollen and honey brought in from outside by other workers. Later they tend larvae in the younger stages, which require a fluid secreted by the worker from glands beginning to function at the tenth day in the life of the worker. About the fourteenth day the worker begins a period of general service lasting about a week, during which time she is busy cleaning the hive, distributing and storing food, and making a few trial flights. Next at the age of about twenty-one days the worker enters a tour of duty as guard of the doorway of the hive, preventing the entrance of strangers. Finally, a few days later, the worker enters the pollen-and-honey-supplying service, foraging for these materials in the flowers outside. No training is required for these successive stages, but the material aspects of hive life seem to serve as stimuli which call up latent inborn patterns of behavior at various periods in the life history of the individual.

A fourth advantage of social life among these insects which practice it is that *society serves as a shield for specializations* which could not exist independently. An interesting example of this sort of thing is found among the honey ants of Texas and Colorado. The foragers drop honey into the mouths and crops of stay-at-homes. These "repletes" assume the role of animated reservoirs. Unable to walk, they suspend themselves by their claws from the ceilings of the underground chambers. When an ordinary worker is hungry, it strikes the head of the replete and receives a regurgitated droplet. Obviously neither the foragers nor the repletes could carry on their specialized patterns of behavior in solitude. Social life provides them with the opportunity for specialized coöperation.

Other animals. Animals, as well as insects, have benefited from group life. It seems to be established that the so-called colonies of beavers¹⁰ are actually family groups consisting of father, mother, and offspring of the current and past year, but that temporary coöperation between several families occurs in the building of lodges and dams and the requisite cutting of trees. Also, the "packs" of wolves seem actually to be merely family groups,¹¹ but often in hunting form temporary larger social groups. Many fishes, birds, herd animals, and primates, to mention only a few types, are gregarious. Many of these gregarious animals not only live in groups but exhibit internal organization of their groups. Difference in social position has been noted among domesticated fowls, in which often a dominant-

¹⁰ Brodt, Glenn W., "A Study of Beaver Colonies in Michigan," *Journal of Mammology*, Vol. 19, 1938, pp. 139-164. A beaver colony consists of an individual family; two parents, yearlings, and current kits; three or four per litter, one litter per year; one to twelve animals per colony.

¹¹ Stefansson, Vilhjalmur, *Adventures in Error*, McBride, New York, 1936, pp. 136-222.

submissive relationship is established among the hens. Each hen knows which other hens she may peck and which others she must permit to peck her.¹² Clucks and noises of certain kinds serve to remind other individuals of the state of affairs. Cows among domestic cattle express social dominance and subordination by a hooking and bossing pattern of privilege within the herd.¹³ Social precedence and division of labor have been observed in detail among baboons and macaques in the London zoo. A social group or troupe seems to consist of a dominant older male, a number of females, and a certain number of younger "bachelor" males. Such activities as flea-hunting, grooming, sexual play, obtaining of food, and eating are strictly regulated for all individuals within the group. Warnings and encouragement are uttered vocally as well as by gestures among these primates.¹⁴ All of these cases show that differentiation of place and function are a feature of the social interaction of certain animals which normally live in groups.

Some general aspects of social life

Our discussion of animal sociology has perhaps been sufficient to indicate that social life is not confined to human beings. There are many species of animals, to be sure, which do not live socially, but the mere fact of living in groups is not "something new under the sun." Wheeler says that social life has evolved among ants independently at least twelve times, and that ants were living socially at least as early as the Oligocene geological period, many millions of years before anything resembling a man existed on the earth.

After this hasty glance at several examples of social life, prehuman and human, we may ask, what are its distinctive characteristics which may serve us as a working description of the phenomenon in general? The most striking feature of social life is the fact that *it seems to be objectified as behavior and the results of behavior*; we can observe society only in the form of activities of organisms and the results of these activities. Behavior, let us remember, is a term which covers any activity of the organisms

¹² Alverdes, Friedrich, *Social Life in the Animal World*, Kegan Paul, London, 1927, pp. 112-114; for an analysis of certain social relations among animals, see Tinbergen, N., "On the Analysis of Social Organization among Vertebrates," in *Plant and Animal Communities*, T. Just. Ed., University Press, Notre Dame, 1939.

¹³ Allee, W. C., *Animal Life and Social Growth*, Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1932, p. 153.

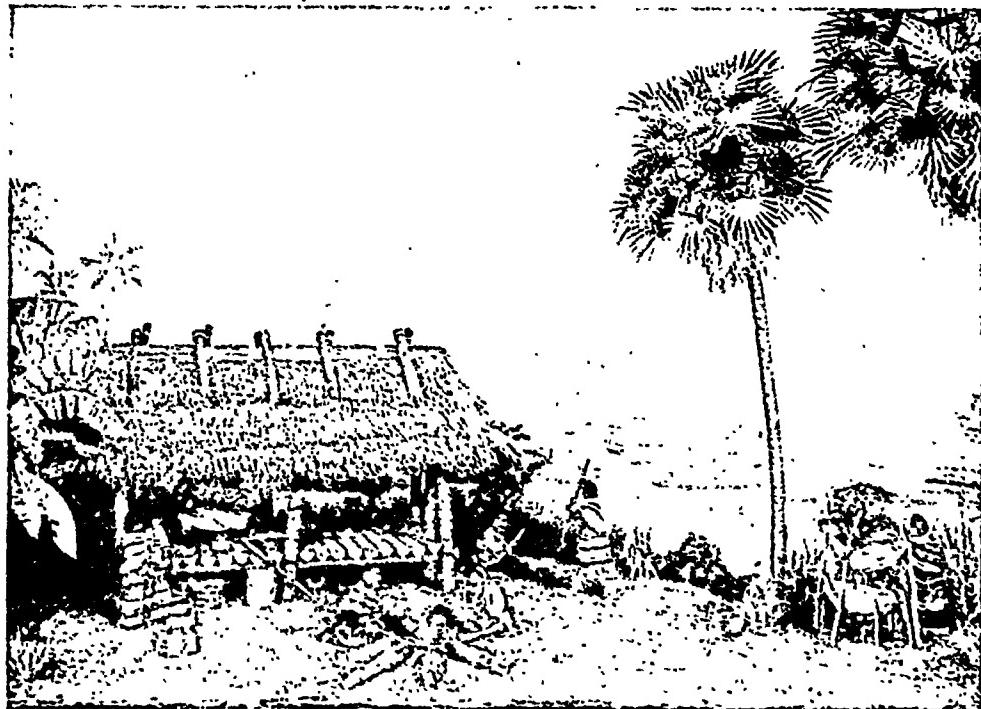
¹⁴ Zuckerman, S., *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1932. See also Yerkes, R. M. and A. W., *The Great Apes*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929, for further descriptions of primate social behavior.

under observation. Exuding odors, wagging of tails, articulate speech, and thinking must all be included as behavior. Now, activity or behavior is not by any means confined to social beings. Physicists speak of the behavior of electrons, neutrons, and protons in an atom. Chemists may speak of the behavior of a chemical compound mixed with a reagent in a test tube. The behavior of solitary animals is a subject of interest to zoologists. What are some of the characteristics of social behavior as seen in social life which sets it off from behavior of other types? (1) Where we find social life we find individuals *living regularly in groups*. The composition of these groups may be relatively permanent or relatively temporary. But in social life, group living is the regular thing, the usual form of life, rather than a fleeting or unusual state of affairs. Among creatures having social life the individual is "lost" if long separated from a group. There thus seems to be some tendency, whether inborn or learned, toward gregariousness among social animals. (2) Discrimination between members and non-members of the group seems to be another general characteristic. It is not probable that members of the non-human societies actually conceive of the group as an entity, or that these creatures actually possess self-consciousness, but their discrimination is shown by the almost universal exclusion of foreigners even of the same species, at least for a period at first acquaintance, and the recognition of members of the same group wherever they are found. Therefore only sentient beings seem to be capable of the type of social life which involves individuals not in constant physical contact. (3) Discrimination and recognition depend upon some type of sensory *communication*. Insects seem to recognize their fellows by means of smell and the tactile senses of their antennae, and perhaps by gestures. Birds and mammals add vocal communication. Although it is very doubtful if any mammal other than man is capable of articulate speech, nevertheless it is clear that uttered sounds do produce social reactions among the mammals. (4) Social life brings with it, if we may judge from the examples given above, a certain *specialization of function* or division of labor. We may speak of this in terms of social position and role; each individual has its place in the social scheme and its part to play. Among the lower social animals this specialization is often associated with polymorphism, or inherent differences in bodily structure. Among mammals and birds we still find specialization, but no polymorphism. Sex differences and individual differences occur among mammals and birds, but the different functions within the social group are not rigidly connected with gross external differences in physical structure. (5) Social life imposes upon the individuals who enter it the necessity of partially or temporarily sub-

ordinating the activities of the individual to activities of other individuals. Another way of putting this is to say that social life is characterized by *coöperation*. In any case the individual cannot be a complete egotist in social life and must make some sort of adjustment to the presence of other individuals. Social adjustment is therefore necessary in social life.

A great many other characteristics of social life could be discussed, but those we have mentioned seem to be the most far-reaching and most universal. We have seen, therefore, that society exists here and there among non-human creatures. Social life is the normal thing among human beings as well. We find it in the jungle among the Caribs, in the Guiana coastal cities, among a mixed racial population in America—in fact, in every continent except Antarctica. As we shall endeavor to show later, association is the regular mode of life for all human beings. A well authenticated case of a completely solitary human being—one who has spent his entire life from birth to death out of contact with human society—has never been produced. We may conclude therefore that man (*Homo sapiens*) is a social or gregarious species, and that the human species is not the only type of social animal known to science.

Human society. 1. One of the first things which strikes us in considering human social life is its *variety*. There are certain racial differences among mankind, to be sure, but all qualified authorities are united in the opinion that man, whether white, black, or yellow, is one species (genus, *Homo*; species, *sapiens*). Among ants and other social animals a single species carries on essentially the same pattern of social life wherever observed. But within the single human species there are small jungle settlements like those of the Caribs, and large conglomerations of complexly organized populations in cities like New York, Chicago, London, Tokyo; there are villages and hamlets and open country neighborhoods, districts, townships, states, nations, empires. Men live in crude windbreaks, as do the Australian blackfellows; in tree houses, as along the Venezuelan coast; in boats as in parts of Siam and China; in underground caves as in parts of Libya and Cappadocia; in snow houses, as in parts of the Arctic; in tents, log cabins, brush wikiups, bark houses, felt houses, glass houses, and skyscrapers. Nor are these variations correlated with race. In southern United States are Negroes living in rectangular frame houses, whose ancestors had never known any other dwelling than a bee-hive house covered with straw thatch. Communities of Indians whose ancestors and whose present-day relatives inhabit skin tipis are found perfectly at home in brick bungalows. Also the occupations and activities of men differ from one group to another. Likewise social structure shows a tremendous variation among human groups—



Above, life and industries of Seminole Indians, Florida. Below, a model of an Eskimo winter snow house. (Photos of miniature groups from American Museum of Natural History, New York.)



A striking feature of human social life is its variety

the groups of the rich and the poor which we have always with us are unknown in many human societies; hereditary casts stratify the population in some societies, groups based on skills and interests segment society in others. Autocracies, oligarchies, dictatorships, democracies, plutocracies can all be counted by the dozen among known human political organizations.

Some human societies depend primarily upon hunting and fishing for food, others upon agricultural products. In certain human societies a man is allowed only one wife at a time; in others he may have as many as he can afford; in some few others a woman may have several husbands. The slightest acquaintance with the world, therefore, will convince the student that human social life, taking the species as a whole, does not follow any specific pattern. This is in direct contrast to the situation among the other social animals, where each species follows with rigid precision its own pattern of social living, or dies.

2. A second notable feature of human social life is that *it may change rapidly and radically*. In fact, human society is almost always changing, wherever we examine it. It seems practically impossible for a society to continue generation after generation with the pattern of social living remaining absolutely the same. In our own time and society this process of change is especially evident, and we find much amusement in the quaint ways of our parents and grandparents. But the work of historians, archaeologists, and ethnologists has shown that change has been true, although often at a somewhat slower rate, of all societies, "primitive" and civilized, from the earliest times for which we have evidence to the present. Zoölogists, on the other hand, are unable to discover evidence of important social changes among the non-human social animals except over very long periods of time. In fact, among those forms on which we have adequate information, changes in the social pattern have usually been accompanied by changes in the hereditary physical structure so radical as to be classed as evolution of new species. Social changes among men have, by definition, all taken place without significant bodily changes. We conclude that major social change among non-human animals is a phase of biological evolution directly correlated with natural selection, whereas among men this is not the case.

These observations lead us to certain interesting discoveries which have only come to be generally accepted during the past hundred years—some of them much more recently than that. The first of these is the fact that man is an animal, a fact which appears obvious now, but which eluded clarification through the greater part of human history. The second fact of importance is that, although he is an animal, he differs in certain fundamental respects from all other animals. From the point of view of the distinctiveness of human social life, the most startling difference in man, as distinguished from other animals, is a certain very serious lack of hereditary equipment, his paucity of "instincts." An *instinct* is regarded as an

inborn, inherited, unlearned pattern of behavior adjusted to a specific stimulus situation and directed toward a certain goal. It is a complicated series of reflexes. Organisms well provided with instincts are relieved of the necessity of doing much, if any, learning or "thinking." Their nervous systems are so organized by inheritance that when stimulated by the environment to which the species is adapted, the individual organism responds automatically in a manner best suited for the survival of the species. We have already considered certain advantages of social life for animals. There is now no question that the social behavior of the non-human social animals is very largely unlearned. When we see young bees come out of their pupae and immediately go to work cleaning and preparing the wax cells of the hive, as if they had been trained to the task for months, there is no escaping the conclusion that this type of behavior is determined by their inherited nervous systems, ready-made, so to speak, at birth. When the cushee ant worker on its first trip out of the nest cuts its first section of leaf with as much precision as the older workers and marches with it to the appointed chamber of the nest, we cannot explain the behavior as the result of practice or observation.

Some psychologists claim that man has no instincts at all—only a few basic "drives," although they admit the presence of certain reflex activities. Most students of man are agreed that if he does have any instincts, they are few in number and poorly elaborated at birth. Man, therefore, is not provided with many inherited patterns of behavior and this explains to some extent why human society is so varied in its forms. Without instincts, the human species is forced to the often uncomfortable expedient of learning its behavior. Man, however, is still an animal with many distinctive characteristics in addition to paucity of instincts. To a further examination of this particular species of animals, among whom most of us are doomed voluntarily to spend our days, we shall turn in the next chapter. As we proceed we shall discover many other traits of human society in addition to those discussed above.

Readings

- Alverdes, Friedrich, "Animal Societies," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, Vol. 1, pp. 63-65.
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Exercises

1. Explain why social life is found among some insects and animals and not among others.
2. Explain what is meant by the text when it says there are two general types of non-human animal societies known to naturalists.
3. What are the chief advantages for group life among insects?
4. Name five characteristics of social behavior which set it off from behavior of other types.
5. Is there any evidence that social insects recognize similarities and differences between themselves and other individuals of the same species?
6. Do insects think? Evidence?
7. What are the chief differences between non-human and human societies?
8. Do non-human social animals think as much as the members of human societies? Evidence?
9. What are some of the consequences of the fact that members of human societies must rely upon thought more than upon instinct in determining their behavior?
10. Discuss the meaning of the statement in the text that "major social change among non-human animals is a phase of biological evolution directly correlated with natural selection, whereas among men this is not the case."

chapter 3 Man the animal

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that association characterizes all human beings. It is now necessary that we consider what manner of being man is that he always lives with his fellows. What is his position in the hierarchy of animal life? What is his place in the earth's time-history? Into what divisions is the human species divided? The answers to these questions will enable us better to understand the manifold social phenomena of mankind, for they throw light on the fundamental characteristics of man as a biological organism. Man's physical and mental qualities form the fundamental structure out of which develop his systems of social relationships. His zoölogical peculiarities and the racial differentiations within the human species will help to understand his habits, customs, traditions, inventions, and systems of organized social life. That man is a member of the animal kingdom is generally accepted. Scripture and science agree that, although he is an animal, he differs from other animals in many important respects.

The science of physical anthropology is largely concerned with elucidating man's place in nature, his evolution, position in the animal kingdom, and hereditary variations. It is not necessary to attempt a summary of this discipline in the present chapter.¹ However, some of the findings of that science throw light on why man has developed social behavior peculiar to his kind and clear the ground of certain misconceptions as to the relation between race and culture.

¹ For greater familiarity with physical anthropology, see Hooton, *Up From the Ape*; Sullivan, Louis, *Essentials of Anthropometry*, revised by H. L. Shapiro, American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1928; Martin, R., *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, 3 vols., Jena, 1928; *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Philadelphia, 1918 to date; Hrdlicka, Aleš, *Practical Anthropometry*, Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1939; Krogman, W. M., *A Bibliography of Human Morphology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941; Montagu, M. F. Ashley, *An Introduction to Physical Anthropology*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, 1945; Howells, William, *Mankind So Far*, Doubleday, New York, 1944.

Zoological Classification of man²

Man's place in the animal kingdom. Zoölogists classify animals into groups on the basis of similarities in anatomical structure which indicates genetic relationship between the members of the class. The place of man in this scheme is now fairly clear. The present living species of man is the last surviving species of the Hominidae. Starting with the widest classification and proceeding into progressively narrower classes, the zoölogists tell us that man belongs to the Metazoa or many-celled animals, the vertebrates (possessing internal bony skeletons), the mammals (warm-blooded, air-breathing, hairy, provided with mammary glands for the nourishment of the young), the eutherian mammals (possessing a developed placental mode of gestation), the Primates, the anthropoid Primates, the catarrhines or Old World division of the anthropoids, and the Hominidae or man family. Within the Old World division of the anthropoids, the Hominidae are most closely related anatomically to the Simiidae or large man-like apes (gibbon, orangutan, chimpanzee, and gorilla).

When it is said that man is a Primate, the zoölogist means that man's physical structure shows him to be more closely related to the members of that order of eutherian (placental) mammals than to any of the other orders, such as Ungulata (horses, sheep, swine), Rodentia (rats, rabbits, squirrels, etc.), and so on.

The difficulty one has in characterizing the Primates as a whole in relatively simple language resides in the fact that very primitive forms are still alive today. It is as if the little, wolf-sized Eohippus were still extant and one had to qualify all remarks about horses to include him too. (1) The *primitive Primates* were distinguished from other mammals in Eocene times by an adaptation to life in the trees based on grasping with the hands rather than climbing with claws. Other distinctive features of these early forerunners are of interest primarily to specialists. (2) The *monkeys* represent a second evolutionary stage in which the senses were adapted to life in the trees during the daytime rather than at night. The sense of smell was reduced; tactile hairs largely disappeared; stereoscopic and color vision were developed; the external ear was reduced in size; and movement was made possible for the head instead of for the ear to locate sound. The animals remained quadrupedal. (3) The *ape stage* is that which ushered in evolutionary adaptations to brachiating, erect life in the trees. The animals were characterized by great length of arms, short trunk, and

² We express our appreciation for helpful comments to Dr. S. L. Washburn of the University of Chicago.

viscera arranged essentially as in man. (4) The *human adaptation* involved evolutionary changes permitting an upright life on the ground (at least in the physical sense). Some monkeys, such as the African baboons, have also adapted to ground life, although in a four-footed manner. These changes included anatomical adaptations which constitute the distinctive physical features of our species and enabled man to set up an erect life on the ground as viewed against the evolutionary background of the general Primate adaptation to arboreal life. Thus man shares many essentially Primate features, but is distinguished by their modifications.³

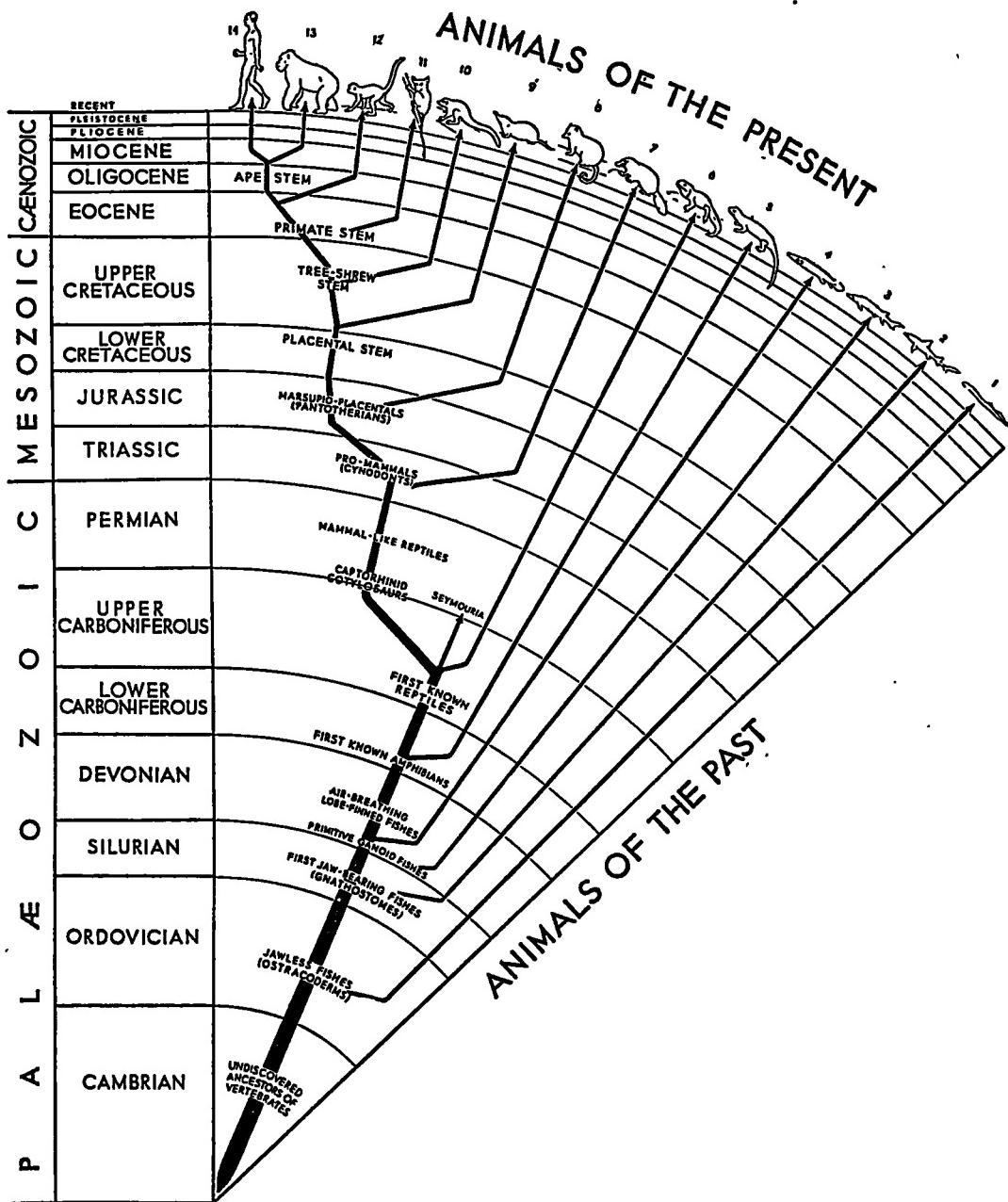
Among the Primates those most similar to man in anatomical characteristics are the large tailless apes (*anthropoid apes*), of which there are four groups, the gibbon, orangutan, chimpanzee, and gorilla. Of these the chimpanzee and gorilla seem to be most like man. Though gorillas are somewhat larger than men and have not been extensively studied because of their intractability in captivity, the chimpanzee is fairly well known to science and is familiar to laymen as an inhabitant of zoölogical gardens and side shows. Although these animals often appear to us as somewhat comical caricatures of men, the anatomical resemblance is remarkably close. Their anatomical structure parallels man's bone for bone and organ for organ. The brains of the anthropoid apes, while smaller and simpler, are essentially manlike and their mental processes seem to be very similar to those of three to four-year-old children.⁴ Emotions and senses also parallel those of man, and the great apes are susceptible to many of the same diseases as man. Their blood is scarcely distinguishable by the most delicate tests from that of man, and female chimpanzees and gorillas menstruate. Chimpanzees apparently pass through much the same life cycle as humans although they mature at a faster rate and their span of life is probably only slightly shorter than man's.

Although these numerous similarities show the great apes to be man's closest relatives, it should be clear that the present species of man has not "descended" from any living types of monkeys or apes. A consideration of the distinctive traits of the human species below will suggest that the

³ For a more complete discussion of these matters, see Zuckerman, S., *Functional Affinities of Man, Monkeys and Apes*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1933; Hooton, E. A., *Up from the Ape*, 2nd Ed., The Macmillan Co., New York, 1946, Part I; Jones, Frederick W., *Man's Place Among the Mammals*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1929; Sonntag, C. F., *The Morphology and Evolution of the Apes and Man*, Bale and Sons, London, 1924; Hooton, E. A., *Man's Poor Relations*, Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York, 1942; Yerkes, R. M., *Chimpanzees, A Laboratory Colony*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1943.

⁴ See Köhler, Wolfgang, *The Mentality of Apes*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1925; Yerkes, R. M. and A. W., *The Great Apes*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929.

MAN AMONG THE VERTEBRATES

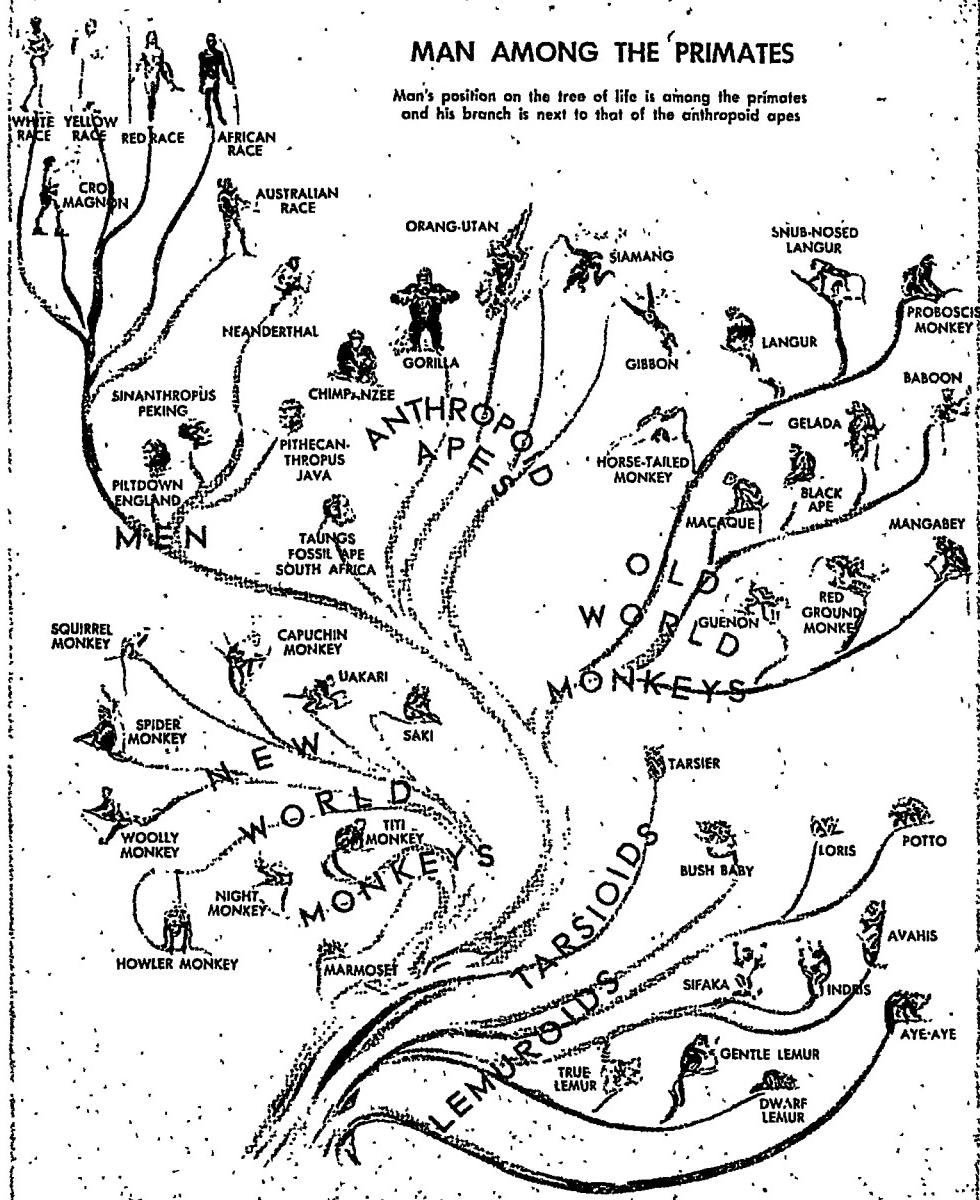


Man's place in the evolutionary picture

The figures on the upper curved line represent an ascending series of vertebrates from the lowest fishes to man, as follows: 1, lamprey; 2, shark; 3, sturgeon; 4, polypterus; 5, newt; 6, sphenodon; 7, platypus; 8, opossum; 9, ground shrew; 10, tree shrew; 11, tarsius; 12, monkey; 13, anthropoid; 14, man. (Chart by W. K. Gregory, 1931; courtesy of American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

MAN AMONG THE PRIMATES

Man's position on the tree of life is among the primates and his branch is next to that of the anthropoid apes



The primate family tree

(Photo from American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

relationship between man and the apes, although closer than that between man and any other group of animals, is far from being a lineal relationship. From the evolutionary point of view man and the apes probably are descended from a common ancestor, the much discussed "missing link," whose identity is still unknown to science. At all events the divergence of the ape

and human branches must have occurred several million years ago at the latest, and the present apes are no more than our very distant cousins. Nevertheless, it is well to have some familiarity with these cousins so that, by comparison, we may appreciate the structural changes which make man what he is, capable of activities totally beyond the powers of apes and of all other animals. Although there are at least two species each of chimpanzees and gorillas, there is only one living species of man; hence in considering the distinctive characteristics of men we are dealing with a single zoölogical group, all the subgroups of which are capable of interbreeding.

Distinctive traits of the human species. The fact that man is an animal indicates that human behavior is governed in general by the same internal and external necessities which arise out of the structure and organization of all animals. However, there are many notable divergences between human behavior and that of even the closest relatives, the anthropoid apes. Consider certain of the more important structural distinctions which underlie these peculiarities of behavior. (1) First, and most important, is man's highly organized and centralized nervous system. The brain is the most developed portion of the nervous system and reaches its highest development in the animal kingdom in humans. In gross size the human brain outstrips that of all other Primates, which as a group generally possess the largest brains in the animal kingdom in proportion to body weight. Thus the average capacity of the male human skull (European) is 1450 cubic centimeters (female, 1300 cubic centimeters) while the average skull capacity of the largest anthropoid ape, the gorilla, is only 500 cubic centimeters, about one third as great. The following table calculated from

	<i>Brain Weight</i>	<i>Body Weight</i>	<i>Skull Capacity</i>	<i>Skull Capacity (c.c.) to Body Weight (lb.)</i>	<i>Brain Weight (g.) to Body Weight (lb.)</i>
Man	1353 g.	145 lb.	1450 c.c.	10.00	9.33
Gorilla	425 g.	200 lb.	500 c.c.	2.50	2.12
Chimpanzee	390 g.	145 lb.	404 c.c.	2.79	2.06
Orangutan	400 g.	165– 182 lb.	395 c.c.	2.39–2.17	2.42–2.19

figures given in Hooton's book⁵ summarizes the facts which show that the human brain outstrips those of the three largest anthropoid apes both in absolute and proportional size.

⁵ Hooton, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

Not only is man's brain large, but it is very complex. The cerebrum, seat of the so-called higher mental processes, overshadows the rest of the human brain and attains a development found in no other animal. The cerebral cortex, or surface, is more convoluted and proportionally of larger area than in any other animal. It is estimated that imbedded in the human cerebral cortex are no less than ten billion nerve endings which, with their interconnections, make possible an almost infinite number of behavior reactions.

(2) A second significant feature of the human species is its upright posture. In man, the assumption of upright posture has freed the forelimbs from the duty of supporting the weight of the body. Not only does this result in a decided economy of effort, but it frees the arms for the more generalized activities of exploring and manipulating the environment. Pre-



The upright posture

These models illustrate the superficial musculature of the chimpanzee (left) and of man (right). In comparison with man, note the chimpanzee's short neck, forward-hanging skull, long arms, short legs, flexure of leg at hip and knee, poorly developed buttocks, narrow pelvis, short loin (lumbar) region, lack of lumbar curve in back, and flexible foot with divergent great toe. (Photo from American Museum of Natural History, New York. Model of chimpanzee by G. D. Christensen from dissections by H. C. Raven, 1932.)

nograde (four-footed) animals must explore their surroundings by the uncouth and limited methods of scratching, sniffing, tasting, and biting, whereas man, able to pick things up and "handle" them, may by manipulation be much more discriminating. Even the great apes are not completely or habitually upright, but when moving along the ground, use their arms as crutches. Two important anatomical modifications have permitted human

upright posture. (a) The human foot has developed into a specialized stable organ of support. Human feet have, except in the case of a few individuals, lost the prehensile abilities characteristic of other Primate feet. The bones of the tarsus have assumed a wedge shape, closely fitted together for stability of the middle foot and arch; the great toe has come into line parallel with the other toes; the heel bone has become elongated; and the arch of the foot developed. All of these features are adapted to give stable support on the ground whereas the handlike feet of the great apes are adapted for life in the trees, but are notoriously poor support for an upright body on a plane surface. Their instability accounts in part for the non-human like gait of the chimpanzee or gorilla when out of the trees. (b) A second development contributing to the upright posture is the lumbar curve—the curve in the small of the back—a feature not found in other animals, plus the modifications of the pelvis permitting extension of the legs and positioning of body weight over the legs in normal human standing position. The human vertebral column when viewed from the side looks rather like an S-curve, with two curves forward and two backward. The forward curve in the small of the back is necessary for the distribution of body weight and the maintenance of balance. Apes, lacking the lumbar curve, possess no anatomical mechanism for maintaining the bulk of trunk weight over the center of gravity in the feet without muscular straining. In man the proper balance can be maintained without great muscular effort.

(3) Man, in common with most of the other Primates, is provided with prehensile hands, but the flexibility of these organs is more highly developed in man. We are able to oppose the volar surface of our thumbs flatly to the volar surfaces of each of the other four fingers. Furthermore, the thumb and fingers have increased in relative length and the anatomical structure of the hand is provided with a fineness of muscular coördination not found among other Primates.

(4) A further very important characteristic of human beings is their ability to speak articulately. Anatomically this ability is apparently correlated with changes accompanying the assumption of upright posture and increased size of brain. The freeing of the arms for exploratory and manipulative functions relieved the human animal of the necessity for a large and protruding snout. Certainly the jaws of man are proportionately smaller and less protruding than those of the great apes. In the latter the massive lower jaw is reinforced against strains by a layer of bone across the bottom of the mandible below the front teeth. This is the so-called simian plate, which interferes seriously with the free wagging of the tongue. In man such obstruction is absent, and the tongue moves about the cavity of the mouth with

ease. Furthermore, the enlarged brain of man is housed in a wider skull than the brains of the apes. The lower jaw is directly articulated with the skull just in front of the ear holes. A relatively wider skull means a relatively more widely sprung lower jaw bone. In man the mandible, or lower jaw, when viewed from above, has diverging sides like a V; in apes the sides of the mandible are practically parallel like a U. All of these anatomical characteristics of man contribute to his ability to form sounds. But speech is merely a set of symbols referring to ideas. Without his highly developed nervous equipment and brain, man's unusual oral equipment would avail him very little. This point is readily understood from an examination of human idiots, incapable of intelligible speech. As a rule their mouths and throats are normal, but the brain and nervous system are inadequate. It is probable that the chimpanzee, for instance, could produce, rather thickly but intelligibly, most of the sounds of human speech, but it is practically certain that no chimpanzee will ever actually do so because of faulty development of the necessary association areas of the cerebral cortex. Human speech requires a fine adjustment between auditory impressions and vocal expressions; most of all it requires ideas. One must have something, however inane, to say. Despite the fact that we may regard the vast majority of human vocalizations as of rather minor intellectual importance, nevertheless the fact that man is able to talk as he does is of utmost importance sociologically. For it is through intercommunication between individuals, made possible by speech, that perhaps the major part of those types of behavior which we associate with social life are established.

Summing up, we may point to four major physical differences between man and the apes: larger brain, completely upright posture, increased flexibility of the hand, and ability to produce articulated speech.

Certain subsidiary physical peculiarities of man may also be mentioned. The human body is relatively hairless and completely devoid of feelers or tactile hairs. Lack of natural covering and the physiological mechanisms producing high loss of body heat through the skin seem to be a species characteristic requiring artificial protection for human survival in cold temperatures. The human canine teeth (popularly called "eye teeth") are reduced to the same level as the other teeth in the jaw. This feature robs man of a means of self-defense very important to certain other mammals, a deficiency compensated for by the development of artificial means of offense and defense.

The following features, unique to man, are of less importance sociologically, but may assist further, as some put it, to distinguish one's friends from the apes: The human nose has a raised bridge and a distinctive,

fleshy tip. These features distinguish man from the apes and from most monkeys, although some of the latter have prominent noses. The medium furrow in the upper lip extends from the base of the nose to the mucous surface of the lip. The outrolled lip exposes the mucous membrane. Man has a chin. In all these respects man is distinguished from most of the Primates, although some gibbons are said to have good chins.

A few physiological features should also be mentioned because of their bearing upon social life: The human infant is born in a more helpless state than the infants of other Primates, and the period of infancy is longer. The human child is born with only a very few rudimentary instinctive reactions and is for practical purposes totally unable to care for itself. This fact has an important bearing upon human family life as well as human social life in general. The human alimentary tract, speaking generally, is capable of tolerating and extracting nourishment from a wide range of organic substances. Apparently man has no instinctive repugnance for any type of food and therefore may be culturally trained to eat almost anything he is mechanically capable of swallowing.⁶

In summary, then, some of the outstanding physical features of man in addition to the four major differences already noted between him and the apes are: relative hairlessness, reduction of the human canine teeth to the level of the other teeth in the jaw, prominence of the nose, and possession of a chin, small face, shallow chest, and long, large legs. The matter of these proportions does more to tell one's friends from the apes than almost anything else which can be directly observed in the creature as an animal.

Man in world time perspective

Antiquity and development of man. Comparatively speaking, *Homo sapiens* is a late comer on the face of the earth. It is not impossible that this relative phylogenetic youth of the species may account for some of its absurdities and mistakes which are only too frequently forced upon our attention. A brief view of man in earth-perspective may help us to understand his present condition and behavior. For the details the reader is referred to the numerous works on human prehistory, a few of which are listed at the end of this chapter.

The history of the earth is divided by the geologists into a number of eras and their subdivisions. About forty different methods are known and used for estimating the age of the earth, each method varying somewhat

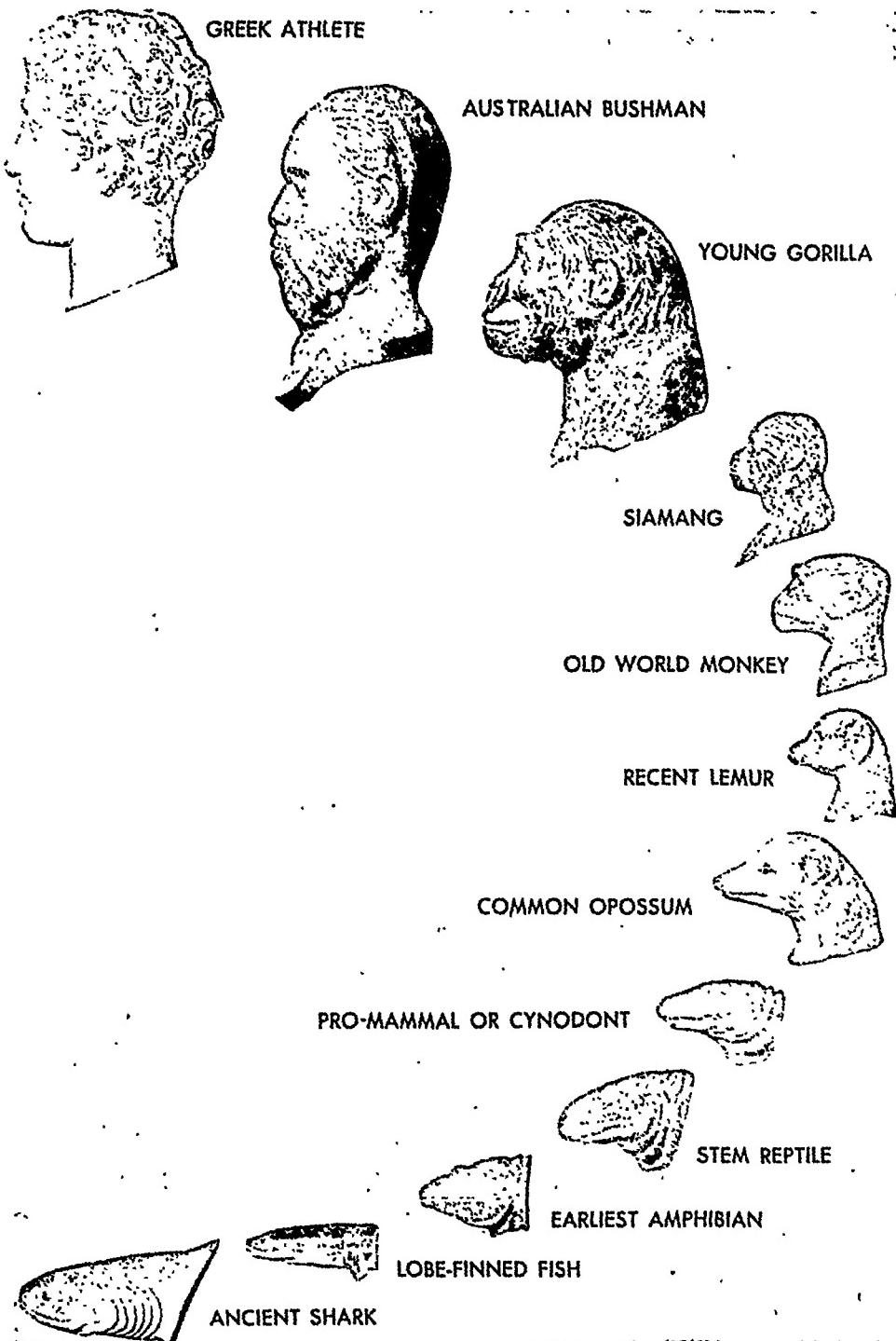
⁶ Gillin, John, "Custom and Range of Human Response," *Character and Personality*, Vol. 13, 1944, pp. 100-134.

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The face from fish to man
(Photo from American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

in the results given in terms of years. Whatever the methods used, practically all investigators are agreed upon the *relative* ages of the various eras and the relative dates at which various forms of life appeared upon the earth. Perhaps the most useful method for estimating the age of the earth so far devised is based on the study of radioactivity. "Radioactive evidence indicates that . . . the age of the earth is at least 2,000,000,000 years."⁷ A more conservative estimate based on other evidence places the age of the earth at 1,000,000,000 years.⁸ According to either scheme about 30 per cent of the time is assigned to the Archaeozoic era, a period which has left us no remains of living organisms, but which probably saw the development of the first unicellular life. The next era, the Proterozoic, during which invertebrate life such as mollusks and worms appeared, occupies another 25 per cent of geologic time. The third period, the Paleozoic or Primary era, which saw the development of the first vertebrate fishes, sharks, bony-skinned fishes, amphibians and reptiles, occupies another 30 per cent of the earth's age. The fourth division, known as the Mesozoic or Secondary era, or Age of Reptiles, which occupies 11 per cent of the time, saw the proliferation of reptiles, such as dinosaurs in flying and marine forms; during this period the first birds also appeared and primitive small mammals. The following era is called the Cenozoic, Era of Recent Life, or Age of Mammals. It is divided into six epochs and is estimated to have begun about sixty million years ago. The earliest epoch, known as the Eocene, saw the appearance of the first eutherian (placental) mammals, among them the first Primates and Insectivora. The following, Oligocene, epoch saw the first small anthropoid apes and other forerunners of present mammals. The third epoch, the Miocene, beginning twenty to forty million years ago was the epoch during which lived the generalized ancestors of the present great apes and possibly certain ground-dwelling humanoid forms; although the latter have not been discovered, certain authorities are inclined to regard *Pithecanthropus erectus*, found in later levels of the succeeding Pliocene epoch, as a survival of a Miocene type. The fourth epoch, the Pliocene, if we accept some estimates, came to an end one to two million years ago. The Pleistocene or Glacial Epoch saw a succession of at least four glaciations advancing into many parts of the Northern Hemisphere. From this epoch, we have the first actual remains of manlike forms.⁹

⁷ *The Age of the Earth*, Bulletin of National Research Council, No. 80, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, June, 1931, p. 3; also Bawden, Arthur T., *Man's Physical Universe*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, pp. 168-174.

⁸ Snider, C. Luther, *Earth History*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1932, pp. 70-71.

⁹ For readable summaries of fossil man, see McGregor, J. H., "Human Origins and Early Man," *General Anthropology*, F. Boas, editor, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston.

It was therefore during the Pleistocene, or so-called Age of Glaciers, that men as men apparently appeared and developed. In the light of our present knowledge it seems that perhaps three major groups of manlike creatures appeared on the scene. Before the Pleistocene had come to an end, all of these except Modern Man had bowed off the stage into extinction. (1) In South Africa three types of ground-dwelling ape men lived on the plains: *Australopithecus*, *Plesianthropus*, and *Paranthropus*. These creatures had relatively small brains and were certainly not very like modern men. However, they had advanced beyond the great apes in the human direction in a number of respects, including adaptation to partial bipedal ground life. (2) The second group may be called the Ancient Men. These appeared in various parts of the Old World and at the least represent several different races; some authorities regard them as classifiable into various genera and species. We may mention such forms as the *Pithecanthropus* ("ape-man") of Java and his related forms; *Sinanthropus* (Chinese Man), found near Peking; the *Eoanthropus* (Dawn Man) discovered near Piltdown, in Southern England; and Neanderthal Man, whose remains are scattered throughout Western Europe, the Near East, and as far as Central Russia. Some of these Ancient Men were more like ourselves than others; for example, the Piltdown form and Swanscombe (another, possibly related, type) had a smooth brain case, whereas the others mentioned above all had crania with heavy brow ridges and rather rough surfaces. Neanderthal men, on the other hand, possessed brains which, although somewhat different in proportions, were larger than the average for modern men. There is fairly good evidence now that Neanderthal and Modern Man interbred when they came together at various places, notably near Mount Carmel in Palestine, toward the close of the Pleistocene.¹⁰ (3) Modern Man appeared in essentially present form about 25,000 years ago in Western Europe and the Mediterranean region. One of the earliest types of Modern Man in Europe was Cro-Magnon. Where he came from and precisely from whom he descended is not clear. At all events men of the modern type rapidly took over control of the regions formerly occupied by the Neanderthals, and all earlier forms became extinct. The modern type of man has "ruled the roost" ever since.

The earliest cultural remains of man date from late Pliocene times and are represented by crude stone tools called *eoliths* and by hearth sites, where fires had been built. Even *Pithecanthropus* normally stood on only

1938, pp. 29-99; Howells, William, *Mankind So Far*, Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York, 1944, Part II; Montagu, M. F. Ashley *An Introduction to Physical Anthropology*, Chas. C. Thomas, Springfield, 1945, Chapter 4.

¹⁰ McCown, T. D. and Keith, A., *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel*, 2 vols., Oxford University Press, London, 1939.

two feet, possibly was capable of speech, and probably lived in small social groups. Neanderthal men, living at least in Europe and around the Mediterranean and probably in Asia during the middle of Pleistocene times, were responsible for a fairly well-developed culture of stone and bone implements.

Apparently no manlike forms, other than *Homo sapiens*, have ever existed in the Western Hemisphere, and present evidence indicates that man first arrived in our part of the world not earlier than the very last part of the Glacial Epoch.

Following the Pleistocene, comes the Holocene or Recent Epoch which began not more than 25,000 years ago. By 10,000 b.c. some human societies had probably learned the first elements of domesticating animals and plants and of living in towns. Certainly between 10,000 and 5000 b.c. (the first well-developed period of neolithic culture) many advances were made in all the arts of life. By 5000 b.c. cultures of a comparatively high order had grown up in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Recorded history begins in the fourth millennium before Christ, in Egypt.

In order to get an idea of the lateness of man and manlike creatures in the life of the world, let us translate the period of their existence into terms the meaning of which is more familiar to us than are millions and billions of years. Let us turn these long stretches of time into a twelve-hour day. We may take the date 1,200,000,000 years ago (the beginning of the Proterozoic) as midnight and the present moment as the noon of this twelve-hour biocosmic day. The earliest manlike fossils known date from the beginning of the Pleistocene or the end of the Pliocene, about 1,000,000 years ago. *Homo sapiens* appeared about 25,000 years ago. Thus manlike creatures appeared, in terms of our biocosmic day, 36 seconds before noon. The present species of man appeared only .09 of a second ago. Even the first Primates (beginning of Eocene, 60,000,000 years ago) appeared, on this scale, only 36 minutes ago. Reduced to these terms the long period of life development on the earth may be likened to a great track meet or race; a little more than half an hour ago the Primates appeared and began "warming up"; a little more than half a minute ago the humanoid contenders "got on their marks"; within the last second the present species of man dramatically appeared and captured the cultural "hundred-yard dash" in the record time of 0.9 second. Up until noon, then, man has been the high point winner of the "meet," and clearly outdistances all other contenders.

Some sociological aspects

Man, regarded objectively as an animal, possesses many disadvantages in comparison with other animals. He is, however, clever enough to have capitalized on most of them to the point where he is unquestionably "king of the beasts." Man's body is relatively puny. His two-legged gait causes his locomotion to be slower than that of many four-footed animals. His skin is unprotected by quantities of hair, scales, or horny covering. His upright posture exposes his pelvic organs to external injury. He is born in a helpless state and must be coddled and protected for years afterward. He "knows nothing" at birth, and only by a long and arduous period of training does he learn to adjust himself, because he possesses few ready-made reaction patterns. Viewing man as an animal, we see how insignificant he is as an individual in the midst of nature, surrounded by other creatures, many of whom, animal for animal, are superior to him. But man possesses a brain and learning ability, clever hands with which to take nature apart and make it over for his own advantage, an upright posture, and the ability to speak and thus to pass along his discoveries and knowledge to younger generations. We now begin to see why social life is so important for him. Puny as an individual, he is strong in coöperative effort. Born without knowledge of how to adjust, but with an immense capacity for acquiring knowledge, he absorbs the experience of thousands of individual lifetimes from his fellows. Finally, man is the most generalized animal of which we have knowledge. He has broken from the bonds of narrow biological specialization and is not tied by instincts to a certain environment. Even the anthropoid apes are specially adapted to life in the trees, and even to certain kinds of trees in certain environments. Man, through his ability to learn, covers the face of the globe.

Man lives by learned reactions rather than by instinct, inherited through the germ plasm. Learned behavior is acquired after birth and thus is not transmitted by biological heredity. The learned behavior common to a social group of human beings we speak of as *culture*. Culture consists of all the behavior, both overt and covert, common to the members of a social group, which has been acquired by the individuals composing the group either through direct experience or interhuman communication since birth. Man is unique among animals in that the major part of his behavior is cultural.

Race

The term *race* has played so large a part in pseudoscientific discussion of a semisociological nature in recent years that it behooves us to give it some attention.

Racist doctrines. The general tendency of much pseudoscientific reasoning has been to confuse race with culture or nationality when speaking of human groups, or to consider race as a causal or determining factor in the customs and accomplishments of certain societies. Perhaps the best-known doctrines of this type are those developed during the last century under the rubrics of Aryanism and Nordicism. Although these doctrines of racial determinism were faulty enough when first propounded, they were to some extent excusable in the light of the partial knowledge of the period. With modern scientific knowledge, however, they are wholly untenable and in fact were put forth for baldly political reasons, largely by National Socialist German political apologists, who do not hesitate to classify such diverse peoples as Italians and Japanese as "Nordics."

Although the Axis has been defeated, scientifically untenable racist doctrines are still advanced by ignorant or unscrupulous persons, even in democratic countries.

Aryanism grew out of the work of the nineteenth-century philologists who had shown that all of the European languages, with the exception of Basque, Magyar, and Finnish, were related to Sanskrit and hence were to be considered members of one language family, sometimes called the *Aryan* stock. This discovery gave rise to the theory that a single race had originated the basic Aryan tongue and that all speakers of Aryan languages were related to it or derived from it. Many of the Aryan-speaking peoples of India, the Near East, and Europe, both in ancient and modern times, have possessed well-developed cultures, and the conclusion was drawn that Aryan blood was in some way a necessary prerequisite for high civilization. This theory was given its classic form by Count Arthur de Gobineau in his *Essay on the Inequality of Races* (1853-55).

Nordicism was in a way an offshoot of this theory. The true Aryans were somehow identified with tall, blond, long-headed people who in fact have a somewhat spotty distribution in northern Europe (and also in the Rif Mountains of Northwest Africa), although proponents of the theory hold that whole nations are "Nordic." This "Nordic race" was held to be the originator of all cultural progress both ancient and modern. Vigorous attempts were made to prove that the outstanding leaders and artists of Greece and Rome were of the Nordic type, that Jesus, Mohammed, Ghengis

Khan, and other outstanding personalities owed their gifts to their possession of this favored aristocratic blood. Naturally the proponents of this theory strenuously opposed the mixture of "pure Nordics" with non-Nordics in order not to pollute the precious heredity, and vociferously claimed that non-Nordics had no claim to be considered civilized or capable of contributing to world progress. Each of the great European nations developed modifications of this theory intended to fit in with its national history and aspirations. Thus Nordicism became Teutonism in Germany, where it flourished under the Nazis as official doctrine of the state; it became Anglo-Saxonism in England and Gallicism in France. In each case the particular theory flattered national pride and loyalty. As techniques for stimulating temporary national unity and *esprit de corps* these racial doctrines had some practical merit, even if entirely at variance with the scientific facts.¹¹

The principal work stressing the identity of the Aryans and the Teutonic "race" was *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1889), by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a native Englishman who became a naturalized German and soon outdid the Germans themselves in exalting the genius of the blond "race." A popular rehash of these theories which attracted considerable attention in this country was the work of the New York lawyer, Madison Grant, who produced *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), substituting the word *Nordic* for Chamberlain's Teutonic "race." The exaltation of blondness of course carried the corollary of the inferiority of brunets with accompanying negative aspects of the doctrine, such as anti-Semitism, anti-Latinism, the concept of the "Yellow Peril," and so on. These views were given further popular expression in the writings of T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color and Racial Realities in Europe*. Adolf Hitler made Aryanism a fundamental point of state policy after his rise to power in Germany in 1933, and Alfred Rosenberg was the chief Nazi apologist, while Julius Streicher led the campaign against the Jews. Benito Mussolini, after concluding a political rapprochement with Germany in 1938, proclaimed the Italians to be true Aryans in defiance of Gobineau's dictum relative to the decadence of the Italians as a result of breeding out Aryan blood. The whole recent development of nationalist "racial" doctrines in Europe illustrates very neatly the dangers, to which we referred in the first chapter,

¹¹ For exposition and criticism of these and other pseudoscientific doctrines of race see, among other excellent treatises, Montagu, M. F. Ashley, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, 2nd ed., Columbia University Press, New York, 1945. Hankins, F. H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926; Snyder, Louis L., *Race: A History of Modern Ethnic Theories*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1939; Barzun, J., *Race: A Study of Modern Superstition*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1937; Benedict, Ruth, *Race: Science and Politics*, Viking Press, New York, 1948.

of forcing science to conform only to considerations of temporary practical expediency.

Two fundamental errors are part and parcel of each of the above mentioned doctrines. First is the confusion of race (i.e., confusion of matters of biological heredity) with culture and nationality. For example, the Aryan theory implies that Aryan-language speakers have "Aryan blood." What about the twelve million negroes of the United States who know no other language than English, an Aryan speech in good standing? The fact of the matter is, of course, that people acquire their language by learning, regardless of their biological heredity. Language is a part of culture, which has nothing to do with biological heredity of a racial character. A glance at the photographs of the leading Nazis should convince anyone that neither blondness nor any of the other criteria of the "Nordic race" were uniformly distributed even through the ruling clique of the German nation.

And if the Germans are "the only people capable of civilization," why were they living in a state of barbarism two thousand years ago when visited by the Romans? History, of course, tells us of many civilizations of high achievement whose populations were totally devoid of blondness and all features racially Nordic. We need mention only the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, Dravidian India, Cambodia, and the Maya civilization of Yucatan, all of which were produced not only by non-Nordics, but also by non-Aryan-speaking people.

The second major error of these theories lies in the simple facts of the composition of the European population of the present day and of the last two thousand years. Even could it be demonstrated that "Nordics" possess some exceptional inherited drive or aptitude toward civilization, there is no Nordic nation to be found in Europe or anywhere else. The various strains of the human species almost everywhere show strong evidence of intermixture, but most of all in Europe. It is therefore somewhat ironic that the most vociferous proponents of racial purity should have raised their voices in that continent where there is the least of it.¹² In view of the fact that all the national populations of Europe contain numerous types and strains, usually strongly interbred and mixed, a nationalistic "racial" doctrine, while possessing some superficial and temporary value in creating national loyalty and pride, is probably dangerous in the long run, regardless of ethical or humanitarian considerations. By basing patriotism largely upon supposed

¹² The most exhaustive study of the racial history and present composition of the European population is that of Coon, C. S., *The Races of Europe*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1939; see also the somewhat more popular treatment in Huxley, Julian, Haddon, A. C., and Carr-Saunders, A. M., *We Europeans*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1936, pp. 132-196.

physical characteristics, cleavages within the population are inevitably created which are eventually divisive and destructive of the social unity desired.

Biological aspects of race. *Species* is a term used by biologists to refer to a group of animals who share certain physical features in common and whose genetic materials are so organized that they are capable of breeding with one another and of producing fertile and otherwise biologically normal offspring. By this test all men at present inhabiting the earth comprise a single species (*sapiens*). Despite some differences in appearance, an African pigmy, a Chinese, and a German are all capable of interbreeding under biologically normal conditions.

Nevertheless, within the species of men genetic differences occur. We may distinguish groups of men as races on the basis that they differ among themselves in the frequency of occurrence of genes (or hereditary characteristics). The modern concept of race is thus based on a study of genetics and is therefore concerned with strictly hereditary criteria of a biological type.

It is now well known that inherited bodily characteristics are controlled by the "germ plasm." In the human species each individual begins existence as a fertilized egg, which contains forty-eight chromosomes, twenty-four of which are contributed by the mother and twenty-four by the father. Each chromosome is something like a string of beads, only the "beads" are ultra-minute particles of gelatine-like substance called "genes." It is these tiny particles which control the appearance of the hereditary physical characters of the individual as he grows and develops. Many a phenotypical trait, i.e., physical feature which may be observed, such as the shape of the nose, for instance, seems to be controlled by a large number of genes acting, as it were, in combination. The precise identification of all the genetic factors involved in the heredity of phenotypes is not yet known for man, but a considerable number of such traits are understood from the genetic point of view.¹³ The best data at present on the genetics of human races is provided by the investigation of blood groups and blood types. The genetics of these phenomena are simple and easily plotted. The various genes involved show significant differences in distribution as between large geographical groups of human beings.¹⁴

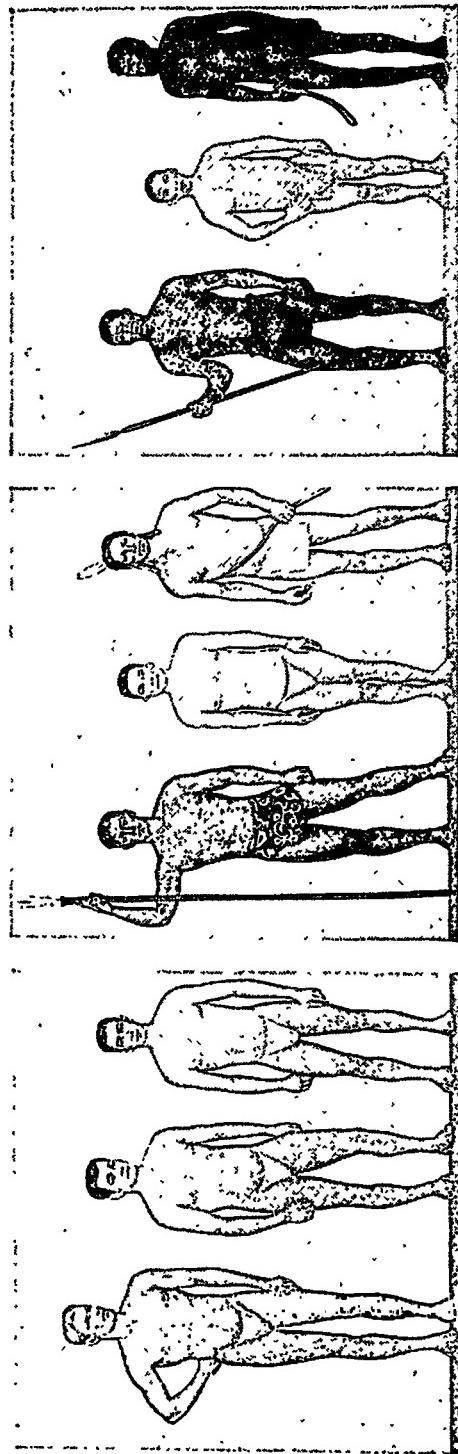
Thus we may think of races as groups of mankind sharing a certain range

¹³ For a simplified discussion of some of these, see Whitney, David D., *Family Treasures*, Jacques Cattell Press, Lancaster, 1942.

¹⁴ See Weiner, A. S., *Blood Groups and Transfusion*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, 1943; Montagu, M. F. Ashley, *Introduction to Physical Anthropology*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, 1945, pp. 122-139.

Some hereditary varieties of mankind

In the usual order from left to right we see, first, three White racial types, so-called Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean varieties. Next (fourth from left) is a Polynesian, which as a type is probably a stabilized mixture of Mongoloid, White and slight Negroid elements. Then, we see two Mongoloid types, a Southern Chinese (fifth from left) and a Plains Indian of North America (sixth from left). Next is a Forest Negro from Africa, followed (eighth from left) by a Bushman of South Africa, probably a stabilized mixture of Mongoloid and Negroid elements. Finally, farthest to the right, we see an aboriginal Australian. Of dark skin color, this type is not racially Negroid, but is a distinct stock showing a number of archaic physical features. (Photographs of models in American Museum of Natural History, New York.)



of genotypes and distinguished thereby from other groups. As a result of their genetic similarity, members of a given racial group tend to appear more like each other, on the average, than like average members of other groups. And the offspring tend to look more like their parents than like members of other races.

It is possible that man has at least sixty thousand genes in his chromosomes,¹⁵ each of which maintains its individual independence, although all are probably subject to mutation (genetic change). Thus a very wide variety of combinations of genetic materials is possible, and it is no wonder that no two human individuals are exactly alike, especially when we consider the fact that environmental conditions may influence the phenotypical expression of these genetic characters.

The question arises as to how large groups of mankind come to possess genetic constitutions falling within a range of similarity.

Formation of races. How were the races formed? In simple terms, we may sum the matter up in these terms: (1) mutation, (2) selection, (3) isolation. "New" genetic characteristics may appear through mutation, a sort of spontaneous change which occurs in a gene or a group of genes. The causal factors in this process are not completely understood as yet, but the process has been demonstrated with experimental animals and plants. Probably the genes governing the black skin of Negroids first appeared in the basic human stock via mutation. Whether or not a given gene remains in the germ plasms of a group depends upon selection. If it is an adaptive characteristic, or if it at least offers no serious block to survival, it will usually remain; if not, its carriers will be eliminated over a period of time. Selection is of two types: (a) "natural" and (b) artificial. The so-called struggle for existence in the natural environment produces a selective effect upon the adaptive characters of a population, whereas any type of artificially controlled breeding or any type of cultural condition permitting only the reproduction of certain types will result in artificial selection. Once a certain type has been "selected out" from among other possibilities, it maintains its genetic "purity" only by isolation, the effect of which is to prevent mixture of its genetic materials with those of other genotypes. Again, isolation is of two types: (1) natural, usually geographical, and (2) artificial. The latter consists of any man-made barriers to breeding between genetically defined groups; for example, the bar to interracial marriage in many of our states. Geographical isolation, however, has been primarily responsible for the present major races of mankind. When peoples

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

are geographically separated from one another they cannot interbreed and hybridize their genetic constitutions.

Thus each of the major races at the beginning of the modern period had its own major area of concentration; the Mongoloids occupied a good share of Asia and the Western Hemisphere; the Negroids held Africa south of the desert and the islands of Melanesia in the Southwest Pacific; the whites or Caucasoids held sway in a broad band stretching from Northern India to the Mediterranean shores, North Africa, western Russia, and all of Europe; the Australoids maintained their physical type intact in isolated Australia.

Race mixture. Man from the earliest times has apparently been an inveterate migrator, always looking for happier hunting grounds or greener pastures "on the other side of the mountain." This very tendency probably drew early men into unoccupied areas where they became isolated from others of their kind and in the course of time developed into separate races and subraces. But, as the population and occupied areas of the earth increased, migration also brought isolated groups into contact with each other. Geographical isolation tended to disappear. Whether such contact is friendly or hostile, the ultimate result is usually interbreeding to some extent. Thus the "purity" of isolated types is destroyed and more and more individuals inherit heterogeneous genetic constitutions.

We shall not discuss the biological results of race mixture other than to mention that there is no scientific evidence that it necessarily leads to biological "degeneration" of any sort under normal conditions. Such mixing, however, does destroy the "purity" of the types. The resulting generations, provided intermixture continues, become progressively more heterogeneous and unable to produce "true" replicas of the parental types.

Considering the fact that this process has been going on in some areas for thousands of years and all over the world at an accelerated tempo during the modern period of easy travel and contact, one sees why experts say that there are few, if any, racial groups remaining in the world which are "pure" in the sense ordinarily used by laymen. Large groups of human beings—the major races—still may be distinguished phenotypically and genotypically, but they represent wide ranges of types and show much overlapping with each other.

It must be clearly understood, then, that the term *race* in proper usage refers only to certain inherited zoological characteristics of a group of individuals within a species. Although several classifications of the human species have been attempted, all scientific authorities agree that any racial classification must be based upon *observable or measurable bodily charac-*

teristics of an inheritable type. Once this fact has been grasped, the impropriety of describing "racial" groups in linguistic or cultural terms is apparent.

Phenotypical studies of race are based upon a considerable number of bodily characteristics which can be measured or observed. Among the commonly used measurements are (1) the principal diameters of the body, including stature, shoulder height, sitting height, shoulder breadth, chest diameters, pelvic diameters; (2) lengths of the appendages and their segments, including total arm length, upper- and lower-arm lengths, leg lengths; (3) the principal diameters of the skull and face, including length, breadth, and height of the skull, length of the total face and upper face, breadth of the face, length and breadth of the nose; (4) natural pigmentation of the head hair, body hair, iris of the eye, and skin; (5) form and distribution of the hair on the head, face, and body; (6) the form of the nasal profile, nasal septum, shell and lobe of the ear, chin, jaws and alveolar borders, cheek bones, and the membranous lips; (7) body build and weight. This is, of course, merely a suggestive list in general terms of the many features of racial significance that may be measured or observed by the physical anthropologist, and the reader desiring a more technical knowledge of anthropometry should consult a standard manual of this subject,¹⁶ but as sociologists we are interested in three points.

The first is that these measurements and observations all deal with anatomical features of the human body and are now fairly well standardized throughout the world, much as medical anatomy is standardized. Standard techniques and accurate instruments have also been developed in order to limit the margin of error. Even in judging curliness and color of the hair standard hair samples are available to the investigator, and skin and eye color are determined by comparison with standardized skin-color charts and artificial eyes. In short, guess work has been largely eliminated in determining the actual physical characteristics of a population, if one is willing to use the available scientific techniques.

The second feature is that only a portion of the bodily features of importance to race classification are obtainable from the skeleton. Characteristics of the hair, pigmentation, and form of the soft parts usually do not remain long after death with the skeleton, so that the racial classification of prehistoric populations is much less accurate and complete than that of the living. The result is that we are by no means clear concerning the racial types even of early Europe, which of all continents has been most thoroughly studied from this point of view, and we have no accurate in-

¹⁶ See Sullivan, *op. cit.*; Hrdlička, Ales, *Anthropometry*, Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1920; Martin, R., *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, 3 vols., Jena, 1928.

formation at present which would indicate conclusively where or when the subgroups of the human species as we know them at present originated. Genealogies are notoriously scanty and seldom contain any data of anthropometric importance, and there is no human group whose measurements are fully known even for five generations. The result is that we must be content to classify the varieties of *Homo sapiens* as they exist today.

The third point to which we wish to draw attention is the fact that no mention is made of "intelligence," "emotional characteristics," "nerve power," or similar psychological terms in the practice of anthropometry and classification of human varieties. Therefore the soap-box oracle who claims, for example, that negro blood will always show in mixtures because it makes its possessors lazy, or that Jewish ancestry always shows itself in hard bargaining, is not speaking of race in the scientific sense and in fact is merely putting forth sententious nonsense.

Man is a unique animal in that he lives in all parts of the earth, except the antarctic region, and that he has been from the earliest times given to extensive migrations from place to place. Intermixture between various breeds, independent mutations, and natural selection in various environments have all operated to produce a most confusing situation in which "pure" races and stocks do not exist in reality and can only be considered as ideal types or statistical abstractions. There is, furthermore, no conclusive evidence that pure races or stocks, in the genetic sense, have ever existed, since intermixture and migration to new environments have apparently been characteristic of man since the earliest times and have continually operated to break up that genetic stability which is characteristic of more specialized animals.

Races therefore are much less real and concrete entities than the layman generally believes. Even breeds, for example the East Baltic, the Highland Scots, the Armenian, and so on, as we generally think of them are usually only ideal types which actually show considerable variation. Especially is this true in the population of the United States with its wide variety of genetic mixture.¹⁷

Some psychical and sociological aspects of race. Loose thinking regarding the concept of "race" has caused much of the current confusion surrounding this subject, but of course it cannot be denied that gross physical

¹⁷ In view of the great diversity of classifications of the subgroups of the human species and for lack of space, we do not present a classification here. Readers may be interested in that of Hooton, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-523, and, for Europe and contiguous regions, that of Coon, *op. cit.*, *passim*, with forty-six photographic plates. Our interest at this point is primarily centered upon the questions of biological subgroups within the species and human social life.

differences do exist between large groups of the human species and that they are easily recognized. Regardless of the terms used or the type of biological thinking which accompanies them, the recognition, for example, of black skins, kinky hair, and broad noses as characteristic of the negro stock has had some important sociological repercussions. It may be that not all members of the negro stock possess the features which the average American attributes to them, just as many Mongoloids do not possess the slant eyes which the popular American stereotype includes as an invariable criterion of that stock. But gross differences between races do exist, and they are recognized in one way or another in many societies. Mere recognition of genetic differences might be of comparatively little importance to cultural sociology, were it not for a widespread tendency to attribute psychical, social, and cultural significance to these genetic peculiarities. Is there any evidence to indicate that the differences between the subgroups of the species are of such an order as to cause differences in behavior and in forms of social life and culture? If a genetic factor of this type actually exists, it would of course be of the utmost importance to the study of human society.

During the past thirty years literally hundreds of psychological tests of all imaginable types have been administered to members of various racial groups in order to determine what differences, if any, exist in their innate mental abilities or aptitudes for social and cultural accomplishment. Although scientific ingenuity and labor have been expended without stint in this investigation, to date the results are highly inconclusive. The lack of agreement respecting the precise definition of various subgroups of the species has been partly responsible. But more important is the fact that no tests have yet been devised which beyond question measure *innate*, as distinguished from *acquired*, aptitudes or abilities of individuals and groups of different cultures and customs.¹⁸

To date, then, these investigations show that no significant racial differences as to ability, intelligence, or aptitude for culture and social life have been discovered. This does not rule out the possibility that mental differences may eventually be scientifically established between subgroups of the human species, just as physical differences have already been shown to exist. In fact, certain studies have suggested that Negro brain weights, for example, are, on the average, less than white brain weights.¹⁹ It must be em-

¹⁸ For reviews of the literature of testing, see Garth, T. R., *Race Psychology*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1931; Klineberg, Otto, *Race Differences*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1934, especially last chapter, "Conclusions"; see also Boas, F., *The Mind of Primitive Man*, rev. ed., The Macmillan Co., New York, 1938.

¹⁹ Bean, R. B., "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain," *American Journal of Anatomy*, Vol. 5, 1906, pp. 353-432; "The Negro Brain," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 72,

phasized, however, that, even should racial differences in mentality be demonstrated, this is not equivalent to proving that one race is superior or inferior to others in *general* intelligence or capability.

At present, however, we must proceed on the assumption that differences in social and cultural accomplishments which do exist between various racial groups at the present time must be referred to something other than genetic factors. It appears that the biological characteristics of the *species*, rather than those of subgroups within the species, are of primary importance in social life. Certainly there is no evidence that intermixture between breeds, races, or stocks has a necessarily deleterious influence upon the social capabilities of the resulting hybrids, and it can be shown, in fact, that most of the developed civilizations of history have been the products of populations with at least a degree of genetic mixture.

We may sum up this whole question in the words of Julian Huxley. "Despite the refusal of the scientific man to commit himself on the question of the innate mental characters of ethnic groups, it is probable that some readers will remain unconvinced. These will say that there really *is* a difference in mental powers between peoples of different nationalities, even in Europe, and that this is a matter of common experience. To such the man of science has many replies, of which we may cite three. First, that we must avoid mistaking cultural for innate differences; and cultural differences are the most obvious and greatest differences between European ethnic groups. Secondly, that mental achievement is the most modifiable of all characters, so that differences in social environment will normally override any genetic differences. Thirdly, that while not denying that there *may be* innate mental differences between various European ethnic types, it is nevertheless very remarkable and surely not without significance that such an enormous mass of investigation has failed to demonstrate what so many are eager to prove."²⁰

Finally, certain sociological aspects of race should be mentioned. Although the actual biological differences between the subgroups of the species appear to have no direct significance, in the light of our present knowledge, in explaining why different races and social groups act as they do, the *opinion* that they are significant may be held by a social group and as such

1906, pp. 778-784; Benington, R. C., "A Study of the Negro Skull with Special Reference to the Congo and Gaboon Crania," *Biometrika*, Vol. 8, 1912, pp. 292-337; Todd, C. Wingate, "Cranial Capacity and Linear Dimensions in White and Negro," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 6, 1923, pp. 97-194; Hankins, F. H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1939, pp. 314-321.

²⁰ Huxley, Julian, Haddon, A. C., and Carr-Saunders, A. M., *We Europeans*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1936, pp. 96-97. Quotation by permission of the publishers, Harper and Brothers, New York, and of the American agent of Julian Huxley.

History of the earth (read from bottom to top)

Period	Subperiod	Age (In terms of years B.C.)	New forms of animal life
b. Quaternary (Age of Man) 1,000,000 years ago to present	6. Holocene (Recent)		<i>Homo sapiens</i>
	5. Pleistocene (Glacial Epoch)		Extinct apelike forms of man <i>Pithecanthropus erectus</i> ; Probably undiscovered ancestors of man
	4. Pliocene		Generalized ancestors of great apes; probably undiscovered ground-dwelling biped humanoid forms
a. Tertiary (Age of Mammals) 60,000,000–1,000,000	3. Miocene		First small anthropoid apes; forerunners of present mammals
	2. Oligocene		Eutherian mammals; first Primates and Insectivora
	1. Eocene		Small mammals Aquatic, aerial, territorial reptiles
	Secondary (Age of Reptiles)		First marsupial mammals First birds Diversified reptiles First Mammals Dinosaurs, etc.
	3. Cretaceous		Large amphibians; more reptiles First reptiles
	2. Jurassic		Amphibians (foot prints only)
	1. Triassic		Sharks and bone-skinned fishes
	6. Permian		First vertebrate fishes, insects
	5. Carboniferous		
	4. Devonian		
	3. Silurian	450,000,000	
	2. Ordovician		
	1. Cambrian	550,000,000	Marine invertebrates and shell fish
Palaeozoic 550,000,000–200,000,000 years ago	Pre-Cambrian	1,200,000,000–550,000,000	Invertebrate molluscs, worms, etc.
Proterozoic		2,000,000,000–1,200,000,000	Possibly unicellular life
Archezoic	Archean		

becomes of importance sociologically. If the members of a social group believe that the actually superficial differences between the races are signs of important social superiorities or inferiorities, they tend to adjust their behavior accordingly. If it is part of the cultural pattern of the group, for example, to impute inferiority to persons with dark skins and to exalt the fair-skinned, the composition, social structure, and behavior of the members of the group is affected. But such, strictly speaking, is a cultural matter rather than a biological one and will be more fully discussed later.

In this chapter we have discussed the major physical characteristics which distinguish human beings from other animals and have shown how recent is man's appearance on the world stage. Finally we have examined the question of human races and have come to the conclusion that racial differences have no direct bearing upon behavior, all men belonging to the same species. Man as an animal is subject to the generalized animal necessities of feeding upon organic materials, of sexual reproduction, and of self-protection for survival of self and species. For the most part, however, man's behavior differs from that of other animals in that it is cultural rather than instinctive.

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- Snider, Luther C., *Earth History*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1932.

Exercises

1. Of what importance to the study of sociology is an understanding of the biological characteristics of mankind?
2. Why is it important for the student of sociology to understand the relation of man to other Primates?
3. Why is it incorrect to say that man has "descended" from any other type of existing animals?

4. What physical characteristics distinguish human beings from other animals?
5. Explain why the human species survived in the struggle for existence, since in many respects it is physically so much more poorly equipped with physical means of attack and defense.
6. What is the sociological importance of the form of the human hand? Of the upright posture? Of speech? Of the size and complexity of the human brain?
7. Of what sociological significance is the comparatively recent appearance of *Homo sapiens* on the earth?
8. What are the chief physical criteria of race?
9. Discuss the scientific validity of the Scriptural statement (*Acts*, 17:26) that every nation on earth is of one blood.
10. Criticize the "Aryan" and the "Nordic" theories of racial differences.
11. What are the chief differences between breeds, stocks, and races?
12. What are the sociological consequences of the *belief* in differences between different "races" of mankind?

chapter 4 *The fundamentals of learned behavior: organism and environment*

The problem of adaptation

The basic problem of every living species is that of making adjustment to the environment in which it lives. The extinct species are those who in the end failed to solve this problem. In many species the adjustment is made partly by inherited structures, such as the protective shell of the turtle and the "step-ladder" neck of the giraffe, and partly by inherited patterns of behavior, called instincts. We have seen that man's anatomical structures are of a generalized type, not specifically adapted to particular environmental conditions. Therefore man's adjustment is in largest measure a matter of adaptive behavior. Again, our species differs from many others in possessing few inherited patterns of behavior. The largest part of man's adjustments are made by means of culture or learned behavior patterns called customs, which are common in some degree to members of a given social group and which are socially learned, socially shared, and socially transmitted from one generation to another. If culture plays so large a part in man's adjustment and if it is learned, we must examine briefly the laws and principles of learning in order to understand it.

Many living species are admirably adapted to a single environment, but man has shown himself capable of living in practically all of the land environments the globe has to offer. Therefore if we are to understand the interplay between organism and nature, we must familiarize ourselves with the general problems posed by natural environments.

In this chapter, then, we shall review the underlying problems of organism and environment as they are concerned with the development of adaptive behavior.

One of the properties peculiar to living protoplasm is its sensitivity to stimulation. It is, so far as we know, the only kind of matter which can "feel" and the only substance capable of making spontaneous reactions to stimuli without self-destruction. All living organisms, in short, respond to

the environmental stimuli to which they are sensitive, and these responses are said to be adaptive if they have the effect of continuing the survival of the individual or of the species or of both. The responses which organisms make to stimuli constitute the general field of behavior. Among animals responses to stimuli usually appear as bodily movements or changes in bodily secretions or both, and it is by study of these responses and the stimuli which produce them, as mediated by the neurophysiological constitution of the organism, that psychologists are able to formulate the mechanisms and laws of animal behavior. We have seen that man is an animal; we are interested in his social life which is an aspect of his behavior. Let us now consider certain facts that may aid our understanding of human life in society.

Nervous mechanisms

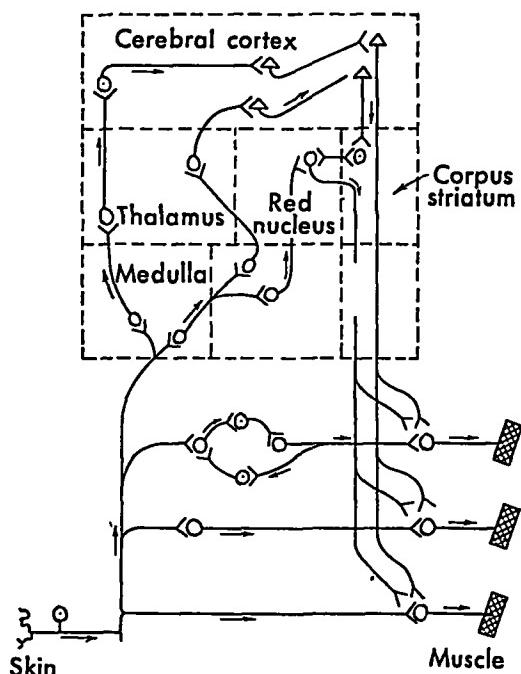
The nervous system. One-cell animals show no nervous specialization, but the whole body responds to external stimuli more or less as a unit. Lack of specialized nervous structures is also characteristic of certain larger animals such as sponges, which possess no nervous elements but respond to stimuli with contractile tissue somewhat like human smooth muscle. Diffuse nervous systems are found in certain higher animals such as sea anemones, which possess only specialized sensory cells with ends elongated to form a net of nerve fibers throughout the body over which impulses travel diffusely but not along definite pathways. The next step in evolution was the development of a central nervous system capable of receiving incoming impulses from the receptor organs and distributing them along definite pathways to specific organs of response. The central nervous system is found first in worms and occurs in all higher animals including man. A specialized nervous system lays the basis for specific rather than diffuse responses and makes for finer adaptation to environmental stimuli.¹ In man the nervous system is bilaterally symmetrical with reference to the center line of the body. A series of nerve trunks and ganglia runs longitudinally on either side of the central axis with branches leading off on either side. At the cranial end is a bulbous mass of nerves and connective tissue called the *brain*.

The nervous mechanism is made up of specialized cells called *neurons*,

¹ Parker, C. H., *The Elementary Nervous System*, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1919; Ariëns Kappers, C. U., *The Evolution of the Nervous System in Invertebrates, Vertebrates and Man*, Bohn, Haarlem, 1929; Ranson, S. W., *The Anatomy of the Nervous System from the Standpoint of Development and Function*, 6th ed., Saunders, Philadelphia, 1939.

76 *The fundamentals of learned behavior*

which are the functional elements, and certain other cells which form connective and protective tissue. The nervous system as a whole consists of two major functional divisions, called the *central* and *autonomic* systems, respectively. The central nervous system has three divisions—the sensory, the motor or response, and the intermediate (brain and spinal cord) sections. The central system forms the structural foundation of so-called intellectual processes and learned overt responses, whereas the autonomic system, which controls the internal reactions of the glands and smooth muscles, mediates



Some types of pathways through the nervous system

A schematic diagram showing some of the types of neuron pathways which a nervous impulse may take from skin receptor to muscle effector. A simple two-neuron reflex is represented in the lowest position. The area enclosed by broken lines represents the brain. (Adapted from Ranson, S. W., *The Anatomy of the Nervous System from the Standpoint of Development and Function*, 6th ed., Saunders, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 55, Fig. 33.)

many of the organic drives and so-called emotions and feelings. The neurons of the sensory or receptor division of the central nervous system are those which pick up the stimuli that impinge upon the organism. Receptors whose principal function is to receive stimuli from outside the body are called *exteroceptors* and are located in the organs of sense and in the skin, while those whose function is to receive and transmit stimuli from within the body are called *proprioceptors* and are located in the muscles, glands, certain parts of the bones, joints, tendons, and other tissues. The diagram above shows this in a simple form.

Neural elements and mechanisms. The individual elements of which the nervous system is composed are neurons. A neuron is a single cell, consisting of a cell body and usually of two types of threadlike appendages, the dendrites and axones. The dendrites receive stimuli either from receptors or from other neurons while the axones pass on the impulses either to another neuron or to an effector capable of making a response. Energy impinging upon the end of a dendrite is supposed to release electrochemical energy in the neuron causing a rapid series of electrochemical changes to progress along its surface toward the end of its axone, a process which is known as the *conduction* of the nervous impulse. Neurons have many shapes and a few specialized varieties, but some of the conductor neurons of the human body are as much as three feet in length. The appendages of some neurons are covered with a whitish sheath of myeline, and the speed of conductivity in neurons so equipped is very great indeed, about 118 meters per second. In unmyelinated fibers, on the other hand, impulses may travel as slowly as eight meters per second.

"Nerves" as usually seen in gross dissections are composed of bundles of neuron fibers, but the single neurons can also be isolated and usually can be seen with the naked eye.

There are few portions of the body not provided with neurons capable of picking up impulses of some sort and transmitting them to other neurons along a route to that part of the body which makes the response. The ends of the neurons along such a route approach, but do not actually meet, or at least are separated by thin membranes. In other words, each neuron is a separate cell histologically independent of every other neuron. The point at which the brushlike ending of the axone of one neuron approaches the brushlike ending of the dendrite of another neuron is called a *synapse*, and it is at this point that the excitation which produces the nervous impulse must be transmitted from one neuron to the other. Since neurons are not free conductors like copper wires, but apparently generate their own electrochemical energy, there is usually a slight pause at the synapse. The dendrites and axones of many neurons are capable of transmitting impulses in both directions, but the synapse is so organized that excitation may be transmitted in one direction only, with the effect that synaptic conduction is irreversible.²

² For the anatomy of the nervous system see references under footnote 1, and Freeman, G. L., *An Introduction to Physiological Psychology*, Ronald Press, New York, 1934; Tilney, F., and Riley, H. A., *The Form and Functions of the Central Nervous System*, Hoeber, New York, 1938; Globus, J. H., *Neuroanatomy*, 6th ed., Wood, Baltimore, 1934; Herrick, C. J., *An Introduction to Neurology*, Saunders, Philadelphia, 1931; Fulton, J. F., *Physiology of the Nervous System*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1938.

Neurologically a bodily reaction involving external stimuli always requires at least two neurons, one to pick up the stimulation and transmit it to the synapse, the other to pick up the impulse at the synapse and transmit it to the muscle or gland which is activated by the impulse to make a response. Where only two neurons and one synapse are anatomically given, no learning, no modification of response, is possible. The situation is like a telephone switchboard with only one incoming and one outgoing line—only one party can answer. Only one pathway is available through the nervous system from the point of stimulation to the organ of response.

In all higher organisms, however, such simple reflexes are supplemented by more complicated connections available in the nervous system. Intermediate neurons are involved, and the impulse excited by a stimulus has in many cases a choice, as it were, at one or more synapses of several pathways to several response organs. In so far as uninherited connections can be made between neurons on the basis of the individual's life experience, we say that the individual is neurologically capable of learning. Beyond this, what actually takes place anatomically in the process of learning (forming new connections) has not as yet been satisfactorily explained⁸ from all points of view. Consequently we cannot rely entirely upon neurological findings for a complete description of the processes of behavior and learning at the present time, but must seek some of the answers to our questions from the psychologists who have approached the study of learning on the molar level of gross behavior, as distinguished from the molecular level of neurological investigations.

Before taking up some of the laws of learning, however, we should mention that basically the nervous system of man is essentially similar to that of other mammals except in two respects: The intermediate section of the central nervous system, particularly the brain, is more highly developed, and the number of pathways for impulse transmission through the system which are established by heredity is apparently proportionately fewer, thus providing the structural basis for greater learning potential and modifiability of behavior.

As we proceed up the scale of vertebrate development, we find the brain becoming more and more dominant in the control of the organism's activity. In the lower forms the brain is not much more than the most anterior of the spinal ganglia. A new division of the brain, the cerebrum, appears at the amphibian level, and as we approach man in the hierarchy of living forms, we see this upper part of the brain assuming larger size and greater importance. It is estimated that there are about ten billion neurons in the

⁸ See Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 488, for a survey of current theories.

normal human brain which with their interconnections make possible a number of impulse pathways which can be calculated only in astronomical figures. The electrochemical activity of the brain is probably continuous and is modified rather than being set in motion by particular stimuli. Also there is little to indicate that "intelligence" is located in any specific part of the cerebral cortex; rather the cortex acts as a whole or as a configuration.⁴ In fact, it seems that the entire organism usually responds as an integrated whole,⁵ or as fairly large integrated segments of the whole, even though the structural elements consist of neurons juxtaposed as explained above.

Although most of man's responses are learned in the course of the individual's life experience, this does not signify that the nervous system is adequate to the task of learning adult behavior at birth. The newborn child is provided with a number of inherited responses ready for use, such as the sucking reflex. Its learned behavior must be acquired over a period of time, which is required not only for the learning process itself but also for the growth of structures capable of making certain responses. For example, the average child is unable to oppose its thumb and fingers completely until at least thirty-two weeks of age.⁶ Any response involving full opposition of thumb and fingers obviously cannot be taught before that age. The tautology of saying that responses cannot be learned in the absence of anatomical and neurological structures requisite for their performance is justified only by way of emphasizing the importance of the maturation of the individual in connection with his learning ability. The members of the human species mature more slowly than any of the other Primates, the period of their growth averaging twenty to twenty-five years. During this long period of semidependent training, the human individual in society establishes the fundamental habits which characterize his behavior in adult life.

Such, then, in brief is the structural basis upon which human behavior is reared by training. Maturation is not sufficient by itself to produce a socialized adult, as is shown by the peculiarities of a few abandoned children and young humans raised by wolves. The process of training, of

⁴ Lashley, K. S., *Brain Mechanisms and Intelligence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929; "Functional Determinants of Cerebral Localization," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, Vol. 38, 1937, pp. 371-387.

⁵ Coghill, G. E., *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1929.

⁶ Gesell, A., and Halverson, H. H., "The Development of Thumb Opposition in the Human Infant," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Vol. 48, 1936, pp. 339-361; Dr. Gesell's Clinic of Child Development at Yale University has rather thoroughly investigated the chronological correlations of maturation in childhood. See Gesell, A., and Thompson, H., *Infant Behavior: Its Genesis and Growth*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934; Gesell, A., et al., *The First Five Years of Life*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1940.

learning the responses appropriate in a given society, is known as *socialization*. In the next section we shall sketch briefly certain factors in learning.

Some principles of learning

In the absence of full knowledge of the microscopic details of the learning process in the nervous system, psychologists have turned to an investigation of learning in terms of the actually observable gross activities of the organism. The formulation which seems to be most useful for the understanding of culture is that involved in the *modern learning theory*.⁷ This approach should not be confused with the behaviorism of John B. Watson nor with the classical reflexology of Pavlov and his followers. The basic principles of learning are backed by a large number of careful experiments on lower animals and man.

A common psychological experiment is to place a hungry rat in a closed box at one end of which is a small cup and a metal lever. If the lever is depressed, a pellet of food drops into the cup, and the rat may eat. When first introduced into this artificial dilemma, the hungry rodent is forced to learn how to satisfy his hunger by trial and error. Motivated by hunger, he starts random activity, responding to many stimuli which the box affords. He may run about the box, sniffing, standing up, pawing the walls, scratching the floor. Finally, he "presses the lever at random," obtains the food and eats. But his hunger drive is still high, and again he becomes active as soon as he has swallowed the food. The small pellet has rewarded the pressing of the lever, but it has not satiated his hunger. The second time he spends less energy in unsuccessful trials and presses the lever after fewer preliminaries. On each successive trial he goes more directly to the lever until he finally learns that lever-pressing is the proper response for

⁷ The differences between the various "schools" are gradually disappearing as research progresses. The principles here reviewed are associated with the work of C. L. Hull of Yale University. See his series of papers in the *Psychological Review*, 1929 to date and *The Principles of Behavior*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1943. A partial sociological application of these principles will be found in Davis, Allison, and Dollard, John, *Children of Bondage*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1940. For a thorough summary and citation of all pertinent experimental literature on learning to 1940, see Hilgard, Ernest R., and Marquis, Donald G., *Conditioning and Learning*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1940. Hull's approach combines the principles involved in the "law of effect" of Thorndike with the conditioning principles of Pavlov. See also Skinner, B. F., *The Behavior of Organisms*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1938. Hull's principles have been effectively applied to imitation, copying, and diffusion by Miller, Neal E., and Dollard, John, *Social Learning and Imitation*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941, and to personality problems by Mowrer, O. H. and Kluckhohn, Clyde, "Dynamic Theory of Personality," in Hunt, J. McV., *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, 2 vols., Ronald Press, New York, 1944, Vol. 1, pp. 69-85.

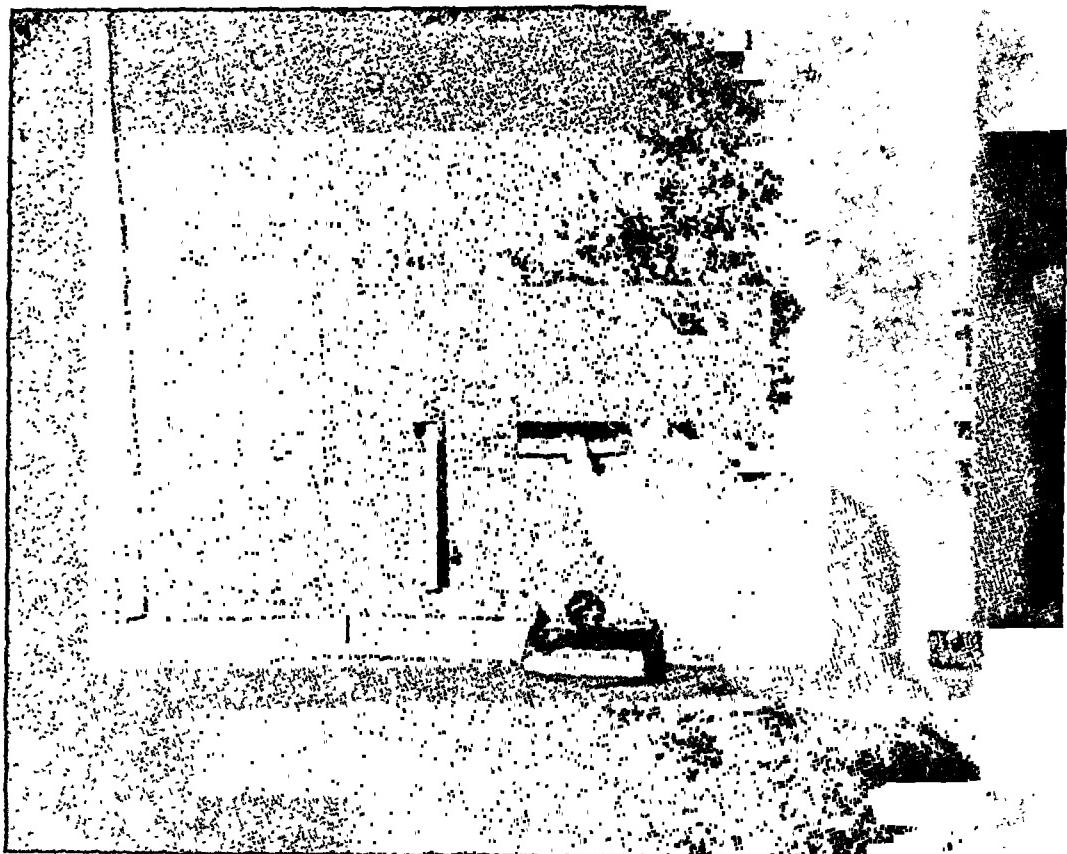
obtaining food. Preliminary, useless movements drop out, and the habit of lever-pressing is gradually strengthened.

Let us not despise the lowly rat too quickly nor disdain his investigators, as mere "rat psychologists." For the rat merely illustrates in a manner convenient for laboratory observation a situation and a process in which all of us have been involved. Perhaps it has been in trying to solve a new mathematical problem, in "figuring out" a diet for our private allergies, in "getting the hang" of living comfortably in camp. Because of his command of word symbols, however, the normal human being beyond the age of infancy can usually reduce the number of overt trials necessary to learn a successful habit, or he may internalize the trials completely. In the latter case we speak of symbolic trial and error, as when one "turns over in his mind" a number of possible courses of action before making an overt move. What, then, are some of the factors involved in learning?

Stimulus, response, drive, and reward. If we attempt to reduce learning theory to its simplest elements and to ordinary language, it is simple enough. The reader may explore the technical intricacies for himself in the references we have given and in others.

If a response is to become a habit, it must first of all be elicited. Two fundamental conditions are involved. First, the organism must be *stimulated* by a pattern of energy on its receptors to which they are sensitive, for responses do not occur spontaneously. Second, the response must be within the innate repertory of the organism, that is, the organism must be structurally capable of performing the response. Thus men cannot be taught to walk upside down on the ceiling because the human organism is not provided with structures which make this possible. With respect to *stimuli* they must be of a type to which the organism is sensitive. The human eye, for example, is not sensitive to infrared light; hence the impingement of infrared rays upon the human retina does not ordinarily evoke a response. Furthermore, the stimulus must be of sufficient intensity to cross the sensory threshold if a response is to be forthcoming. A louse may walk up a man's back so lightly that he does not feel it, but when it bites him, a reaction is usually forthcoming. Although we may speak of single stimuli for purposes of analysis, most human behavior is stimulated by *situations or configurations of stimuli*, sometimes called *Gestalten* (sing., *Gestalt*).

Adequate stimuli, in short, are necessary forerunners of responses, and the first step in the formation of any habit is to get the response out. But another matter is involved as well, namely, *motivation or drive*. If we place a surfeited, completely satisfied rat in a box as described above, he will exhibit none of the random behavior which we mentioned. Where there



Learning habits through reward and punishment

After a series of unrewarded responses to various stimuli presented by the inside of an experimental box, the rat presses the bar-lever, as shown in this picture and is "paid off" by a pellet of food dropping into the metal cup below the extended paw. (Photo by courtesy of Prof. C. L. Hull, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.)

is no drive in the organism, no stimulus is adequate to produce a response. We may think of a drive as a condition of mobilized, unreleased neuro-physiological energy in the organism potentially related to certain types of stimulus impinging on the receptors, internally or externally. It is therefore related to environmental conditions as well as being a condition of the organism itself.⁸ *Primary drives* are inherently latent in all normal human beings and are sometimes spoken of as the "motivating forces in human life," the "instigations to action." The most important primary drives are (a) air hunger, (b) food hunger, (c) water hunger (thirst), (d) pain, (e) elimination, (f) sensitivity to temperature, (g) fatigue or sleep, and (h) sex. These drives will rise to themselves in the face of long enough continued deprivation of the organism, but stimuli may also arouse a drive. For example, salt in the mouth will make one thirsty.

⁸ Some psychologists take the view that drives are stimuli. See Miller and Dollard, *op. cit.*

***Learning habits through reward and punishment***

A couple of children trying out an evidently unrewarding response in connection with food. Children learn the "correct" responses of their culture through reward and punishment. (Photo by Acme.)

Adequate stimulus and active drive are therefore necessary in the production of a response. But what is it that causes the response to become habitual, to be repeated to similar stimuli in the future? The key to this mystery is *reward*. Why does not the rat in the problem box continue his useless preliminary responses in full array each time he seeks food? Because they are not rewarded; only pressing the lever "pays off." And what, exactly, is reward? Reward is a lowering of the drive involved in the particular learning situation. The rat presses the bar and obtains a bit of food. His hunger drive is temporarily and slightly reduced. A man finds that avoiding strawberries relieves the irritating pain of his skin rash, and the habit of strawberry avoidance is thereby rewarded. A habit may thus be thought of as a bond connecting a given stimulus and a given response. As a given response is rewarded, it is said that the habit involved is *reinforced*. The strength of a habit (its tendency to appear under similar conditions in the future) is dependent upon the number of rewarded trials during training, the strength of drive during training, and the amount of

reward per trial during training. "Training," of course, does not necessarily involve a human teacher, but signifies experience which is rewarding. Many a child has learned to pilfer cookies from the kitchen without instruction.

Two responses are said to be incompatible if they cannot occur simultaneously. This is called the principle of *response incompatibility*. For example, the response to distention of the bladder may be either relaxation or contraction of the sphincters, but both cannot occur simultaneously. In cases of such incompatibility the response with the greatest habit strength occurs, that is, the response which is most rewarded and rewarding. Heavy reward for a new response to a given stimulus may thus cause an old, incompatible response to be inhibited. Elimination control may be established on the basis of anxiety drive and on the basis of anticipation of future primary rewards. In all societies the principal objective in child-rearing, aside from assurance of the life and physical growth of the child, is training the young in habits similar to those of other members of the society or social group. The child is taught to respond to objects, actions, and words (stimuli) in a manner similar to, or at least acceptable to, the standards of the society or group in which he lives. The general term for these habits common to the individuals of a group is *custom*; the total system of customs in a society is called its *culture*.

Extinction, generalization, discrimination, and anticipation. Habits may be unlearned as well as learned, and customs may disappear. This process is called *extinction*, and it refers to a progressive decline in habit strength which occurs when a habit is repeated in the absence of reward. Again we see the crucial function of reward in establishing and maintaining habits. The child may repeatedly go to the cookie jar, but if the mother has removed the cookies, the child is not rewarded, and the habit tends to become extinguished. An army may try several times to repel new types of enemy tanks with machine guns, but if victory is not forthcoming, that particular response is abandoned. Extinction is not to be confused with forgetting, which is mere loss of habit strength due to failure to practice the habit. Nor should it be mistaken for punishment, which usually results in loss of habit strength through introduction of a pain-producing stimulus in place of a reward and the establishment of a new and incompatible habit based on pain drive. Cookie-robbers may be spanked, but this usually results in the formation of a cookie-jar-avoidance habit which displaces the pilfering habit.

If we analyze stimuli minutely, we find that in ordinary life experience the stimuli which evoke a given habit are seldom exactly alike on succes-

crimination depends upon the innate ability of the organism and also upon training. In social life training in discrimination is often thought to be very important. Special symbols which aid in differentiation are frequently used—badges, peculiarities of dress, skin color, etc.—but frequently one must learn to differentiate his responses to a mere inflection of the voice, the twitch of an eyebrow, or a slight peculiarity in the texture or cut of a garment.

Once a habit is learned, we have also to reckon with the principle of *anticipation*. This is the tendency to perform complete or incipient responses before the complete stimulus situation to which the habit was originally learned has been presented. One may go to bed and take medicine at the first sign of a sore throat rather than waiting until pneumonia is fully developed. The child may draw back its hand before actually touching the hot radiator rather than after it has been burnt as on earlier occasions. Numerous cultural traits are anticipatory, based apparently on past experiences of the members of the society. Agricultural techniques may anticipate drought; house-building techniques may anticipate rain; religious ceremonies may anticipate divine displeasure.

Acquired drives. Primary drives motivate individuals everywhere and are concerned in the cultural patterns of all societies. But much of human social activity is motivated by learned or acquired drives. These are actually habit complexes which are elaborations of primary drives but which may function as the latter in learning situations.⁹ Among the acquired drives are *anxieties*, *angers*, and *appetites*. Anxieties and fears are usually anticipatory of pain or deprivations, although they may become attached to any cue stimuli. Neurotic anxieties are those which are not founded upon reality or are out of proportion to reality as defined in a given cultural situation. In our society, an overwhelming fear that the world is coming to an end next Tuesday is viewed as a neurotic anxiety. On the other hand, all societies make it their business to inculcate certain "normal" anxieties in their members during the process of socialization, for anxiety is a powerful factor in social control. Thus one is rightfully anxious if he does not pay his taxes, if he runs through a red light, if he juggles the bank accounts in his keeping. Appetites are learned elaborations built upon the primary drives of hunger, thirst, sex, temperature, fatigue, etc. Raw angleworms, for example, will physiologically lower the primary drive of hunger, but most individuals in our society have developed a preference (appetite) for roast

⁹ For examples of experimental work along these lines, see Mowrer, O. H., "Anxiety Reduction and Learning," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, Vol. 27, 1940, pp. 497-516; Miller and Dollard, *op. cit.*

beef, and numerous habits are built upon this learned craving. The primary sex drive may be lowered in rather simple fashion, but most human beings have definite preferences. In our society numerous habits are based in part on acquired sex appetite—dancing, dress, thrift, music, and the like. Men can learn habits under the motivation of fear or appetite almost as well as when motivated by primary organic drives. However, since they are learned, the acquired drives tend to be extinguished unless occasionally reinforced through the primary drives upon which they are based. Fear of the boss, for example, will ordinarily disappear after a time if the boss does not punish one. Anxiety over the painful consequences of prestige loss tends to diminish after one's social position is secure.

Frustration of a rewarding response frequently produces a visceral mobilization involving heavy secretion of adrenin into the blood together with a preparatory tightening up of the body tonus. The same is true of anticipated frustration. Such physiological reactions underlie anger and anxiety. Yet, despite their physiological similarity, anxiety is usually learned as an incipient withdrawal, while anger appears as a preparatory destructive response directed toward the frustrating agent. Training or experience is necessary if such frustrations are to be anticipated. Anger thus acts as an acquired drive upon which habits may be built, for example, "the art of self-defense." Something resembling both anger and fear appears very early in the individual life. Watson's experiments with newborn infants indicated that "rage" reactions may be aroused by constraint of arm, leg, or torso movements, while "fear" is stimulated by loud sounds, dropping through space, and shaking when in a light sleep. The Shermans, however, repeated Watson's experiments with infants and found that intelligent adults were unable to distinguish between "rage" and "fear" from the reactions alone.¹⁰ It may be necessary to recognize a primary frustration drive, but anger and anxiety, like appetite, are clearly secondary.

Higher mental abilities. Man learns and responds according to the same principles that govern the behavior of other mammals, but he achieves results which have been denied to other animals. Man, of course, has more adequate structural equipment for cerebration than other animals. From the behavioral point of view it seems that his achievements rest upon his ability to use symbols in his learning and behaving. Symbolic behavior has not been completely analyzed from an experimental point of view, so that we shall not attempt a shorthand description of it here. It is apparent, however,

¹⁰ Watson, J. B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, 2nd ed., J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 219-222; Sherman, M. and I. C., *The Processes of Human Behavior*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1929.

that symbols, such as words, may serve as stimuli in place of other stimuli or in place of whole stimulus situations. Symbols are also very useful as stimuli standing for relations between entities, for a relation is often not a single pattern of energy which impinges directly upon receptor organs. Thus a word symbol referring to distance or time is a direct stimulus, whereas a distance or a period of time can itself only be directly apprehended by the organism as a cumulative series of separate energy impingements. Simple symbolic processes are not beyond the powers of many animals, but even the apes are very stupid in this respect.¹¹ The human command of words seems to give man a range of flexibility in symbolic processes far beyond any animal competitor.

From the moment of birth, then, each child faces a series of stimulus situations to which he must respond. Some of these situations are unmodified from the natural environment. Many sets of stimuli, however, are provided by the group, its individual members, their actions and products. A relatively small part of the infant's responses will be of the inherited type; the remainder will be learned, partly through unique personal experience, the majority through reward and punishment as administered by the members of the group according to traditional patterns.

Interests. In our analysis of social grouping we shall lay some stress upon interests, which tend to motivate that coöperation and interaction that are a fundamental feature of group life. What are *interests* in terms of behavior theory? We shall use the term to refer to interrelated sets of anticipatory responses which arise from training or experience in a number of related stimulus situations. Interests cover a wider area, as it were, than do simple anticipatory responses or specific acquired drives. An interest involves a number of simple anticipatory responses and acquired drives oriented toward a number of stimuli. One may develop anticipatory responses to a single classroom, for example, but one's interest in education is based on experience with a number of classrooms, teachers, books, libraries, and similar stimulus situations. In so far as another individual has had similar experiences, we may say that he has a common interest with one. Later we shall see that there are a number of conditions in social life which tend to provide common experiences for certain categories of the population; out of these experiences interests develop which in turn facilitate habits of social interaction (Chapter 8).

A word on terminology. In our discussions of social life on later pages

¹¹ Douglas, J. W. B. and Whitty, C. M. W. "An Investigation of Number Appreciation of Some Sub-human Primates," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, Vol. 31, 1941, pp. 129-143; Yerkes, R. M. and Nissen, H. W. "Prelinguistic Sign Behavior in Chimpanzee," *Science*, Vol. 89, 1939, pp. 585-587.

we shall make occasional use of the behavior terms which have appeared in this section, because they have the advantage of being anchored in psychological experiment and therefore possess a certain precision. However, the literature of sociology abounds in other words with somewhat similar meanings. To avoid monotony and to acquaint the student with terms widely used in sociology we shall not confine ourselves to the terminology of behavior theory. For example *need* will be understood in the same sense as *drive*; *social needs* and *psychological needs* are equivalent to *acquired drives*, as are *social desires*. A *custom*, as we have indicated, is a habit practiced by members of a social group. *Satisfaction* and *gratification* are equivalent to *reward* and are *reinforcing*, in the psychological sense. These and similar usages should be clear to the reader; he is advised to refer to this section and to the references given herein if he desires to make a closer psychological analysis of certain social forms and processes than we have space to make in an introductory book of this type.

Evolution of learned behavior. Insects are the only metazoic animals challenging man's occupancy of the earth with any show of success. As we have already seen, insect behavior rests mostly upon instincts or unlearned responses. It may be instructive to note briefly the two principles of species survival which are involved when we compare the insects and man. These rivals of ours are all small in size, a feature related to their external bony skeleton and decentralized respiratory apparatus. The individual life is short, and the rate of reproduction enormous. Thus the species can afford, in a manner of speaking, to waste large numbers of individuals when their hereditary responses prove to be maladaptive. Adaptive hereditary responses can be bred into the species through natural selection, in case of environmental change. Man, however, is a mammal. In common with other mammals, his body is relatively large with an internal skeleton. In man many mammalian characteristics are merely exaggerated: The fetus is carried in a water sac inside the mother's body during gestation; a small number of young (in man, normally, one) is brought forth at each birth; the infant matures slowly and is incapable of independence for years. The individual life thus is of the greatest importance to species survival. The individual's responses should be adaptable enough to give him a good chance of surviving at least fifteen or twenty years until he and his mate have reproduced themselves. Evolution has shown that learned behavior, because of its flexibility, answers these requirements better than wholly rigid inherited patterns.¹²

¹² See Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936. Chs. 4 and 5.

Environments

Our brief sketch of the neural structure and the principles of learning suggested that responses do not occur haphazardly, but rather that they are set off by the impingement of physical stimuli of various types upon receptor neurons of the human body. The environment, internal and external, provides these physical stimuli. Man must adjust to several environments, which may be classified under two headings: natural environments and sociocultural environments.

The natural environments. With regard to the natural environments, man's problems are essentially the same as those of other animals. By *physicochemical aspects* of the natural environment we mean all those features of nature external to the organism, with the exception of other organisms. Physical forces, such as gravitation, light, heat of certain ranges of intensity, air, presence of water, friction, and so on, are features of man's surroundings to which he must adjust himself if he is to survive. To these general conditions of the earth man must adjust within certain limits or perish.¹⁸

In addition to such general conditions, there are also specialized combinations which make up the several *geographical* environments of the earth. Such conditions include temperature, rainfall, topography (configuration of the earth's surface), drainage, fertility of the soil, and distribution of land masses in relation to water masses. Such geographical configurations are closely correlated with the kind of life which can survive; so much so that each geographical region is usually characterized by a specialized flora and fauna composed of plant and animal organisms especially adapted to the particular conditions of that region. Most of the wild mammalian species are relatively restricted in range. They are biologically adapted to life in certain geographical environments, and when forced to move to other environments, they usually die out or adapt themselves through a process of mutation and selection. Man, from the biological standpoint alone, is adapted only for life in a mild, warm climate at low to medium altitudes, with a moderate supply of water present throughout the year. Yet he has learned to adapt his behavior to all the specialized environments of the globe. But even so the nature of the geographic conditions set a limit to the population and to the variety of activities possible.

Some socialologists have borrowed from botany, zoölogy, and geography

¹⁸ The bearing of the natural environment on social change we treat in Chapter 23, on population in Chapter 5.

the term *ecology*. By human, or societal, ecology they mean the study of the relations between men and their natural environments. It is true that the topography of a region, its natural resources—flora and fauna, minerals, water supply, etc.—its climate and its elevation at or above sea level, have something to do with its capacity to support a dense or a sparse population, with the places where aggregates of population may be found, and with the character of the economic and social activities possible in that area. But these ecological features do not operate independently of the culture of the people inhabiting that land. For example, the men of the Old Stone Age in Europe did not concentrate at the same geographical points as modern men. Why? Because the cultures of these two human groups were different. The American Indians were not distributed over what is now the United States in the same way as the present inhabitants, and for the same reason. The resources of the country were at least as great at the time of the discovery of America as now, but the culture of the Indians was not that of the present inhabitants; that culture was much less capable of utilizing the natural resources. Hence, although the natural environment has some influence in determining the size and the distribution of the population and the activities of human beings, the culture of a people has as much if not more to do with these matters. The natural environment and the culture are reciprocal in their influence. A group may modify its environment and thus create a new stimulus situation to which in turn new habits must be learned. The cultivation of the Dust Bowl produced desiccation which resulted in a nomadic type of life for some of its former inhabitants.

Social ecology in the sense defined above does have value in contributing to an understanding of the density and distribution of population, the specialization and division of labor between different areas, the succession and dominance of differing kinds of people and their institutions in different regions, and the varying kinds of relationships and economic activities to be found in areas marked by different physical characteristics. But it must never be forgotten that the culture of these different groups is as important as, and often more important than, the physical environment. For example, the invasion by boardinghouses with a changing population into a former family residence area in a city represents succession. So does the change in an area formerly devoted to lumbering to a farming community. So also do slum areas formerly occupied by high-income classes and smart retail stores. But all these changes can be explained also by changes in transportation, methods of doing business, desire for social prestige, and fashions in dwelling—all cultural elements. The spatial distributions are

surface ecological features, but they are due primarily to economic and social motives.¹⁴

The *biological* environment consists of the animal and vegetable life in the midst of which we find ourselves. The law of nature is survival of the fittest; competition for the natural resources prevails here. And if man is to survive at all, he must behave in ways that will insure his holding his place in the great system of biological competition. Owing to the fact that there is a limited amount of habitable space on the planet and that resources available for man's use in many places are scarce, whereas all species of living things are provided with unlimited powers of reproduction, there is a constant struggle for survival. Moreover, man must manage somehow to escape the clutches of his natural animal enemies; he must evade or destroy insects which would destroy his food supply or that of his animals; he must keep back a thousand types of vegetation which would infest his fields and overgrow his dwellings. Here is another type of environment to which man responds in order to survive. He may adjust to it, or he may adapt it to his needs; usually man has done both. How numerous the human activities caused by man's struggle with this aspect of the environment! The farming, lumbering, herding, hunting, fishing, and gathering activities of humanity come to mind.

It is worth noting that certain aspects of the natural environment may not constitute adequate stimuli for the human organism. With respect to the biological environment a case in point involves the microorganisms which in fact form a part of it. Pathogenic, disease-producing microorganisms produce illness, which is a form of punishment; sometimes the worst form of punishment, death, is the result. With the aid of the microscope we now know that these punishments fall upon behavior which brings us into contact with certain microorganisms and responses which permit them to live in us or in contact with us. With the aid of the microscope these minute creatures become enemies to be avoided or to be killed, and adaptive cultural habits may be learned. Microscopy has also enabled us to learn the situations in which these enemies live or attack us so that gross, visible aspects of stimulus situations may evoke appropriate responses. Thus a piece of cultural equipment has created, as it were, a new set of environmental stimuli. Before this invention occurred, and in societies where its use has not yet been learned, trial and error ran wild, and disease-avoiding habits were often formed either to symbolic stimuli (such

¹⁴ For references on ecology see Quinn, James A., "Topical Summary of Current Literature on Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46, No. 2, September, 1940.

as spirits) or to extraneous stimuli ("Avoid swamp air if you don't want malaria"). Much of magic was so derived. Sometimes such customs by chance actually avoid or cure the pain of disease; more frequently they lower the secondary drive of anxiety and thus are reinforced.

Sociocultural environment. Human customs vary greatly in detail. We must say, therefore, that while culture is characteristic of the human species, cultures, or the particular patterns of adjustment, are many and varied.

Through culture man creates new or artificial environments. A culture is thus, from one point of view, a set of communal responses adjusted to the characteristics of nature and of the species as they are given; from another point of view culture is a form of group activity which changes these given characteristics, makes them over into new forms. A series of artificial environments is thus created.

Social life creates a series of situations, an environment, which requires adjustment on the part of the individual and the species. If one lives in a social group, one must adjust his individual behavior with some regard to the behavior of the other members.

No human societies are homogeneous in all respects. There are variations in age, sex, blood relationships, place of residence, personality, physique, and temperament among the individuals who make up the group. Out of these differences arise differences in interests and the possibility of a clash of interests. These differences lead to conflicts which in time are capable of destroying the individual, the group, and the species, unless a minimum of mutual adaptation characterizes the behavior of the individuals involved. Here again culture plays a dominant part. Since social life is apparently necessary for human life, every social group has evolved a set of rules, customs, or forms of behavior tending to preserve the necessary modicum of harmony within the group. The individual is trained to behave in certain ways toward his fellows. The type of behavior varies with the categories to be found in a society. The society is usually classified along one or more of the lines of difference indicated above, and certain customary forms of activity obtain for the social relationships between such groups within the society. Thus in our own society, the aged are treated with deference and respect; familiarity of a certain sort is expected between relatives, but frowned upon between nonrelatives; friends are permitted liberties forbidden to strangers. Further, customs and conventionalities are evolved, not only for social relations within the society but also for relations with foreign societies. The social environment is thus modified and reconstructed by the culture.

Any society creates a cultural environment of its own. Particularly noticeable is this in the realm of the tangible products of this group's way of controlling nature. In the matter of dwellings, for example, a people may create an artificial climate at certain or all periods of the year; artificial climates vary from the smokeladen overheated interiors of Chukchi winter houses to the steamy warmth of modern greenhouses or the scientifically humidified chill of a movie palace. A society may create an artificial flora and fauna composed of domesticated plants and animals. A group may also greatly modify the already existing flora and fauna by the clearing of forests and the hunting or dispersion of wild animals. Some societies create through culture artificial topographies—swamps are drained; streams are diverted; lakes are filled up; bridges are built; hills and mountains are leveled; artificial eminences are constructed; and canals are dug. Man also devises numerous appliances and constructions whereby the effects of geographical environment are evaded or modified. Witness appliances for communication and transportation. Buildings and heating devices alter the effects of climate. Weapons, tools, sanitary measures, and medicines give the groups having them a distinct advantage in competing with groups which do not possess them. All of these artificial conditions, created by man as a part of his total culture, constitute in combination with customs and traditions a set of factors which we term the *sociocultural environment*, and to which the behavior of the individual and of the group must be adjusted. *Culture thus constitutes not only responses, but also together with cultural products, it creates stimuli for responses.*

One additional aspect of the cultural environment plays a considerable part in human adjustment. This is the *supernatural environment*. We might describe this as a separate type of environment except for the fact that the characteristics of the supernatural vary from group to group and that its stimuli are exclusively symbolic. The ideas, concepts, and feelings which a group of human beings possesses regarding the supernatural are obviously cultural. They are taught and acquired through learning. And there is usually general agreement among the bearers of a given culture regarding the supernatural, and a certain amount of disagreement with the bearers of other cultures. Sociology is unable to describe the *true* character of the supernatural or even to say scientifically whether there is such a thing. But there is no doubt that large segments of human behavior in all societies are affected by beliefs in its existence and in its operation in human affairs. So far as human beings believe and act as if there were a supernatural, the effects on social behavior are just the same as if it were demonstrable. In every human society there are beliefs concerning an unseen or partially

seen world. The control, propitiation, evasion, and adoration of these supposed supernatural powers comprise a vast and varied field of traditions, customs, and ceremonies included under the general heading of *religion*. To most persons and to most societies it is just as necessary to live in harmony with the supernatural as with any other of the environmental forces and conditions. In Chapter 21 religion as an institution will be discussed.

Summary

To summarize, we have seen that man's behavior rests upon the mechanisms of his nervous system, a type of nervous structure which he shares with many other animals. The ultimate goal of all protoplasmic behavior is adjustment to environment. The mechanics of human behavior are not unique, but there are far-reaching distinctions in range and results. This higher quality of human behavior may be viewed from the point of view of survival value for the species. It is directly correlated with certain evolutionary conditions affecting mammals, and specifically in man with the relative paucity of hereditary reflex patterns, the increased size and complexity of the brain, and the organization of the human nervous system for learning ability. Owing to the characteristics of his nervous system, man lives by reactions which are learned. Owing to the relative weakness of his body, he lives in groups in order to survive. As a result of this combination of circumstances human responses are for the most part group responses which are invented and learned by individuals within a group and passed down by verbal communication, or one of its substitutes, to succeeding generations within the group. These social customs, including what Sumner called *folkways* and *mores*, are collectively known as *culture*, while the patterns common to any specific group are called a *culture*. The human species is unique in the range of its culture and in the variability of its cultural behavior. By these learned responses members of societies adjust their behavior to the natural and the cultural environments in which they find themselves, and through culture they create new environments or modify old ones. We shall consider this matter of culture more closely in later chapters. Here we have been concerned only with pointing out that it is one of the factors determining human behavior.

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96 *The fundamentals of learned behavior*

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Exercises

1. Of what sociological importance is the nervous system of man?
2. What are the differences in function between the autonomic and central parts of the nervous system?
3. What are the principal factors in learning: (a) from the neurological point of view, (b) from the behavior point of view?
4. Why is reward so crucial to learning theory? Are there social rewards in this sense?
5. Give an example of a stimulus situation with which you are familiar.
6. How many different kinds of stimuli are impinging upon your organism in the classroom? Analyze your responses to them. What are the dominant stimuli?
7. From the evolutionary point of view what is the advantage of learned behavior in man?
8. What are the various phases of the natural environment to which the human being must adjust?
9. In what sense is the "supernatural environment" a part of the cultural environment?
10. Explain why customs are habits.

chapter 5 The significance of population

The sociologist is interested in population because there seems to be a reciprocal relation between its size and composition in any given society and the current social order and cultural configuration. Among undomesticated animals population size is almost entirely a result of the interplay of biological factors with the natural environment. High reproductive capacity, struggle for existence, and high death rate seem to be the rule of nature. The fittest in the struggle survive, and the species soon reaches a point where its population becomes stable for that particular environment—deaths equal births. In a human society, however, the culture interposes to influence both the birth rate and the death rate; it also remakes the natural environment to a significant degree. Sentiments and ideals may preserve the lives of the biologically unfit, while inventions and techniques may increase the availability and usefulness of natural resources. Also, while culture and social order may affect the size and quality of the population, the size and quality of population may have, in turn, an effect upon them. A small population, for example, *ipso facto* tends to reduce the number of possible social contacts and decreases the number and variety of specializations and of groups within a society. The proportions of the sexes, of the ages, and of the infirm may also affect the degree of cultural advancement and the particular forms of behavior which may become prominent in the culture.

Our knowledge of population from the statistical point of view is comparatively recent. With the exception of Sweden, the United States possesses the longest unbroken series of census records in the world, in the form of the decennial censuses which have been taken since 1790. Accurate and detailed counting of the population and the recording of births and deaths did not get under way in most other modern nations until the middle of the nineteenth century or later. Even today perfection has not been achieved anywhere, and for large portions of the globe outside Europe and North America practically all population data are mostly guess work. Conse-

quently, our information concerning populations of primitive societies, of the nations of antiquity, and of contemporary isolated and backward peoples is scanty and unreliable.¹

Sociological interest in population centers about matters of size and quality, and the factors and conditions which bear upon these matters.

General considerations respecting size

The concept of optimum population. In a human society the size of the population must always be considered with respect to the total social and cultural situation. In the modern world, however, we hear a great deal about such things as "population pressure" on the one hand and "race suicide" on the other. Political policies are framed with respect to these slogans; wars and international conflicts of an economic sort are said to result from population problems; and by them immigration laws and land development schemes are frequently said to be motivated. Is there any scientific way of stating when a population is "too big" or "too small"?

A phrase which has been widely used with respect to matters of size is "optimum population," a concept that seems to be useful provided one takes due account of the relativity of the criteria. As a general proposition, *an optimum population of a given society is one of such size and composition that it interposes no hindrances to the fullest possible utilization of the natural resources and permits the greatest possible development of personal and social relations in terms of the techniques, ideals, values, and general cultural system of its particular society.* Such a definition of optimum population is of course very general. In effect it makes optimum population depend upon two variables, namely, the natural resources and the culture, including techniques and orientation. Since these variables are by no means constant for all human societies, it is obvious that no absolute figure can be given or expected for optimum population. Thus the optimum for a society situated in a desert, either arctic (Central Eskimo) or middle latitude (Tuareg of the Sahara), might be very different from that of a society situated, say, in central New York State. Likewise, the optimum of a hunting and fishing society might be quite different from that of a society with well-developed agricultural and manufacturing techniques. And the optimum for a society whose emphasis is upon war is likely to differ from that whose emphasis is upon peaceful, mechanized economic pursuits. Thus

¹ Krzywicki, Ludwik, has endeavored to compile the extant data concerning pre-literate peoples in his *Primitive Society and Its Vital Statistics*, The Macmillan Co., London, 1935.

"optimum population" has little meaning except in terms of the total situation, environmental and cultural, of a given society. Various attempts have been made to isolate single criteria of optimum population, which could be used as indices for comparative purposes. Among suggested criteria of this sort are "income," "health," "desires."² Penrose has set forth the concept of the "welfare optimum," which he defines as follows: "Per capita welfare optimum population for any area is that population in which per capita income stands at a maximum when it is spent in the consumption of the composite commodity that, in the light of scientific knowledge, makes a greater contribution to welfare than, in the existing state of the arts, can be made by any alternative composite commodity";³ and ". . . the criterion of what constitutes desirable consumption of goods and services is to be found in the use of the consensus . . . among those who have specific qualifications for judging the effect on welfare of the consumption of this or that commodity in this or that quantity."⁴ In other words, this view passes the problem to the scientists, who will have to determine what size of population is "desirable" for the "welfare" of a specific society, taking into consideration all factors in the specific situation. If one takes such a position, it naturally follows that sociologists and cultural anthropologists, whose field is social and cultural analysis, have a legitimate interest in the problems of population size.

The first demand of a population is naturally for sufficient food to keep it alive, and sustenance must be drawn from the natural environment by utilizing the cultural techniques available. A "standard of living" and the pursuit of certain cultural emphases and interests are also demanded by all societies, demands which are composed not only of eating patterns but of patterns of many other types of social activity.

Land and natural resources. Taking the world as a whole, it is obvious that its human population is limited by the amount of sustenance which can be extracted from the land of the earth. Certain societies, however, may actually support a population larger than can subsist upon the food resources of the land which they occupy. In these cases, for example, Belgium, the population exports finished raw materials in exchange for food

² Compare Robbins, Lionel, "The Optimum Theory of Population," *London Essays in Economics*, Gregory, T. E., and Dalton, H., editors, Routledge, London, 1927; Mukerjee, R., "The Criterion of Optimum Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 38, 1933, pp. 688-698; Dalton, H., "The Optimum Theory of Population," *Economica*, Vol. 8, 1928; Penrose, *Population Theories and Their Application*, Chs. 1-3; Bowen, Howard, "Capital in Relation to Optimum Population," *Social Forces*, Vol. 15, 1937, pp. 346-350.

³ Penrose, E. F., *Population Theories and Their Application*, Food Research, Stanford University, 1934, p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

which is produced elsewhere. It is conceivable that cultural techniques may be evolved sometime for extracting sustenance from the air, in which the food-producing function of the land in relation to population will be eliminated and the size of the population will be determined by the amount of available air and the standing-room capacity of the land occupied by human beings in their ordinary social activities. But for the present, we must recognize that the amount of land available is in the long run limited and that the population is also thereby limited. Land is the source of raw materials used for all cultural equipment. Some of these materials may be on the surface, others under the surface to be extracted by mining operations, and still others in waters. In modern ("Western") culture, supplies of basic raw materials such as iron, oil, coal, and non-ferrous metals are vital to the proper functioning of the society. Without tools and machinery made and operated from these materials, the food-producing techniques function badly, and the size of the population is thereby reduced. Note in this connection that the food resources of land are not necessarily exhaustible. With proper fertilization, erosion control, rotation of crops, etc., the ability of the land to produce vegetables, lumber, textile plants, and animal products can be maintained almost indefinitely; yet these techniques are cultural and are unknown in some societies. The mineral resources obtained from mining, on the other hand, are not renewable; at least, no culture has so far perfected a technique for making them so. Once they are consumed, the only alternatives are either to do without or to develop substitutes.

Techniques. Mere size and quality of land, however, are not the only factors governing the size of the population. The number of people that can live on a given portion of land of a certain quality is partially determined by the technical development of their culture. Thus North America at the time of the discovery was probably not supporting more than 2,000,000 people through the hoe-agriculture and hunting-gathering-fishing techniques of the Indian inhabitants. Now the same area supports at least 155,000,000 through the application of more efficient tools and methods of exploitation.

Cultural standards. The amount of land and the cultural techniques of a particular society determine the amounts of material supplies which are made available to the population. Generally speaking, with these material supplies a society can do two things: (1) support the population and (2) maintain the standard of living as defined in that particular culture. These two uses of material supplies correspond to the two primary objectives of a society: (a) maintenance of its continuity and (b) maintenance of what

it conceives to be its "welfare,"⁵ in terms of its cultural interest. A society may emphasize one or other of these objectives. With a certain aggregate of goods produced from its land it may take one of three alternatives: (1) It may use them to support a large population close to starvation; (2) it may use them to support a smaller population according to standards more expensive in terms of material goods; or (3) it may follow a compromise course between the first two alternatives.

Reciprocal relations. It should not be assumed, however, that land and techniques are independent factors. While they have a direct effect upon the population, the size of the population in turn affects them. A large number of people will ordinarily produce a larger output from a given combination of land and technique than a small population. Under certain conditions a larger income permits a larger population, and a larger population in turn produces a larger income. The same relationship between income and cultural standards is also apparent: Workers on a "high" standard may be more efficient than those living close to starvation, and therefore capable of producing more goods. 929-46

Law of diminishing returns. That the relations between land and natural resources, techniques and cultural standards are not the whole story of population problems is due in part to the operation of the well-known law of diminishing returns. If any factor in production, no matter how defined, remains constant, increase in the other factors sooner or later results in reaching a point of diminishing returns. Thus an increase in the land area and natural resources of a society with simple technological development beyond a certain point becomes uneconomical; for example, the attempt to exploit the game resources of an area 1,000 miles in radius from a single center by hunting on foot with bow and arrow would, if it were ever attempted, probably show few advantages for the population. So also technical procedures and man power reach a point of diminishing returns. A farmer, for example, finds that he can double the output of his farm by the addition of a hired man. He may perhaps triple it by the addition of two hired men. But beyond a certain point the addition of more hired men results in a diminishing rate of efficiency, until perhaps he discovers that he can no longer increase the output sufficiently to hire more men. In modern economy the same law of diminishing returns applies to additional capital in the form of technical devices as well as to labor. The introduction of tractor and cultivator on a 160-acre farm may pay for itself within a year or two. Each additional piece of machinery will increase

⁵ Fairchild, H. P., *General Sociology*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1934, p. 322, also Chs. 16, 17, 20, 21.

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production sufficiently to pay for itself up to a certain point, but after that it becomes uneconomical. For example, the buying of a complete threshing outfit or a complete grain-grinding mill is usually uneconomical on a small farm. In the same way the law of diminishing returns works inexorably in the field of population. There always comes a time when additional population is unable to keep up the per capita rate of production and a fall in the population or in the cultural standards, or the development of additional land and natural resources are the only alternatives. Improvement of economic techniques and organization may provide another immediate alternative, but ultimately the law of diminishing returns will apply to any conceivable improvement in economic culture.

The principles we have been discussing should be borne in mind when considering the size of any population. They are involved also in questions of growth and decline of populations. Immediate questions of growth and decline are, however, concerned with the relation between the birth rate and the death rate, and we must focus attention upon certain specific factors affecting them.

General principles of growth and decline in respect to birth and death rates

For convenience modern students of population measure population increase or decrease in a number of ways. First are *crude birth rates* and *crude death rates* which state, respectively, the actual number of births and deaths per thousand of the general population occurring during a given year. These are called "crude" rates because they take no account of the age and sex distribution of the population, or other factors such as race or economic status. The excess of the crude birth rate over the crude death rate is called the *rate of natural increase*. For example, the crude birth rate of the United States for 1943 was 21.5 (compared with 17.3 for 1939), signifying that in an average group of 1,000 people during 1943 21.5 live births occurred. During the same year the crude death rate was 10.6 (the same as for 1939). Thus, in 1943, the crude rate of natural increase was 10.9, as compared with 6.9 for 1939. These rates may also be stated as percentages: for 1943 the crude rate of natural increase was a little over 1.5 per cent per year, whereas in 1939 it was just under 0.7 per cent per year.

The *crude rate of total increase* is obtained by figuring in the yearly net gain or loss to the population by migration.

Net reproduction rate. The rate of natural increase and the crude

birth and death rates give us a summary of the current situation (leaving migration out of account), but do not in themselves provide a basis for prediction of possible trends. A refinement is therefore usually used in the form of the net reproduction rate which is figured on the basis of the replacement within a generation; it is calculated on the fertility of women between the ages of 15 and 49 and the number of women of those ages for any given year. The figures show the number of children born per generation per every 1,000 women born during the preceding generation. A rate of 1,000 (or 1.000) indicates that the population is just reproducing itself; a rate of 975 (or 0.975) would indicate that the population was failing to reproduce itself by 25 per 1,000 (or 0.4 per cent). Thus a high rate of natural increase during a given year or short period of years may be due to a large number of young persons of childbearing age having come to maturity during that period; but the following age classes who will move into the childbearing period may decline in numbers in succeeding years, so that the net reproduction rate will actually show a deficit. The net reproduction rate for the United States for the period 1935-40 was 978, compared with 984 for 1930-35, and 1,336 for 1905-10. The rate for whites in the period 1935-40 was 957, compared with the nonwhite rate during the same period of 1,137. Thus during this period the whites were running a deficit, but the nonwhites were more than reproducing themselves. If we examine the net reproduction rates for different type of communities we see that the rural areas are our principal source of population maintenance. In the period 1935-40 for all races and the country as a whole, the rural farm areas had a net reproduction rate of 1,661, the rural non-farm communities (small towns under 2,500 population) 1,150; whereas the urban rate was only 726. The most prolific type of community was the Southern farm community, with a rate almost 70 per cent above mere reproduction (1,696), while Southern farm nonwhites (mostly rural Negroes) were more than doubling their population, with a rate of 2,076.⁶

Birth rates. 1. The *reproductive capacity of the species*, of course, underlies all human birth rates. In contrast to the female oyster which is said to yield an average of sixteen million eggs per year, the human female is normally able to produce at the maximum only one full-term child every ten months during her reproductive period. If we make a conservative calculation based upon an average reproductive life of twenty-five years for the human female, we would say that, disregarding twinning and other multiple births, the reproductive capacity of the average woman is thirty children during her lifetime. Actually our information concerning the limits of

⁶ *World Almanac, 1946*, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1946, p. 486.

human reproductive capacity is very incomplete owing to the fact that in no society do women customarily bear up to or anywhere near up to their physiological capacity in the primary biological sense. Cases of women with thirty and even more children are known, of course, but are so rare that we cannot use them as a basis for computing the average physiological capacity.

2. Disease and physiological malfunction of any kind which interferes with the proper functioning of the reproductive mechanism of either sex may, and does, serve to cut the actual birth rate below the maximum possible number. Included under this head are also sterility and impotency induced by poisons, such as use of drugs, venereal disease, etc. The effects which all conditions of this type may have upon a birth rate depend upon their incidence in the population of childbearing age.

3. The age composition of the population is in a reciprocal relation with the birth rate. Thus a population with a large proportion of persons of childbearing age will in a given year be capable of a higher birth rate than one containing proportionately fewer such individuals. The sex composition also has its bearing, e.g., a population with few women must expect a lower birth rate.

4. Folkways or mores may have an effect upon the birth rate. Customs of this sort vary so widely in different societies that we cannot attempt to describe them all. But such usages may be classified as follows: Those having (*a*) a direct, positive effect on the birth rate, (*b*) an indirect, positive effect, (*c*) a direct, negative effect and (*d*) an indirect, negative effect. The group habits which have direct effect upon the birth rate are those which are primarily concerned with the production of children. Indirect customs are those primarily directed toward other objectives but which incidentally influence the birth rate. Thus, *direct, positive patterns* may include cultural attitudes which conceive numerous children as good for their own sakes, usages which permit premarital intercourse, prevalent views which make free sexual intercourse between married partners a marital obligation, and folkways encouraging husbands to be home rather regularly. *Indirect, positive patterns* are of a wide variety and take such forms as attitudes defining children as of importance religiously, definitions of social prestige for which children are necessary, ideals which emphasize love-making and intercourse for their own values, customs of early marriage, political policies which require childbearing as an act of patriotism, etc. *Direct, negative patterns* restrict intercourse and childbearing and may take the form of contraception, attitudes on the part of one or both sexes making intercourse or children appear unattractive, mores tabuing intercourse

between the unmarried, folkways tabuing intercourse during lactation, and folkways permitting induced abortion. *Indirect, negative patterns* cover such phenomena as segregation and celibacy of appreciable numbers of either sex in monasteries, the army, economic pursuits, and the like; late marriages, activities of women, such as dangerous work, which incidentally induces miscarriage and stillbirths; and so on.

The form of marriage has a bearing upon the birth rate. Although the form of marriage may vary for numerous reasons, other things being equal, polygyny is capable of producing the highest birth rate, polyandry the smallest, while monogamy lies midway between as a child-producing institution.

Death rates. Death rates, where they are known, are calculated in the same fashion as birth rates. Let us summarize the factors that affect them, causing either increase or decrease in the death rates.

1. The underlying biological determinant of the death rate is the physiological longevity of the species. Actual longevity of human beings depends upon a host of factors falling within the province of medical science. It is not known precisely what is the average physiological ability of human beings to live, provided their lives are not ended by disease, accident, and other events originating outside the organism, but at present it seems safe to say that it is not more than one hundred years.

2. For practical purposes, length of life depends upon the ability of the organism to evade or withstand lethal influences. Death comes to most individuals in one of three guises or in all of them together: (a) disease as a result of the invasion of the body by microorganisms; (b) accidents, either fatal or producing eventually fatal malfunction of the body, which may occur at conception, during gestation, at birth, or after birth; and (c) deterioration of the tissues and organs due to old age. Naturally the death rate shows a close correlation with the incidence of any or all of these factors in the situation.

3. The composition of the population also has a bearing upon the death rate. Generally speaking, the two ages at which death is most likely to occur are during infancy and in old age. Therefore, a population having a large proportion of young infants and/or a large proportion of old people may expect a higher death rate than a population made up largely of adults in their prime. Also longevity seems to be in part hereditarily determined. The average physiological ability of the species to withstand and evade death is not equally distributed among all hereditary lines. Though disease, accident, and old age are the principal causes of death, individuals who have inherited physically strong constitutions are better able to with-

stand these factors than weak individuals. Hence a population in which the hereditary traits of a predominant portion of the population make for survival may expect a lower death rate than one in which the proportions are reversed.

If the serum developed by Professor Bogomolets of the Kiev Institute of Experimental Biology and Pathology proves itself to be a specific against the deterioration of age, progress may be made in extending the span of life at the other end.⁷

4. Cultural patterns have both direct and indirect bearing upon these matters. As with the birth rate, we may classify patterns in this connection as direct and indirect, positive and negative, from the point of view of their effects upon the death rate. Positive usages are those which tend to raise the death rate, negative customs those which tend to lower it. *Direct, positive patterns* may take the form of infanticide (killing of newborn children), execution, murder, and all other forms of direct homicide which are tolerated by a society or are practiced within it; also patterns of callous indifference to the sick and injured. *Direct, negative patterns* include all patterns effective in preventing disease and accidents, in curing the sick and rescuing the injured, in improving the hereditary strength of the stock, and in preventing homicide, motivated by sympathy or a simple desire to prevent suffering and death; also all patterns that place a high value on human life for its own sake. *Indirect, positive patterns*, tending to raise the death rate indirectly, are those designed to accomplish some other object but which involve human death incidentally, such as war; dangerous economic pursuits; human sacrifice in religion; slaughters and murders incidental to political policies; starvation and improper attention to disease occurring incidentally to the quest for economic profits, religious experience, political policy, and the like; also recreational activities dangerous to life and limb and all other cultural activities incidentally predisposing to disease or accident. *Indirect, negative patterns* are those which tend to prevent deaths, although their primary function is something else. For example, an industry may introduce "safety first" measures, not because it is primarily moved by sympathy for the workers, but because greater efficiency and larger profits are the results of fewer accidents and deaths. Religion may inculcate the idea that life-saving is a means of eternal personal salvation. Political administrations may establish public health services and hospitals as a means of securing popularity and votes, or as a

⁷ Laurance, William L., "Tomorrow You May Be Younger," *Reader's Digest*, February, 1946, p. 1.

means of providing political favors, or for various other ends not directly concerned with cutting down the death rate.

The law of stationary population. Every species tends to multiply up to the supporting power of its habitat, but limited by competition with other species struggling for existence in the same area. We have seen that man artificially modifies the supporting power of his habitat. He may lessen that supporting power by exhaustion of soil, game, and other natural resources, such as using up the lumber in timbered areas or working out the mines, or he may increase it by improved techniques and organization of effort, such as transforming a cutover region into a farming country. But there is an ultimate limit, and eventually the population must become stationary by reason of failure of the habitat to provide support for further additions and failure of the culture to exploit it further. When the point of stationary population is reached, only two, on the average, of the younger generation of each family can be expected to survive to take the places of their parents. With respect to a human society, the important question is, At what point is the population to become stationary? Is a large population and a "low" cultural standard the point of saturation, or should population increase stop at a certain level of living standard, and what shall that be? Has population growth stopped exactly at the point of diminishing returns, i.e., before the highest possible standard of living has been attained, or has it stopped after the point of diminishing returns has been reached?

Theory of Malthus. The earliest manifestations of serious thought directed toward population problems do not belong to the present century, as one might be led to believe in view of our phenomenal advances along other lines during this period. They belong rather to the latter part of the eighteenth century which was fraught with more than one perplexing problem. It was the time that marked the birth of our modern industrial era.

William Godwin, a political economist of the eighteenth century, saw in the industrial progress of that day unlimited opportunities for human advancement. He predicted the dawn of a new and better day for the workingman. In his writings he prophesied universal well-being and human perfectibility, and on this basis he urged programs for population increase. It happened that there lived at that time another person who was not quite so optimistic as was Godwin. This man was T. Robert Malthus. Malthus was extremely skeptical about the whole matter. He countered by saying that no matter how great the food supply may become, human reproductive power would so adjust itself that food would always be scarce in relation to population. He claimed that populations tend to increase

faster than material sustenance can be increased and made available for them. His three main propositions as set forth in his *An Essay on Population* first published in 1798 are:

1. "Population is necessarily limited by means of subsistence."
2. "Population invariably increases where means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks."
3. "These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery."⁸

When a broad interpretation is put on these three propositions no fault can be found with Malthus. But almost every serious student of population problems has criticized Malthus for making the statement that the food supply increases by arithmetical progression while population increases by geometrical progression. The two can be illustrated as follows: The series 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, is an arithmetic ratio or a process of addition, and the series 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, is a geometric ratio, and in this case a process of doubling. One writer has fittingly called this statement the "Unfortunate Corollary," for on this statement is hung most of the criticism directed at "the Malthusian doctrine."

Malthus' gloomy predictions did not come true during the succeeding one hundred and fifty years after the publication of his work, largely through the operation of factors which he did not foresee.⁹ Population, in civilized societies, at least, continued to grow at a much accelerated rate, and in general, standards of living rose higher than ever before. Among the factors contributing to this result, which did not enter into Malthus' calculations, we may mention the following: (1) opening up of large areas of land for European exploitation outside Europe, (2) growth of international trade making available to different peoples resources other than their own, (3) development of agricultural and manufacturing techniques which enormously increased the productivity of the land, (4) growth of the practice of birth control which permitted limiting populations without recourse to the painful checks envisaged by Malthus, (5) development of medical science which reduced the death rate.

Illustrative of one of Malthus' checks on population growth are the results of World War I and World War II.

⁸ Malthus, T. Robert, *An Essay on Population*, 7th ed., Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons, London, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, Ch. 2.

⁹ Gillin, J. L., Dittmer, C. G., Colbert, R. J., and Kastler, Norman M., *Social Problems*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1943; pp. 150, 151.

World combat deaths in World War II.¹⁰ Although it may be years, if ever, before we know accurately the true total of all combat deaths as a result of World War II (not taking into account civilian deaths, decline in the birth rate in certain countries, etc.), it appears that they total between 9,500,000 and 10,000,000. Axis losses are estimated at about 5,200,000, and those of the United Nations at about 4,500,000. Germany apparently lost more men as a result of military operations than any other country, with an estimated total of 3,250,000. Other major Axis participants are estimated to have suffered the following combat losses: Japan, 1,500,000; Italy, 150,000 to 200,000; other Axis satellites, 225,000 (Rumania, 100,000; Hungary, 75,000; Finland, 50,000). On the Allied side, Russia suffered most with an estimated 3,000,000 dead (about two-thirds of the total Allied dead); British Empire, 375,000-400,000; United States, 325,000; French, excluding underground losses, 157,000; Poland (including only battle deaths alongside Allies following national collapse), 125,000; Yugoslav guerilla deaths, 75,000; Greece, 50,000; Belgium, 7,000; Holland, 6,000; Norway, 1,000; China (since Pearl Harbor), 250,000.

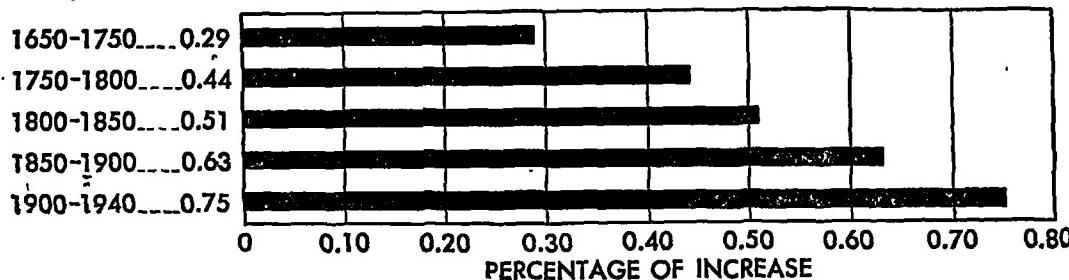
A compilation of estimates by several international agencies puts the combined military and civilian loss of life at 22,060,000, and the wounded at 34,400,000, or a total of 56,460,000 casualties directly caused by World War II.

Non-combat mortality as result of World War II. Although up until mid-1948 no devastating epidemics, such as those which swept the world in the wake of World War I, had occurred, it should be remembered that battle losses, large as they are, probably account for a minority of the fatalities and lost fertility resulting from the War. (1) The loss of potential future births is reflected (a) in the fact that the dead will of course produce no future offspring, and (b) that millions of persons in the most fertile period of life were withdrawn, depending upon their nationality, for a period ranging from three and one-half to over six years, from their normal procreative functions, by reason of being in the armed services; (c) the loss of fertility from broken civilian homes, undernourishment, and other maladjustments of war, particularly in devastated areas, has not even yet been estimated, but is doubtless tremendous. (2) Civilian losses as a result of military or hostile political action have not yet been computed. Britain, mainly as a result of German bombings, suffered 60,685 civilian deaths from military action; the Japanese Ministry of Welfare reported on November 1, 1945, that 260,000 civilian deaths were caused by Allied air

¹⁰ Based on "Military Deaths in World War II," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 6-8, January, 1946.

attacks (including 90,000 killed in the atomic bomb blows at Hiroshima and Nagasaki), but estimates for the overrun areas of Europe, China, and other areas are not yet in.¹¹ It is estimated that 4,200,000 European Jews were exterminated as a result of Hitler's policies,¹² and the probabilities are that several million other civilian persons were deliberately killed or died as a result of torture or concentration camp privations under the Nazis or their minions in Europe. Attack upon enemy civilian populations and extermination of political minorities and conquered civilian populations were among the "refinements" of total war. (3) The loss of life

WORLD POPULATION GROWTH



and of fertility as a result of starvation and privation coming as aftermaths of the War will only be determined, if ever, several years hence. Taking the world as a whole, it seems not improbable that a final count will show at least 50,000,000 fatalities chargeable directly to World War II, not to mention the loss of actual and potential births. It is true that, if this estimate should prove correct, it amounts to only two and one-half per cent of the estimated world population of two billion, and, from a cynical point of view, may be regarded as one of the "Malthusian checks." The scientific student of society and culture, however, cannot escape the conclusion that such a "check" is perhaps the most expensive economically that man could devise, as well as the most painful in terms of human values. Also, considered only from the point of view of population balance, the checks of wars are totally unnecessary, since population balance may be achieved by modern means without either the suffering or the sociocultural dislocations of warlike conflict. In summary, although it is argued by some apologists for war that it serves the purpose of balancing population, no intelligent person would look upon modern warlike conflict from any point of view as a favorable means to this end.

¹¹ *World Almanac*, 1946, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1946, p. 44.

¹² *Time*, May 6, 1946, p. 30.

World population trends

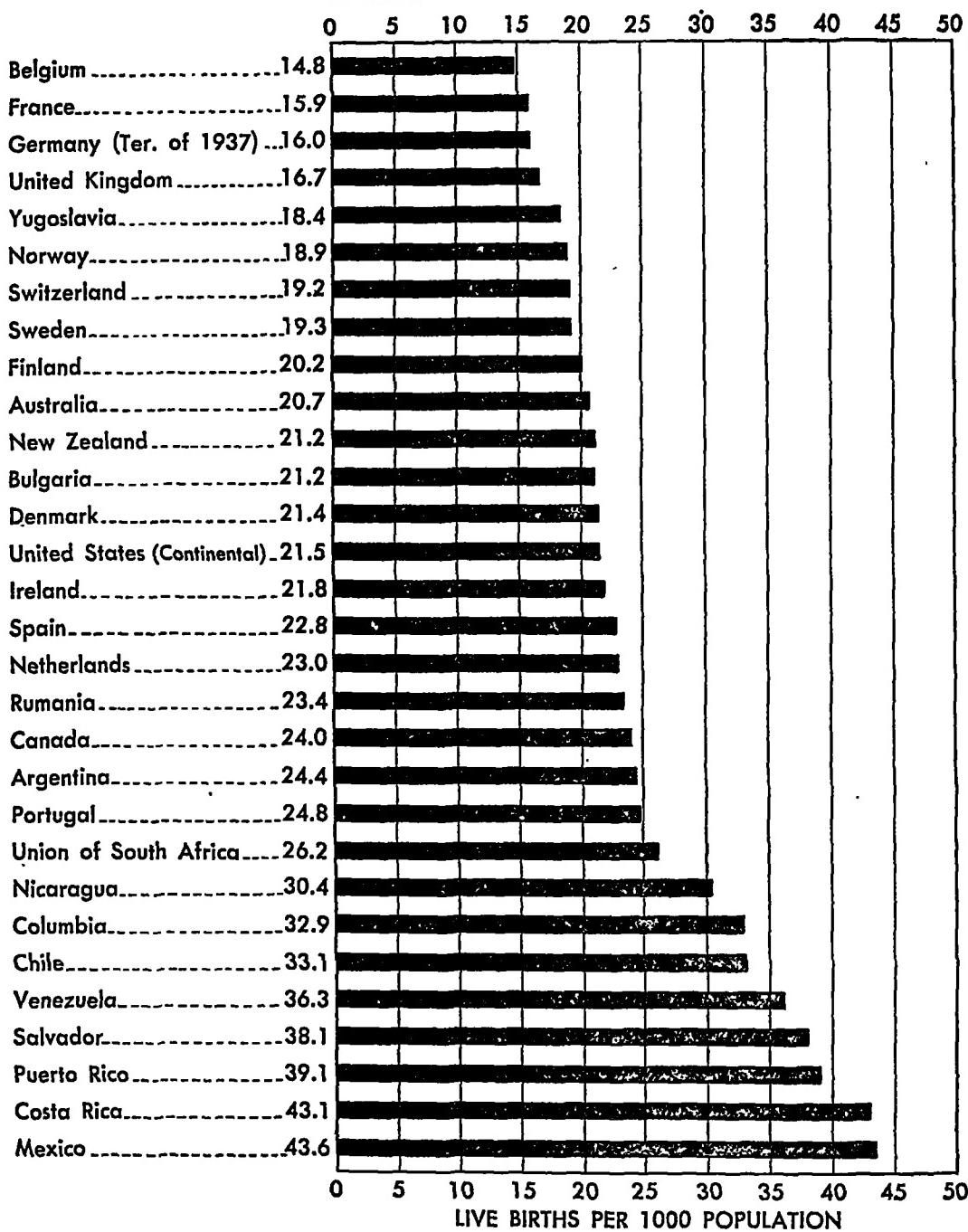
Even at present our knowledge of world population is incomplete, and the trends during earlier periods are based on estimates. One of the most thorough estimates states that the population of the world increased from 465,000,000 in 1650 to 1,551,000,000 in 1900,¹³ and other estimates would place the present world population close to 2,000,000,000. Generally speaking, it seems that by the middle of the seventeenth century the population of the world had reached a relatively stable point or one from which only very slow increases were made. About that time, however, a series of social and cultural changes occurred, making for rapid population growth which has continued until recently. Practically nothing is known of the trend in Europe previous to the middle of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century an increase of about 25 per cent occurred in France, about 50 per cent in England and Wales, and about 60 per cent in Sweden.¹⁴ From 1770 to 1800 the combined population of England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Spain, and Italy rose about one-seventh. The annual increase for all of Europe during this period is estimated at an average of about 6.6 per 1000, resulting in an estimated total population of 185,750,000 in 1800. European population continued to increase at an accelerated rate following this date until World War I. The average yearly increase from 1800 to 1900 was about 7.5 per 1000, and Europe had a total population of 462,828,000 on the eve of that war. Between 1914 and 1919 the European population declined by about 12,000,000, but for the decade between 1920 and 1930 a reversal of trend occurred with an annual rate of increase of about 10 per 1000. The population of Europe in 1939 was about 542,000,000.

Taking the world as a whole, rates of growth have increased steadily since 1650. It is estimated¹⁵ that from 1650 to 1750 the rate of increase was 0.29 per cent per year; from 1759 to 1800, 0.44 per cent per year; from 1800 to 1850, 0.51 per cent; from 1850 to 1900, 0.63 per cent; and from 1900 to 1940, 0.75 per cent. The latter rate would double the population every 92 years, and at this rate the world population would be 21,000,000,000 by 2240. These gains in natural increase are a reflection of falling death

¹³ Kuczynski, R. R., "Population: History and Statistics," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1934, Vol. 12, pp. 240-248.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁵ Davis, Kingsley, "The World Demographic Transition," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 237, pp. 1-11, 1945; Carr-Saunders, A.M., *World Population*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1936, p. 42.

WORLD BIRTH RATES

SOURCE: *Population Index*, July, 1946, pp. 237, 238. The data for 1943 are taken as the latest since those for 1944 are provisional. The figures are for live births per 1,000 of population.

rates, which up to the present have fallen faster in certain parts of the world than the birth rates. However, it appears that wherever Western civilization penetrates, a new balance between births and deaths is being

established which will tend to produce a condition of stability in the population of the world as a whole, perhaps within the next hundred years. The control of both births and deaths which characterizes the more "advanced" Western societies actually represents a cultural innovation of first-rank importance in terms of human efficiency alone, in the sense that a large proportion of the human wastage in useless pregnancies, infant deaths, and early adult mortality has been eliminated.

The white population of the earth increased between 1800 and 1900 at about 1 per cent per year from 200,000,000 to nearly 700,000,000. In western and northern Europe and in North America, the only areas for which we have accurate data covering an extensive period, increase was accomplished in the face of a generally falling birth rate. Thus the birth rate for western and northern Europe was 31.9 for the period 1841 to 1845, 32.8 for 1876 to 1880 (at which point the steady decline set in), 28.4 for the period 1901 to 1905, and 18.3 for 1928.¹⁶

Population trends in the United States

Throughout most of its history the United States has been a relatively unsettled and undeveloped region. Its whole economy has been built on an abundance of resources and a scarcity of labor. The result has been, until recently, a growth of population both by natural increase and by immigration unparalleled in history. Between 1790 and 1850 the population of the United States increased by almost 150 per cent. During the next thirty years (1850-80) the rate of increase fell to about 116 per cent, and in the next thirty years (1880-1910) to 80 per cent. In the thirty years from 1910 to 1940 the rate was almost halved, 43 per cent, and during the last decade of that thirty-year period the rate of increase was only a little more than one-fifth of that of the thirty years. Thus, while the rate of increase for the whole period from 1790 has been remarkable, it is clear that the rate has been steadily decreasing since 1850.¹⁷ A part of this increase has been due to immigration; the rest was due to a decrease in the death rate, to be discussed later. The recent decrease was probably due to the diminution of immigration after a certain date, but probably more to a diminishing birth rate. Let us consider first the part played by immigration.

Immigration. Although the number of immigrants arriving in this

¹⁶ "Births," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, Vol. 2, pp. 568-572.

¹⁷ Thompson, Warren S., *Plenty of People*, The Jaques Cattell Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1944, p. 6.

country steadily increased, it was the period between 1840 and 1855 that gave the United States its first real waves of immigration. During this period religious reform movements in England, revolutions in Germany, severe famines in Ireland, and bad economic conditions in Europe generally gave thousands of people the impetus to seek refuge within the protecting walls of our country. It was largely as a result of these last waves of immigration that the Know-Nothing Party sprang up in the 1850's to develop the first agitation against foreigners. They inaugurated the first cry of "America for Americans." They got their name as a result of their secret operations and from the fact that whenever one of their number was asked about the organization, his answer was usually, "I know nothing." Their type of agitation, which was designed to frighten the newly arrived immigrants and make life miserable for them, got no results in the form of laws designed to restrict immigration. Their chief claim was that the Germans, Scotch, Irish, Scandinavians, etc., were flocking to this country solely for economic gain; that they did not have the lofty ideals that characterized the early settlers of this country and therefore were not desirable.

The first general immigration law was passed in 1882. This law was selective and aimed to exclude the worst elements—convicts, lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become public charges. In the same year Chinese laborers were denied entrance into the United States.

The source of immigration to the United States between 1890 and 1910 had taken on a decided change. Whereas previous to 1880 about 94 per cent of our immigrants were from north European countries, by 1910 the percentage had dwindled to 21.4 per cent. The peoples who were making up the bulk of our immigrants now were of Latin, Slav, and Semitic extraction. This constitutes what we call our "new immigration." The problems arising out of this new situation will be treated later on in the chapter.

The rapidity with which these millions poured into America was a cause for alarm, because they came so fast and were of such a character that they could not be assimilated into our economic and political system. After World War I, with millions clamoring for entrance and our own employment situation becoming serious, steps were taken by Congress to curtail the great influx of foreigners. In 1921 a law was passed to limit the number of able-bodied and able-minded, this being the first general law of its kind. It provided that the number of immigrants allowed to enter from any country would be equal to 3 per cent of the number of that nationality that were present in this country in 1910 as determined by the census figures. This law was admittedly an emergency measure to tide us over the period of unemployment and business depression then existing in this country. The

Table showing the change in the source of immigration to the United States

<i>Year ending June 30</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Northern Europe*</i>	<i>Southeastern Europe</i>	<i>Other Countries</i>
1820-1830	124,640	86.5	3.4	10.1
1831-1840	528,721	92.3	1.2	6.5
1841-1850	1,604,805	95.9	.4	3.4
1851-1860	2,648,912	94.6	.9	4.4
1861-1870	2,368,878	89.2	1.6	9.2
1871-1880	2,812,191	73.6	7.2	19.2
1881-1890	5,246,613	72.0	18.3	9.7
1891-1900	3,687,564	44.8	52.8	2.5
1901-1910	8,795,326	21.4	71.9	6.3

* Countries of northern Europe: Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland.

law was to last for two years. It was then extended to three years, and finally, when it was seen that our serious unemployment condition was not a temporary matter, the law was made permanent in 1924, with certain revisions. In 1924 the law was changed, and the number of immigrants admitted was fixed at 2 per cent of the number of nationals in this country determined by the census of 1890. Since the bulk of immigration from southern and eastern Europe to this country occurred after 1890, the design of this new feature is quite obvious. This law was both selective and restrictive and provided for careful inspection of immigrants before they were allowed to embark for the United States. It prohibited a large number of able-bodied and able-minded immigrants from entering the country. It was selective in the sense that it permitted more to enter from cultures similar to our own.

Although the law of 1924 worked quite satisfactorily as far as could be judged, new agitations on the part of eugenists and others resulted in the enactment of a new law in 1928 to take effect in 1929 called the *National Origins Law*. It changed the basis of selection from the number of foreigners in the United States from each country according to the census of 1890, to the number of inhabitants residing in the United States who themselves had been born or who had ancestors born in that particular country. The law also limited the total annual immigration to 150,000 aliens.¹⁸ Thus if 10 per cent of the population of the United States is of German birth

¹⁸ With increase of population the total now amounts to 153,879.

or of German descent, then 10 per cent of 150,000 or 15,000 might be admitted from Germany annually. If practically applied, the law would increase the quota from northern Ireland and Great Britain and reduce the quota from southern Ireland. It would cut down the number from Scandinavia and increase the number from Italy.

During the first part of the 1930's more aliens emigrated from America than immigrated to it. In the six years, 1931 to 1936 inclusive, the net loss of aliens, excluding those deported by the government, was 341,079. This was not due to increase in absolute number of emigrants, which in fact declined during this period, but to a very large decrease in immigration. In the latter part of the decade, however, refugee immigration from Europe produced a small net balance in favor of immigration. In the year ended June 30, 1940, 70,756 aliens were admitted to the country and 21,461 departed, leaving a net increase of 49,295. However, for the intercensal decade, 1930 to 1940, as a whole emigrants exceeded immigrants by 46,518. During the War this trend was reversed, mainly by a considerable influx of refugees. For the five fiscal years, 1940-45 inclusive, 241,708 immigrant aliens were admitted, while only 64,157 emigrated, leaving a net increase for the five years of 177,551. If conditions abroad should stabilize, it is thought that many of the refugee immigrants still remaining in the United States would return to their native countries.¹⁹

During World War II both immigration and emigration decreased.

The curious variation at first sight between the behavior of Europeans and the members of our near neighbors is probably due to the difference in conditions in the respective areas. The large numbers of immigrants from Canada relative to the number of emigrants to Canada was probably due in part to higher wages in the war-production industries in the United States. Mexico's increasing number who remained here in 1944 and 1945 was probably due in part to the greater protection given them here in these years contrasted with the abuse they suffered during 1942 and 1943. (Mexico threatened to call all her citizens home if mob violence against them in the Southwest were not checked.) The West Indians were brought in to meet the need of agricultural laborers in certain sections of the country.

Unrestricted immigration is in a sense selective. The upper classes usually do not emigrate from a country unless they are driven to it by religious

¹⁹ Figures from Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, *16th Census Press Releases*, Series P-3, No. 12, May 21, 1941; *World Almanac*, 1937, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1937, p. 260; *World Almanac*, 1941, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1941, p. 525; figures for 1940-45 from *World Almanac*, 1946, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1946, p. 668.

The following table shows the situation from 1942 to 1945.^{10a}

Alien immigrants and emigrants (United States) during World War II*

Countries	1942	1943	1944	1945
All Countries	28,781 7,363	23,725 5,107	28,551 5,669	38,119 7,442
Europe	11,153 1,091	4,920 7,719	4,509 2,666	5,943 3,997
Canada	10,450 595	9,571 439	9,821 451	11,079 567
Mexico	2,378 2,889	4,172 2,498	6,598 1,732	6,702 1,170
West Indies	1,599 770	2,312 35	3,198 58	5,452 123

* Roman type = Immigrants
Italics = Emigrants

or political persecution. On the other hand, members of the extremely poor classes usually do not emigrate, because they lack funds for transportation or because of their own inertia. The greater proportion of people we received here as immigrants, then, were not representative of their stocks as a whole.

We have seen the development of America's changing immigration policy. Consider now the specific problems created by peoples of such varied cultural backgrounds, living side by side.

Problems created by immigration to the United States. The main problems which had to be faced through all the years that America acted as a haven of refuge to the hungry and the persecuted divided themselves as follows: (1) those connected with competition between immigrants and natives in the labor market with accompanying lowering of wages, (2) those concerning the quality or type of immigrant, (3) those growing out of the difficulties of assimilating peoples with divergent cultural backgrounds.

A large share of the people of the "new immigration" who made their way to this country after 1880 did so in the hope of improving their economic lot. They had little capital with which to open up a business, or to go into agriculture. The frontier, which had absorbed so many of the

^{10a} Figures from Bureau of Census, *16th Census Press Releases*, Series P-3, No. 12, May 21, 1941; *World Almanac*, 1937, p. 260; *Idem.*, 1941, p. 525; figures for 1940-45 from *Idem.* 1946, p. 668.

earlier immigrants, was gone; hence they swelled the ranks of the city workers, the miners, loggers, and other unskilled workers. They crowded into the slums of cities, swarmed into logging and mining camps, where living conditions were hazardous to health, to home life, and to morals, and where the cultural institutions of this country were few and inferior in quality. Since their European standard of living was considerably lower than that of the American worker their meager wage demands were easily satisfied. Each group of immigrants was readily lured by the American employer to take at a lower wage the places of those who preceded them. This had two effects (*a*) It tended to force down the wages of those already here and thus to result in a lowering of the standard of living for all; (*b*) it was instrumental in the disruption of trade unions that had begun to form. In 1905, for instance, when immigration to America was at its height, the union in the steel industry was broken down largely because of the increasing supply of immigrants always available. For this reason union labor, which has exerted considerable influence on legislation, has been increasingly restrictionist in its immigration policies.

The second problem presented by the "new immigration" in accentuated form was its bearing upon the quality of the population. The increasingly large number of immigrants after 1880 from Italy, southeastern Europe, and Russia, with cultures so diverse from that of the natives or even of the earlier arrivals, and with a large proportion of illiterate among them, raised the question as to the quality of the stock. Eugenics was just then coming to the front in this country and was being used by restrictionists as an argument to buttress their position. Research has not proved that these late comers are inherently inferior in ability; they have not had opportunity to develop their talents, and they possess a different culture from ours.

The third problem presented by the "new immigration" had sound sociological foundations. It revolved about the difficulty of welding into a cultural unity those with widely different cultures. These later arrivals were people from countries with institutions, customs, traditions, and habits very different in many respects from those which earlier immigrants possessed, and which formed the structure of the culture of this country. Their loyalties naturally clung to the ways of life to which they had been accustomed from childhood. They were habituated to their peculiar political, economic, and social institutions. It was difficult for them to adopt new modes of life in this country. They tended to cluster into colonies, where their language was spoken and their customs were perpetuated. They formed islands in a cultural sea. Hence, it was difficult for them rapidly

to adopt the ways of life current in this country. To a degree it had long been recognized that the "melting pot" did not do a perfect job, but the matter attracted most attention at the time of World War I.

Their children, however, were the real sufferers. The parents in most cases moved along smoothly because they did not attempt to break the old way of doing and thinking. To the boy or girl who attempted to reconcile the two clashing cultures came much misery. In many cases such conflict between cultures may result in antisocial action. Thomas and Znaniecki in their great work, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, have recorded a large number of cases in which the major causes of delinquency on the part of growing boys and girls were mental conflicts, the result of a clash of loyalties—a loyalty to the old-world culture of their parents versus a loyalty to the new-world pattern of school and neighborhood. These were some of the problems of the "new immigration."

Nothing in our history is so instructive on some of these problems growing out of immigration as the difference between the attitudes of immigrants and their children in World War I and in World War II. What had happened? As we have seen, the flood of immigration had been dammed back. Twenty-five years between the two wars had enabled the process of assimilation practically to weld into one culture native and immigrant and their children. Loyalties were no longer so divided between native and adopted countries.

Birth rates and death rates. Owing to the recent decrease in the importance of immigration as a source of population growth, especial interest attaches to the trend of the crude birth and death rates in this country. The Federal birth registration area was not organized until 1915. Since that year the rate has declined, with some minor fluctuations, from 25.1 to 17.3 in 1939.²⁰ In the same period the death rate has declined from 14.1 to 10.6 in 1939. Over a thirty-year period the birth rate declined faster than the death rate, producing an increasingly lower rate of natural increase. The decrease in the death rate is reflected in the longer average life. The expectancy of life at birth has almost doubled in this country in the last 140 years. The census places the average future lifetime for white males at birth at 62.81 years and for white females at 67.29 years.²¹

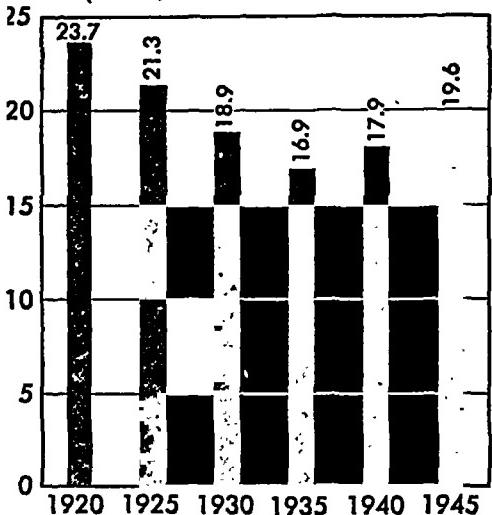
Several facts are worth noticing in this decrease in death rates. First, death rates have decreased chiefly in infancy and childhood, only slightly between ages ten and sixty, and practically none at ages after sixty.²² It has

²⁰ *World Almanac, 1946*, p. 671.

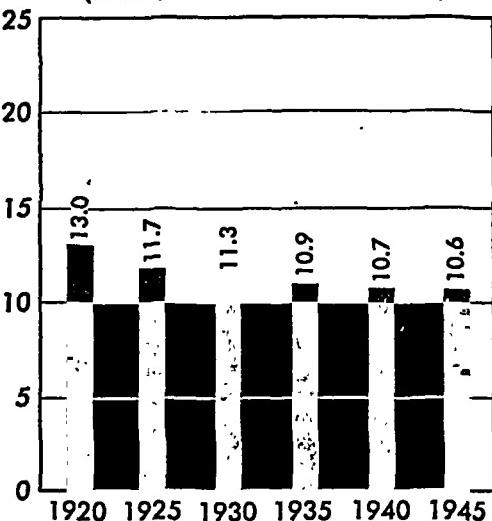
²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274; *Ibid.*, 1946, p. 674.

²² *The Problems of a Changing Population*, Report to National Resources Committee, Washington, 1938.

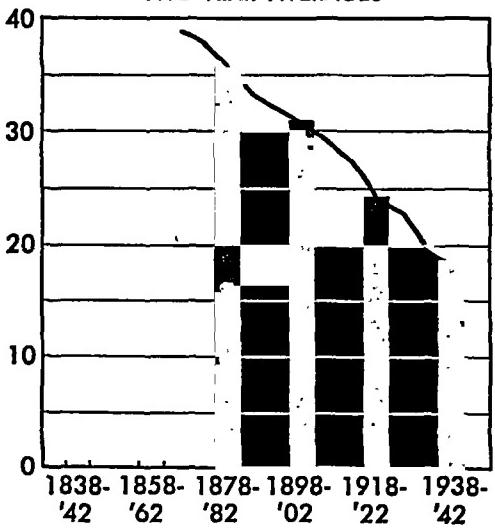
BIRTH RATES, UNITED STATES
(Source, U.S. Bureau of the Census)



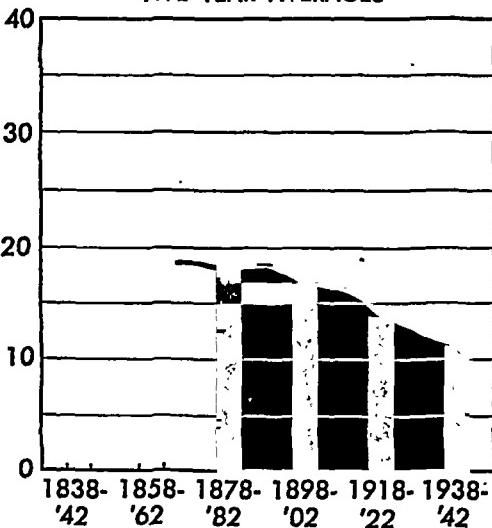
DEATH RATES, UNITED STATES
(Source, U.S. Bureau of the Census)



CRUDE BIRTH RATES, UNITED STATES
(Births per 1,000 population)
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES



CRUDE DEATH RATES, UNITED STATES
(Deaths per 1,000 population)
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES



Adapted from Thompson, Warren A., *Plenty of People*, The Jacques Cattell Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1944.

been stated that "death rates at ages under twenty-five are already so low that if all deaths below this age could be prevented and mortality conditions at other ages remain unchanged, the expectation of life at birth would be lengthened by only 6.3 years."²³ Large decreases in the death rate in the

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Eight leading causes of death in 1939 together with number of deaths caused by each per 100,000 of estimated population were as follows: heart disease, 276.1; cancer and other large tumors, 117.8; intracranial lesions of vascular origin (cerebral hemorrhage, etc.), 88.0; nephritis, 83.1; influenza and pneumonia, 75.9; diseases and malformations of first year of life, 48.5; tuberculosis, 42.2; motor-

future, therefore, must be expected through control of the deaths of adults and particularly those of middle age. Pneumonia seems to be coming under control through the use of serums and drugs such as sulfapyridine and penicillin. But the other diseases causing most of the deaths at these ages—heart disease, cancer, nephritis and cerebral hemorrhage—still resist effective control by medical means. More effective control of death through accidents and war is also pertinent to this problem. The National Resources Committee on Population, after a careful study of the trends, predicted that, barring new factors in the situation, the expectancy of life at birth should be at least 65.6 for males and 68.4 for females in 1980, whereas a very favorable combination of circumstances would make possible even higher rates, respectively 72 for males and 74 for females.²⁴

Let us return to further consideration of the birth rates. In the present state of knowledge they seem to be more amenable to human control than the death rates. However, uncertainties concerning the future trend of the birth rate lie in cultural conditions which may affect the desire of people to have children.

If the present standards of living should be maintained, for example, but at the same time the national income should rise and also be better distributed, it seems likely that the birth rate might rise. It is hardly to be expected, however, that the rise in the birth rate during World War II will continue. The high divorce rate among those married early in the War is one influence expected to diminish the rate. If economic conditions worsen, marriages and births will probably decrease.²⁵

Recent studies have shown that, contrary to that supposition, birth rates correlate inversely with economic status. The poorer classes on the whole have higher rates than the prosperous. Whether the poorer classes have more children because they are poor, or are poor because they have large families, or have a higher birth rate because they are inherently more fertile, or because they do not limit the birth rate, we do not know. Much more careful study is necessary to determine the causes.

In the early part of the depression beginning in 1929 a great deal of publicity was given to the findings of certain studies which seemed to show that unemployment and dependency increased the birth rate. There is no question that the relief families had a higher rate than the non-relief. However, careful analysis of the data showed that the relief families even before they became dependent had a higher birth rate than others. In fact their

vehicle accidents, 24.7, *Vital Statistics Special Reports*, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Vol. 12, No. 16, p. 237, March 6, 1941.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁵ Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin*, April, 1945, p. 1.

birth rate after becoming dependent seems to have decreased somewhat. It appears, therefore, that the birth rate differential between relief and non-relief families is due to social custom rather than to economic factors. Probably the relief families were selected for relief because they had large families.²⁶

We also know that there are other differentials, those between whites and Negroes, between native-born and foreign-born, between Catholics and Protestants. But the differences in birth rates between all classes in the United States, and probably also in Europe, while steadily declining, are tending to disappear. The average actual fertility of native white married women who live to age fifty, is less than three children. Between 1920 and 1930 the Negro birth rate fell faster, although remaining absolutely higher, than that of the whites. Population experts point out that on the basis of past experience there is good reason to expect a still further decline in the birth rate.

Effects of World War II on our marriage and birth rates. Although the rate of natural increase for the United States as a whole was about 0.7 per cent during the decade 1930-40, a sharp upward change occurred during the war years. The calendar year 1945 marked the fourth consecutive year in which the rate of natural increase exceeded one per cent of the population (including overseas forces). The high birth rate and favorable health record of the war years, supplemented by a small amount of net increase in immigration, produced in the period mid-1940 to the end of 1945 (five and one-half years) almost as large an increase in our population as during the whole decade of 1930-40.

War brought an increase in the marriage rate. June, 1940, saw the fall of France, and in August of that year the marriage rate in the United States reached a peak, apparently in anticipation of compulsory military service. This was followed by a sharp recession, but the marriage rate rose to another peak in December 1941 and January 1942 (following Pearl Harbor). Another peak came in January 1943, apparently in anticipation of the drafting of men aged thirty-seven to forty-five. In addition to the draft, it is probable that the migration of rural workers to the cities and the high

²⁶ Stouffer, Samuel A., "Fertility of Families on Relief," *Journal of the American Statistical Society*, September, 1934, pp. 295-300; Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr., "Research in Causes of Variations in Fertility: Social Psychological Aspects," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1937, pp. 678-685; Notestein, Frank W., "The Fertility of Populations Supported by Public Relief," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January, 1936, pp. 37-49; Griffin, Helen C., and Perrott, G. St. J., "Urban Differential Fertility During the Depression," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January, 1937, pp. 75-89.

wages offered in war plants stimulated the marriage and birth rates. A decline in the marriage rate took place in the large cities, beginning in 1943, but in the Southern areas with large military camps and in the Far West with newly created aviation and shipbuilding plants, the rate continued high into 1945. After V-E Day the marriage rate again climbed during July and August, 1945 and in the following months, with apparently good prospects for the maintenance of a high rate during 1946. Two principal causes are assigned, namely, the return of large numbers of men from overseas service, and the release of large numbers of women from industrial wartime jobs and from the armed services.

As a result of these high rates of marriage the birth rate for the four years 1942-45 exceeded 20, with a peak of 21.5 in 1943.

During the war years the death rate for the civilian population either remained stable or actually declined, probably the first time that this has occurred during a major war.²⁷

The war also saw a steady rise in the divorce rate, which eventually may well slow down the birth rate, for it has been shown (at least for the decade 1930-40) that separation of any kind (including divorce and widowhood) results in reduction of the birth rate by between 6 and 7 per cent below that of unbroken families.²⁸

Combat losses suffered by the United States during the Second World War were the most grievous of our history. Preliminary estimates indicate about 325,000 dead. Four-fifths of the dead were in the Army (255,000-260,000), and about one-fifth (65,000-70,000) in the Navy (including 23,000 in the Marine Corps and 900 in the Coast Guard.) The Navy and Marine Corps together lost twenty times more men than they lost in World War I; the Navy alone lost one hundred times the number of its dead in World War I and ten times its loses in all previous conflicts combined.

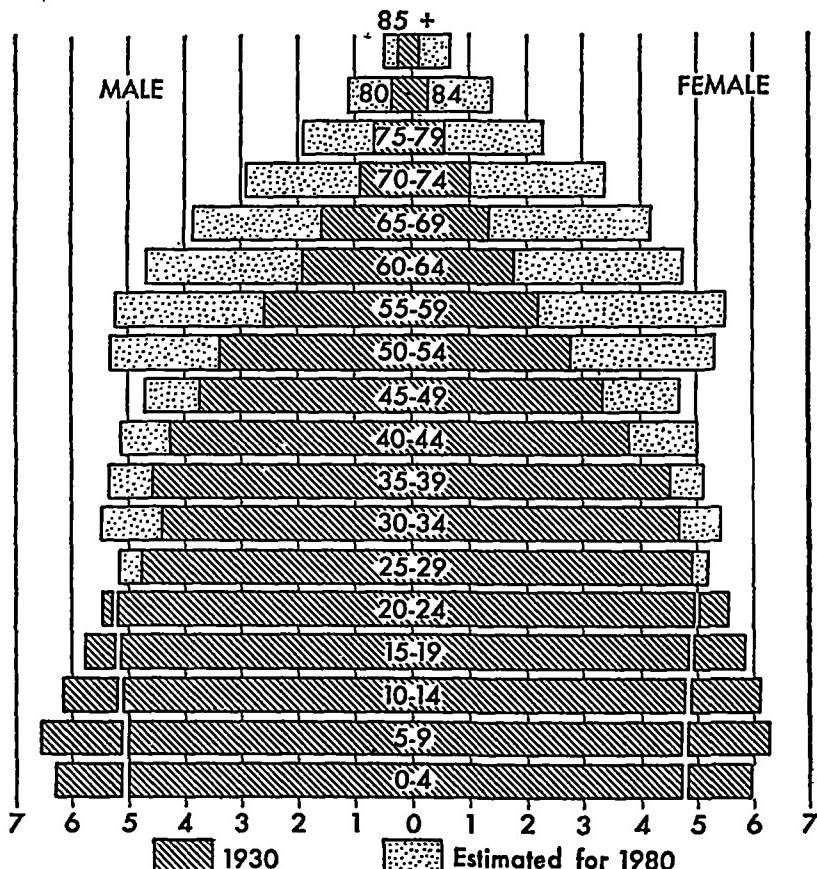
About two-thirds of the total dead met their end in the West (including North Africa and the Mediterranean) and the remainder in the Pacific and

²⁷ "War, Peace, and National Mortality," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 1-5, January, 1946; "Births and Deaths in 1945," *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, No. 12, pp. 405, December, 1945; Hauser, P. M., and Taeuber, Conrad, "The Changing Population of the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 237, pp. 12-31, 1945; "Peace Brings More Marriages," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York, Vol. 26, No. 12, pp. 1-3, December, 1945; Thomas, Warren K., *Plenty of People*, The Jaques Cattell Press, Lancaster, 1944, p. 36.

²⁸ *Population Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910, Women by Number of Children Under 5 Years Old*, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1945, Tables 5, 16, 61, 72.

the Orient. Army losses in the European Theater alone totalled about 200,000 men, which is four times the number killed in World War I and is about equal to the number killed on both sides during the entire Civil War. The Infantry comprised only about 20 per cent of the forces overseas, but suffered about 70 per cent of the total casualties. However, the highest rate of deaths was in the Army Air Forces.²⁹

Population of the United States by Age and Sex



Adapted from School of Public Affairs, Princeton University, and Population Association of America, Inc.

Future trends. What is the future trend of our population? Estimates differ, depending upon the assessment of the various factors involved. One of the most recent authoritative studies makes the following prediction, based upon consideration of medium fertility and mortality. It is predicted that a slow decline in the rate of growth will be shown between 1940 and 1985 and an actual decrease of population after that. For 1985 the total

²⁹ "American Combat Losses in World War II," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York, Vol. 26, No. 11, pp. 1-3.

population is estimated as 161,385,000, but by the year 2000 the population will have declined, according to this estimate, to 159,420,000.³⁰

A change in *age distribution* is one of the most important factors accompanying change in size of the population. In 1800 the median age of the population was 16 years; in 1875 it was 21 years; in 1900, 23 years; in 1939, 29 years. (Median is the dividing point at which there is an equal number younger and an equal number older). The median age of the population has increased as much in the four decades following 1900 as in the eight decades preceding 1900. In 1940 the state with the youngest median age, 22.2, was South Carolina, and the state with the oldest, 38, was California. Children under five years constituted 12.1 per cent of the total population in 1900; 8 per cent in 1940. It is estimated that this group will comprise less than 6 per cent by the year 2000. On the other hand, persons 65 years of age and older formed only 4.1 per cent of the population in 1900, but 6.8 per cent in 1940, and it is estimated that they will form more than 13 per cent of the total population in 2000. These age changes are, of course, correlated with the long-term fall in the birth rate, increase in average length of life, and the aging of the foreign-born segments of the population.³¹

Some problems arising out of recent trends. Without going into further analysis of the present size and growth of the population we may point out several problems resulting from the slowing down of the rate of growth and gradual stabilization of the population size. Among these problems are:

1. An increase of the total population in the older age groups is occurring alongside the growing substitution of machines for men, and of a machine technique which prefers young, vigorous laborers. How provide for the support of those of middle age and beyond? With each year finding a large proportion of the population in middle and old age, and with factory and office managers preferring young workers, the prospects seem to be divided between the alternatives of increasing provision for the unemployed, of readjusting techniques and occupations for the employment of older workers, employment on government projects, or old-age pensions or insurance with ever lower age limits to eligibility.³²

³⁰ Thompson, W. S., and Whelpton, P. K., *Estimates of the Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000*, National Resources Planning Board, Washington, 1943; cf., *The Problems of a Changing Population*, National Resources Committee, Washington, 1938, p. 7, which estimated a maximum population of 177,000,000 in 1980.

³¹ "Our Aging Population," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York, Vol. 27, No. 3, March 1936, pp. 3-5.

³² Clague, Ewan, "The Aging Population and Programs of Security," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 1940, pp. 345-358; Thompson, Warren K., *op. cit.*, Ch.

2. Another problem arises out of the effects on the educational system of a decreasing proportion of children in the population. The percentage of children under ten years of age, according to the census, declined from 30.4 in 1930 to 17.6 in 1940, the percentage under five from 9.3 to 8.0, and the percentage ten to fourteen from 9.8 to 8.9.³³ Obviously in those states in which compulsory school attendance is enforced, the period of expansion in educational institutions, at least on the elementary level, has come to an end. More intensive instruction may be expected and a larger proportion of students in secondary and college grades may result, but the larger gross numbers are declining.³⁴

3. The United States with a stable population will be in a favorable position respecting the relations between population, land and natural resources. Provided the latter are properly conserved, the United States is in a position theoretically to enjoy the highest standard of living in the world, because the per capita subsistence resources are higher here than elsewhere. The problem, however, lies in the equitable distribution of these resources. As long as we allow overconcentration of wealth and income in a few hands and deny the enjoyment of an adequate income to the vast majority, even a slowing down of the population growth fails to solve the problem. The misery which attends overpopulation can also attend a small population, provided it cannot share equitably (not equally) in needed commodities and services.

4. With a relatively larger proportion of our population in the middle and old age groups, what will be the effect on social and economic policies in the future? Will these policies become more conservative? Will the economic order adjust itself to supply the demands of the older people? Will youth have less influence in industrial and social life than has hitherto been the case? Such are some of the questions that arise as a result of the aging of our population. We cannot at present answer them definitely. Certainly we need the vigorous daring of young people in our industries, commerce, churches, and schools in order to meet rapidly changing conditions with social devices adjusted to integrate the stresses in our culture complex and to make it function for the welfare of the whole population. It has been pointed out that in England and France for some time now the young people complain that the preponderance of the aged have

10; Landis, Paul H., *Population Problems: A Cultural Interpretation*, New York, 1938, Ch. 15.

³³ 16th Census of the United States: 1940. Population, Vol. IV, Table II.

³⁴ See Smith, Rufus D., "The Population Curve Hits the Schools," *Survey Graphic*, September, 1938, pp. 445-449; Thompson, Warren S., "Outstanding Population Trends Affecting Problems of Social Welfare," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July, 1940, pp. 189-197.

given the young no chance to contribute their points of view and their efforts to the adjustment of the social order. The complaints of youth in this country recently may suggest that they feel something of a similar repression.

Some features of the quality of the population

In general the quality of the population of a society may be viewed either from the relative or general point of view. The population may be of an adequate or inadequate quality relative to the standards which are current in the culture. For example, the current ideal of fitness may be tall stature, and the population will be considered as adequate or inadequate in proportion to the numbers of individuals who approach this standard. Or blondness and longheadedness may be the ideal—e.g., the so-called “Nordic” ideal—which so exercised the imaginations of the rulers of Nazi Germany. Brunets and roundheads—always with notable exceptions such as Herr Hitler himself—are then considered as undesirable elements of poor quality. Economic and social positions are often discussed in connection with quality of population. For instance, it is frequently feared that the “lower classes” are reproducing at too fast a rate. It should be clear, however, that except as inferior social and economic position is correlated with inheritable mental or physical features, the problem is one of social values rather than of inherent quality. In view of our present knowledge of racial variations and the lack of any evidence that they seriously affect the ability of a population to acquire and develop culture, many of these relative standards of quality have no serious scientific interest, except as they serve as bases for social behavior.

From the general point of view, the sociologist may also be interested in the quality of the population. By *general* we refer to physical and mental qualities which may be expected to affect social life in any culture regardless of its standards. Any physical or mental defects of individuals in a population which hinder the full or normal functioning of the individuals as members of a society may be regarded as criteria of poor quality. And, from this point of view, a society having a large proportion of physical or mental defectives may well give some attention to the quality of its population. Physical and mental defects are of two types: inherited and acquired. Inherited or congenital physical defects such as clubfoot, harelip, humpback and curvature of the spine, webbing of fingers and toes, and hereditary predisposition to certain diseases and ailments seriously hamper the full functioning of the individual in society. Likewise inherent or con-

genital mental disabilities such as feeble-mindedness in all of its forms, tendencies to "nervous breakdown," psychoses and neuroses, are of the utmost importance in considering the quality of a population. A science which could improve the population by breeding out these defects would be highly desirable.

Mental defect. The estimate that 50 to 60 per cent of the cases of mental deficiency (idiocy, imbecility, moronity, etc.) are caused by defective heredity is probably too high. One-third is likely to be nearer to the truth. We lack a nationwide census of mental defectives, but according to the White House Conference report of 1933, "a conservative estimate places the number of the feeble-minded at 1 per cent of the general population, the intellectually subnormal at an additional 14 per cent of the unselected adult population."³⁵ It has been estimated, on the basis of the mental examinations given to the army during World War I (after adjustments have been made in the crude figures), that over 5 per cent of the general adult population, or 5,285,000 people, are feeble-minded in the United States. Whether or not this is true, "it may be safely stated that somewhere between 1 and 6 per cent of the population are so deficient in intelligence that in the complex conditions of city life they find difficulty in supporting themselves and conducting their lives in accordance with our social standards."³⁶ The extreme types of feeble-mindedness are fairly easy to identify in any society. Everywhere idiots and imbeciles are usually incapable of functioning normally according to accepted standards. With morons and "borderline" types of defect the situation is not so clear. Although we have no really adequate data, there is some reason to believe that high-grade morons can function satisfactorily in certain carefully chosen or prepared situations. And it is probable that in societies with simpler cultures morons can function without special care and without too much maladjustment. The minor portion of the feeble-minded, as we have said, are probably of the hereditary type in our society. And hereditary feeble-mindedness is not too easy to recognize. The case is even less simple in regard to the "insanities."

Mental disorder. There are many types of insanity or mental malfunction which we cannot discuss at length. In general, mental disorder or insanity is distinguished from feeble-mindedness by the fact that the latter is manifested in abnormal behavior associated with certain mental inabilities

³⁵ *The Handicapped Child*, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1933, Vol. 4, p. 426.

³⁶ Gillin, J. L., *Social Pathology*, rev. ed., D. Appleton-Century Co., 1946, p. 116.

to function. The insane, on the other hand, frequently have periods of apparently normal behavior, and some insanities are "curable," i.e., the patients return permanently to adequate social adjustment. Such is never the case with the feeble-minded. Although many insanities develop after birth, theoretically they all appear in individuals with certain neurological constitutions which in themselves may be either hereditary or developed by life experiences. This suggestion has some support from the large number of men who broke down nervously in World War II. Precise knowledge of the heredity of insanity or of neurological features predisposing to insanity is lacking. Authorities are well agreed, however, that there is a close relationship between situations and responsibilities which individuals are expected to meet in the culture of their society and their manifestations of psychoneurosis. Thus cultural and social conditions that expose individuals in large numbers to strain, to infections and accidents which affect the nervous system, may be expected to bring out more manifestation of mental disturbance than simpler conditions. This seems to be one explanation of the fact that there are more cases of "insanity" in cities than in the country, and more in complex civilizations than in simpler cultures, although it is also true that the recognition and recording of such cases are more accurate in urban and civilized regions.

In connection with the cultural situation, it should also be noted that, just as the culture tends to define the ideal personality, it also defines the limits of behavior beyond which lies "insanity." Thus there are circles in this country in which a savage from the jungles would be considered insane, because his behavior is so foreign to that sanctioned by the American group in which he would be judged. An individual who believes thoroughly in magic and acts accordingly in our culture is thought at least "a little queer," although there are many cultures in which the individual is thought "queer" if he does not so believe and behave. If we are looking for a general definition of "insanity," we are not so much interested, therefore, in precisely what kind of behavior is exhibited as in whether or not the individual makes satisfactory adjustments to the social and cultural situation in which he lives. The "insane," as well as the feeble-minded, are not able to make these adjustments to life situations which the "normal" majority of their fellows make with comparative ease. A certain proportion of them require care in an institution.

About one-half of the hospital beds of the United States are reserved for the mentally disturbed, and in 1935 there were about six hundred clinics devoted to nervous and mental diseases. The economic loss from mental

ailment in the United States in 1939 was estimated at \$700,000,000 per year.³⁷

In 1943 the census reported that the average daily number of inmates in hospitals for mental diseases in the United States was 431,415. Admissions to such institutions in 1943 numbered 102,104. Of this number almost one-fourth (24,930) were dementia praecox cases; almost one-seventh (14,308), cerebral arteriosclerosis; about one-tenth (10,562), manic depressive; more than one-tenth (11,978), senile; about one-twentieth (6,751), for general paresis; and (5,086) alcoholic. All other psychoses together contributed less than one-fourth (28,530).³⁸

Between 35 and 45 per cent of all discharges from the armed forces up to July, 1944, were for some form of psychoneurotic disturbance.

So important has the problem become in the consciousness of our people that an increasing emphasis is being placed on prevention. This movement is in recognition of the important part played by social experiences in producing mental disturbance. Child guidance clinics, out-patient clinics in connection with hospitals and with clinics, travelling clinics to reach every part of each state are being organized to prevent such serious breakdown as requires hospitalization.

Other aspects of population quality. General health of the population is obviously a matter of concern to the society. A certain amount of physical sickness is doubtless due to hereditary factors, how much and in what degree at present we do not know. What physical and mental characteristics make for successful adaptation to the requirements of the business, educational, political, and social areas of a society are little understood. Yet upon the possession of certain physical, mental, and social qualities depends the ability of an individual to get and hold employment. Upon them rests the successful adjustment of the individual to the requirements of his society. And since the development of a culture in part is the result of leadership, those qualities in the members of society are important for social progress. Other qualities seem to be associated with individuals of whose behavior society disapproves and which it tries to crush out. Just what these characteristics are, both the approved and disapproved, are not well known. Nor is it well known whether they are the result of inheritance or of training. Despite dire warnings that the race is going to the dogs,³⁹ respon-

³⁷ Stevenson, George S., "Mental Hygiene," *Social Work Yearbook*, 1937, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1939, pp. 277, 283.

³⁸ *World Almanac*, 1946, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1946, p. 678.

³⁹ See Hooton, E. A., *Apes, Men and Morons*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1937, pp. 3-42, 290-293. Dr. Hooton's argument in this book is directed more toward the problem of supposed increase in mental deficiency than the problem of somatic decline, although he regards both problems as linked.

sible authorities await more studies by physical anthropologists and guidance experts before embarking upon any radical plans to remake human beings either physically, mentally, or socially. Hooton's point is well taken when he argues that the establishment of research institutes devoted to the study of the healthy and successful elements of the population deserves the same support and enthusiasm now devoted to medical centers for the care of the sick. It is highly desirable that we know what hereditary trends in physique are present in our population, particularly as they affect the future of the culture and of society.

Some aspects of eugenics. A eugenic method is one which is intended to prevent the propagation of those individuals whose hereditary qualities unfit them for adequacy in a given social order. Obviously one of the first tasks of the eugenicists is to determine just what characteristics are dependent upon the hereditary mechanism. When that is determined, a program to solve the problem is in order. Eugenics has two aspects: negative and positive.

1. *Negative eugenics* may accomplish its purpose in two different ways: prevent by death or segregation the reproduction of those individuals hereditarily inadequate, or deprive them by sterilization of the ability to reproduce. The removal of "undesirables" without reference to whether or not they were such by reason of heredity has been practiced in all known societies by such methods as capital punishment, imprisonment, segregation, or banishment. A more modern method is *sterilization*. Up to 1941 twenty-nine states had adopted sterilization laws for the feeble-minded, and over 35,000 operations had been performed, nearly one-half in California. New York, New Jersey, and Nevada repealed their laws.⁴⁰ The modern simple operation on either male or female permits normal sex functioning, but prevents fertilization, and permits the patient to marry and enjoy home life.

At the present time our knowledge of human heredity is apparently inadequate to permit a strictly scientific practice of sterilization as a compulsory measure in any condition but feeble-mindedness. And even with feeble-minded persons, authorities recommend that careful and impartial study of all ascertainable factors in the case precede the operation so that no injustice may be done. There seems to be no scientific reason, however, why with adequate precautions extensive sterilization of the hereditary feeble-minded should not be practiced on a nationwide scale, although it

⁴⁰ "Selective Sterilization in Primer Form," Sterilization League of New Jersey, Princeton, 1937, pp. 22-23; *Human Sterilization Today*, Human Betterment Foundation, Pasadena, no date.

would require many generations to eliminate all the "hidden" defective genes from the population. Any general extension of sterilization to others than hereditary feeble-minded is unscientific at the present time. Perhaps new discoveries concerning the heredity of other undesirable conditions may be made, permitting the scientific application of sterilization to further improvement of the population of future generations. Segregation is less open to question than sterilization on theoretical grounds and is approved even for those who are not hereditarily defective, insane, or epileptic, since many such are unable to care for themselves in free society. But a program based upon segregation alone is inadequate because of the prohibitive cost of the necessary plants to house and maintain the patients. A combination of both plans gives more adequate protection to society.⁴¹

Sterilization of carefully selected high grade mental defectives, whether or not they are known to be such hereditarily, but who are incapable of rearing children, and are capable of self support, would enable them to be paroled from an institution, and in some cases to marry and have homes of their own. In such cases they would be no menace to society, and would be happier, and no burden to society.

2. *Positive eugenics* is a method of improving the stock by encouraging or requiring matings between individuals possessing desirable hereditary features which they will pass down to their offspring. Positive eugenics also suffers from our faulty knowledge of human heredity and also, in so far as it is voluntary, from the fact that many persons do not understand or care about the matter of improving the stock when at the point of marriage. Certainly every intelligent person should be aware of the dangers which may lie in propagation of lines having hereditary feeble-mindedness, insanity, predisposition to tuberculosis, etc. At the present time, a form of mild positive eugenics is practiced in many states through the requirement of the Wassermann test for syphilis before marriage. Though syphilis is not hereditary, it may injuriously affect the child before birth and may be transmitted to the child in the form of congenital syphilis. With regard to other ailments, the reader should be advised to consult a good physician if in doubt about raising children.

Although our knowledge of human genetics is deficient for the scientific practice of eugenics on a large scale in respect to conditions other than

⁴¹ For criticism of eugenic theories and of the hopes of eugenists as a measure to cure the social problem of the mentally deficient and the psychotic, see Landman, *Human Sterilization*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, Ch. 10, and Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1930, pp. 240-243. For brief statement see Thompson, Warren K., *Plenty of People*, The Jaques Cattell Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1944, Ch. 12.

feeble-mindedness, it is perhaps at least fortunate that certain of the hereditary features of this condition are known. Feeble-mindedness and mental disorder are the most serious of the "poor qualities" which may affect a modern population. Social life is behavior, and if the central nervous system and brain are adequately functioning, the individual is able to make adjustment of some sort, despite his other defects. In modern civilization, with its many mechanical appliances, there is often a useful place for cripples and the sick, but there is never a place for the feeble-minded and a very insecure one for the mentally ill. Although the hereditary features of insanity are not completely understood, the most patent cases of hereditary feeble-mindedness can be recognized. The elimination of these strains from the population would be of unquestioned benefit to society.

We have now briefly reviewed the natural bases of social life. We have examined the physical organism of man, and have indicated how far that organism determines his behavior, an organism providing the possibility of a variety of conduct impossible to any other animal, but also setting distinct limitations upon the range of his activities. We have also considered the relation of the physical environment to man's organism; how it acts as both stimulus and limitation to his actions. Finally, we have presented a brief analysis of mankind in the aggregate, the human population, its quantity and quality, and have indicated again that the single individual lives in the midst of what we may call the *human environment*, which again provides a stimulus and a curb upon his impulses. We are now prepared to consider another important factor, the cultural configuration, which channelizes his activities, sets metes and bounds to his aspirations and vagrant strivings, and at the same time raises the voltage of his energies to potentialities otherwise impossible.

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Exercises

1. Why is population important to an understanding of human society?
2. What is meant by an "optimum population" for any society?
3. How does the law of diminishing returns apply to population?
4. What is meant by the statement in the text that "the age composition of the population is in reciprocal relation with the birth rate"?
5. What factors affect the birth rate? The death rate?
6. How is the standard of living related to the law of a stationary population?
7. State Malthus' theory of population.
8. Today England supports at a higher standard of living a population several times as large as in 1798 when Malthus wrote his *Essay*. Does that show that his theory was false? Why?
9. Explain the growth of the world's population since 1650.
10. Explain the enormous increase in the population of the United States since its founding.
11. What social significance had the change about 1880 in the sources of immigration to the United States?

12. What motives were back of the changes in the United States' immigration laws since 1880?
13. What were the chief problems created in the United States by immigration?
14. What problems arise in the United States from the decreasing birth rate and death rate?
15. What problems grow out of defects in the quality of the population?

part 3 Culture and social groups

chapter 6 Culture

The social and the cultural

As we study human social life, we become familiar with two aspects of it which, at the start, should be recognized: the social and the cultural. Men live in groups, and sociology is the study of their behavior in groups. A group is any collection of two or more individuals who are in social interaction, that is, who have social relations with each other, who are in a position to stimulate each other psychologically and to respond to each other. The general processes whereby groups are formed and whereby interaction develops or deteriorates are known as the social processes. Among all races of men and in all parts of the world social groups exist, and the processes which govern their growth, decline, and integration are operative. A society, in the sense in which we use the term, represents the largest grouping in which common customs, traditions, attitudes and feelings of unity are operative. A society contains many smaller groups—communities and other locality groups, sex groups, age groups, kin groups, special interest groups—but like the groups of which it is composed, a society is characterized by functional social processes. Those general features concerned with groups, then, may be considered the social aspects of our study.

Behavior, however, is always a feature of groups, and the human species is unique in that the actual behavior of its groups is by no means uniform. The customs, traditions, attitudes, ideas, and symbols which govern social behavior show a wide variety. Each group, each society has a set of behavior patterns (overt and covert) which are more or less common to the members, which are passed down from generation to generation and taught to children, and which are constantly liable to change. These common patterns we call the culture, and it is in terms of the culture that we are able to understand the specific activities of the individual members in their social relations and also the activities of the group *vis-à-vis* other groups. The aspects of social life which have to do, then, with the learned behavior,

the socially modified and patterned activities which are common to group members we may call the *cultural aspects* of our study.

For example, the family, consisting of mother, father, and children, exists in all human societies, even in those in which other types of family grouping are also present. This is a universal social group. Yet in one society the husband may own all the property, in another the wife; in one society, the husband may beat his wife with impunity, in another the wife is in the stronger position; in one society absolute fidelity may be the rule, in another outside sexual relations may be not only permitted but encouraged under certain circumstances; here the wife may be expected to do only the house-work, elsewhere the wife does the work of the fields. In other words, the family is universal, but the behavior of the members differs according to the culture of the society in which they live. The same is true in varying degrees of other types of groups. Society is grouping; culture is the patterning of behavior in groups.

Of course human societies do not exist without culture, nor does culture function without society. In actual life the distinction which we have made is often far from clear. The cultural and the social aspects are inextricably intertwined. Yet if we have the distinction in mind, it may help us to understand more clearly the social life of human beings and to avoid the confusion which arises from crediting purely social factors with culture results and vice versa.

Groups and their behavior. The hereditary capacities and weaknesses of the species and the rigors of a comparatively unfriendly environment force men to live in groups. Once they are gathered into groups, however, biology and environment provide men with no positive directions as to just how to act, except to set certain limits to activity and to provide drives and impulses seeking satisfaction. When, however, men live in groups they interact to each other. The way they interact sets up habits for the individual and customs for the group. Out of these grow traditions giving a theoretical basis for an approved type of common action. These ways of acting in all the relationships of a common life are called *culture*. On the whole, there is a wide range within the limits set up by biology and environment—ample opportunity to do many things “wrong” and many things “right” from the adjustive point of view. Precisely what to do, however, is the question. If experiments in adjustment work fairly well, they harden into custom, are communicated to others, and become buttressed by tradition and tabus. Thus, each individual is not required to solve every problem that he faces single-handed. Solutions of everyday problems he finds ready to hand in the culture of the group.



Patterns of dining

These contrasting scenes illustrate the fact that cultural activities and cultural equipment involved in the satisfaction of a single basic drive (in this case, hunger) may vary within the same society depending upon the social status of the individuals and groups and upon the social settings and functions of the meal. It also points to the fact that in social life various secondary drives, in addition to basic organic needs, may motivate customary behavior. Above, a dinner given for a visiting diplomat at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria. Below, printers eating lunch carried from home in Kansas City. (Photos by Acme.)

The word *culture* is a technical term in the social sciences used to refer not only to refinement as when we say, "He is a man of culture," but to all the learned reactions in common practice by the members of a social group.

Is this culture? The writer of these lines sits in a room laboriously pounding a typewriter. A desk of oak stands before him, flat-topped, varnished, originally polished. Its dimensions are the same as those of several hundred other desks in the university—same number of drawers, cubby-holes, legs, castors, and so on. The form of the desk is a group pattern, repeated again and again. The workmen who made the desk all conformed to certain muscular habits, e.g., sawing with a back-and-forth motion with particular kinds of instruments shaped for these motions, planing with other instruments especially shaped for a pushing-away motion, screwing with identical instruments (screw drivers) which turn from left to right. The writer pounds the keys of a typewriting machine exactly as others pound similar machines in various parts of the building. The keyboard is designed to be handled in a particular way—the touch system—and the writer, somewhat clumsily and with many mistakes, attempts to conform to this system. He writes in English understood by some two hundred million people, but still merely one of several thousand extant languages, using a system of spelling which seems very difficult for foreigners but relatively simple to him and to millions of others, and a system of symbols ("Roman letters") habitually used by a fair portion of the earth's population but unknown in many societies. The paper in the machine is one of several hundred sheets lying in some disarray on the desk, all cut to the same size, all intended to be used in the same way. Having visited a paper mill recently, he knows that rigid rules of behavior govern the workmen who make the paper. He looks out of the window and sees an Italian renaissance façade bearing ornaments repeated over and over again on this and several other buildings of the same design on the campus. Glancing at his clothes, perhaps rather rumpled, he remembers that he purchased the suit from a rack of several hundred all cut in the same pattern. He realizes that he must change to a different and less wrinkled outfit for the party he is going to attend tonight, because the other guests will be present in pressed and freshly laundered garments of a design somewhat different from those worn during the day but considered proper for evening wear. Perhaps he looks in the mirror on the wall, realizing that such a contrivance, while commonplace in his society, is unknown to many primitive groups of people, and sees that, despite his natural defects, he has parted his hair, shaved and washed his face, and brushed his teeth in a manner which

attempts to approximate a certain standard of personal appearance and grooming common to his group.

A student enters the professor's office to see if he can raise his grade. Of course the whole system of grades is conventional. The student assumes a respectful demeanor toward the professor, perhaps using such formalized phrases as "Sir, I am tremendously interested in the course"; "My aunt died last week, and I was unable to prepare for the examination." The particular combination of acts varies from campus to campus—i.e., from one social group to another—but the whole complex is known at the moment as "apple-polishing," and is more or less standardized in any particular group. The professor replies in a way which at once reflects his social relations toward students in general. Perhaps the student fails in his object and meekly leaves the office. He returns to his fraternity house, and his conduct changes. He calls together a number of freshmen, upbraids them in a manner common to initiated members when talking to pledges, and perhaps may vent his spleen by paddling them in a manner thoroughly familiar to all concerned. Such behavior varies from one group to another, but in each case it reflects the social relationships which have been learned and which are more or less familiar to the various individuals. Most of the jokes about country yokels in the big town, or about the awkwardness of city-bred boys who attempt to harness a horse on the farm, turn on the fact that the newcomer in any social group usually requires a certain period to acquire new modes of social behavior.

Cultural equipment. In the instances just examined we note standardized modes of acting, which involve contact and interaction with other individuals, whether they happen to be face to face with the actor or not. Such activity is quite typical of social life, even though the specific conventions involved vary widely from group to group. While the writer was sitting alone in his office, however, he noticed that he was surrounded by and was "using" a collection of patterned things, material objects, such as chairs, table, typewriter, and so on, which are similar in gross material respects to objects used by other members of the group to which he belongs.

Are these standardized material objects which are used in conventionalized ways culture? Is this material equipment with which society provides itself to be considered its culture? In the older discussions of culture, the man-made material tools and equipment were considered part of culture and were called the *material culture*. The activities of a group are always directed in part toward food, clothing, bodily ornamentation, shelter, the making and use of tools and utensils, transportation and communication,

the making of weapons and objects of art. In all of these activities material objects are either constructed from raw materials, or the form and function of material objects in nature are altered and modified for man's use.

We shall call these patterned material artifacts which play so important a part in the social life of every group the *cultural equipment*.¹ If we analyze closely any item of cultural equipment, we see that it has no sociological significance except in sociopsychological terms. For example, consider the chair on which we sit; (1) There was a time in the history of our society when chairs of this or any other type did not exist. There was a time when this particular chair was only a part of a growing tree in the forest. Before the chair was made, then, its pattern existed in some human mind as a mental pattern. In our society these patterns are set down on paper by draftsmen, and the drawings and specifications guide the workmen who make the chairs. The fact that many chairs are made alike means that many individuals have learned the essential patterns and are able to follow them. These standardized concepts of "chair," then, are culture, whereas the material object which we call a "chair" is the objective result of concepts and techniques of workmanship which are common to a social group called furniture-makers. (2) After this chair and many others like it have been made and become available to the members of our society, it is used in a standardized way. The majority of people in our society do not regularly stand on chairs, use them for props while standing, nor sit on them straddling and facing the back. We generally use the chair for sitting with the body disposed in a way that is thoroughly familiar and conventional. The important point is that the chair as an item of cultural equipment is associated with certain definite, standardized forms of behavior which are common to the whole society. These usages are learned responses

¹ See Merton, R. K., "Civilization and Culture," *Sociology and Social Research*, November-December, 1936, pp. 103-113; MacIver, R. M., *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937, pp. 272-281; Weber, Alfred, "Principelles zur Kultursoziologie," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Vol. 47, 1921; MacIver, R. M., "The Historical Pattern of Social Change," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. 2, 1936, pp. 35-54; Thurnwald, Richard, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Staat und Kultur*, de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig, 1935; "Civilization and Culture," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, 1936, pp. 387-396. These authors all follow, with some variations, the lead of A. Weber (*loc. cit.*, and *Ideen zur Staats- und Kultursoziologie*, Karlsruhe, 1927) in distinguishing between civilization (the utilitarian aspect of group patterns, including material objects and techniques of making and using them) and culture (the ideals, values, and emotional aspects of group patterns). In this work we prefer to follow the more familiar terminology of anthropologists who, regardless of other differences, generally apply the term *culture* to the totality of group patterns, and who regard *civilization* merely as a more developed, proliferated or complex type of culture. Not only is this usage more widely spread at the moment, but it also avoids the ambiguity which arises from associations formed around the everyday usage of the word *civilization*.

common to the group and are culture in our sense. (3) One final socio-psychological aspect of cultural equipment may be mentioned at this point. The chair serves as a standardized stimulus for evoking standardized responses from members of the group. If we see a chair, the "natural" thing to do is to sit down in it, because we have become accustomed to such an association of responses. In a society which had no chairs in its cultural equipment, however, individuals when viewing such an object might regard it as firewood, or as a contrivance for drying meat, or as a framework over which to drape a small tent, and act accordingly. The cultural equipment, in short, helps to preserve the similarity of behavior which we call custom by providing us with a constant and rather uniform set of stimuli with which are associated reactions common to the group.



Patterns of clothing and ornament

Each culture defines, as it were, the "proper" patterns of clothing and ornament and also the "correct" times and places when each pattern should be used. Left, a Mangbetu woman of Africa. (Photo from American Museum of Natural History, New York.) Right, the American motion picture actress Ginger Rogers. (Photo from RKO Radio Pictures, Inc.)

The reader may apply the same type of analysis to other items of cultural equipment. Each has associated with it a basic concept, one or more patterns of usage, and a stimulus value which are common to a social group and therefore represent acquired cultural behavior. In other words, the object itself has no cultural existence independent of these patterns of behavior which create it and are associated with it in social behavior. When



we speak of a chair or any other item of cultural equipment in connection with culture, therefore, we imply the behavior associated with it, rather than the object simply as an object, which in itself is merely an expression of and forms the material basis for modes of behavior.

Artifacts as products and adjuncts of customs. We may therefore regard artifacts as having two types of function in culture: they may be (1) the *products* of, or they may be (2) the *adjuncts* to the practice of customs. Material adjuncts of culture are almost always products also. In our society one cannot eat one's food conventionally without the use of a table fork; but such artifacts are patterned and are the product of the customary techniques of the silverware industry. It occasionally happens that one uses an unpatterned object, which is not the product of culture, in the performance of a cultural pattern, as, for instance, when on a camping trip one may pick up an unfashioned rock and use it to drive tent pegs. The use of such makeshifts, however, usually means that one is not practicing completely the custom complex which is involved. Camping and its equipment, for example, are patterned in our culture, and the complete equipment includes a camp axe to be used for driving tent pegs.

It is worth remarking, in this connection, that attempts to perform patterns in the absence of the proper equipment sometimes lead to the development of new patterns—simple inventions. The makeshift artifact may suggest a new usage which is more rewarding than the old one. It is said that for lack of conventional tenting material, some of our troops in isolated tropical regions during the recent war turned to palm leaves for roofing material and in a few cases developed patterns of thatching superior even to those of the natives.

Why do we stress this difference between artifacts and customs? Because artifacts are not behavior. A specific tool, to be sure, is often necessary to the performance of a specific cultural response, and by the use of tools the human social animal is able to develop a large number of culture patterns which would be quite impossible for him without them. One cannot learn, for instance, to respond visually to single microbes without the instrumentality of a microscope. Cultural equipment extends the range of cultural behavior, but it should not be confused with behavior itself. It may be objected that you cannot typewrite without a typewriter. Is not the material typewriter as much as part of culture as the learned movements of the fingers? Let us remember that you cannot typewrite, either, if you are not provided with the normal human neuromuscular structure in good working order. Would we therefore have to say that your neurons are a part of culture also? It is to avoid confusion of this sort that we have

made the distinction between cultural behavior (or culture, properly speaking) and cultural equipment.

We recall that an individual's responses may be of two types—inherited and acquired through experience or training. When we take the view that culture consists in learned habits common to a group of individuals, we should not forget that through the learning process certain inherited patterns of response may be modified or inhibited. Breathing, for example, seems to be a type of activity which the individual does not have to learn, and in its unmodified form is not considered a phase of culture. However, breathing activity may be modified culturally. Whole villages of Polynesian pearl-divers are said to have learned how to hold their breath under water for two minutes at a time. Speed swimmers in our society breathe only through the mouth at precise intervals in the stroke. Professional singers and players of wind instruments also learn special techniques of breath control. Thus the inherited response of respiration may be modified into a cultural pattern. Learned habits are superimposed on inherited responses. Much cultural behavior, however, goes beyond mere modification of inherited patterns. Writing with pen and ink, for example, represents a series of very delicately adjusted responses which are ordered into a patterned sequence. There is no complete prototype of this pattern in the hereditary equipment of the species. Normal human beings, to be sure, carry the unit responses in their innate repertory, but the responses must be elicited through training, and the pattern as a whole must be learned from start to finish.

Language as behavior. Confusion sometimes occurs regarding language. Is it innate? Is it culture? Or is it cultural equipment? The ability to speak is apparently innate in the species, just as is the ability to rotate the arm at the shoulder joint, to stand upright, or to oppose the thumb to the fingers. A specific language, however, consists of a series of actual muscular acts performed in the throat and mouth. These acts, if performed with a proper degree of conformity to the standards of the group, produce air vibrations which, striking the eardrum of another member of the group, may act as stimuli to that individual. Obviously, spoken language is behavior. Sign language used by deaf-mutes illustrates the point even more clearly because the muscular responses involved are more clearly visible, and the stimuli produced involve light waves rather than sound waves. The specific acts of throat and mouth and the resulting sounds involved in a given spoken language always consist of a small selection of the total number of which the human vocal apparatus is actually capable. The production of this selection of sounds is heavily and repeatedly rewarded by the social

group (usually the family) during the childhood of the individual. The proud father's ecstatic patting, fondling, and feeding of the baby when it begins to say "Daddy" are examples. Also by countless rewards and punishments the group members teach the child the proper (rewarded) and improper (punished) situations in which each word may be used. Thus, words as stimuli and responses are associated with situations and objects of life experience, and the individual learns their symbolic referents. The communicative value of words, therefore, depends upon their having been partial elements of situations common or similar in the experience of both speaker and hearer. Verbal language, then, must be regarded as pure behavior, conforming to the pattern of the group and learned through thousands of reinforcements.² This type of behavior, like many others, can be elaborated and extended through the use of cultural equipment. Thus, words may be written or printed and read instead of heard. In our society so much of the language is communicated by hand and eye, that we sometimes fall into the belief that the printed word *is* language itself, is culture. In the view taken here, type ink, paper, pens, pencils, and other tools for recording language must be regarded as cultural equipment; the behavior associated with them alone is culture. Printed words themselves are material equipment used in association with behavior; they are not behavior themselves.

Folkways, mores, and institutions. Customs and usages have been classified by Sumner³ as *folkways* and *mores*, a pair of terms which have been widely used in sociology. *Folkways* are behavior patterns of everyday life, which generally arise unconsciously in a group, such as tipping the hat, calling on strangers, and shaking hands, and without planned or rational thought. They seem to individuals, when the latter think of them at all, merely to be handy solutions of immediate problems. The originators are usually anonymous. The folkways are usually without moral significance; the meanings and values attached to them do not usually carry the idea that the folkways are of great or vital importance to the existence of the group. *Mores* (*mos*, sing.), on the other hand, are those customs and group routines which are thought by the members of the society to be necessary to the group's continued existence. These customs are "right." Under this head come such customs as religious rituals, respect for authority, marriage, sex tabus, and so on. *Institutions* are organized patterns of folkways and mores often associated, of course, with items of the cul-

²This interpretation is partly based on deduction from general learning theory. It is to be hoped that adequate experimental or life-history data on the learning of language will be forthcoming before long.

³Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1907, Ch. 1.

tural equipment so integrated as to give a unit character to the activities. The church, state, family, are institutions, which, among others, will be discussed in later chapters.

Political, religious, and economic customs are woven into the conventions and traditions of each society. Within a society there is always a general uniformity in the behavior of individuals which extends from intimate details of family life to the public acts of the supreme political officers. Even the ways of thinking and feeling are in part socially determined. Most persons in America have at the least an attitude of tolerance toward Jews; in Hitler's Germany the officially approved conduct toward Jews was hostile. We constantly tend to translate services and goods into terms of money; in certain other cultures such as the Kwakiutl of British Columbia, for instance, goods are thought of in terms of social prestige. We are constantly thinking of activities in terms of time measured by clocks; in many other societies activity is measured in terms of completeness regardless of the amount of time required. The very ways in which one shows his anger, or pleasure, or other emotional responses are usually influenced by the culture of his society. Thus a refusal to recognize a person on the street may be as potent a means of showing displeasure as a scream of angry words or blows. The facial expression, the posture of the body, the wave of the hand, may all be determined by the culture and have meaning.

Functions of culture for the group. It is the possession of a common culture which gives the members of a society a feeling of unity with the group and enables them to live and work together without too much confusion and mutual interference. Human society without these common modes of life is unknown. The culture performs several important functions in group life: (1) It provides a series of patterns whereby the *biological demands* (primary drives) of the group members can be met for sustenance, shelter, and reproduction, and the group itself is thereby maintained. (2) It provides a set of rules to insure coöperation of the individual members of a group in adjusting to the environmental situation. The group is thus able to act in certain situations as a unit. (3) The culture provides channels of interaction for the individuals within the group, thus preserving a certain minimum of unity and preventing the group from being torn apart by conflicts. (4) It creates acquired drives or needs and provides for their satisfaction among the members of society—those with special aesthetic, moral, and religious interests. The culture thus provides methods of adjustment of the group to its external and internal needs. It also provides a pattern for the development of the personality of the individual.

Functions of culture for the individual. Until one has experienced a different culture from that in which he has been reared, how little he appreciates the important part the culture has played in the formation of his habits! The activities of daily life have become second nature and largely unconscious. But let him be plunged into a different culture, as when he visits a foreign country, or when he becomes familiar with the ways of a group of immigrants recently settled in his own land, and he begins to perceive that the way of life of each individual is acquired from the cultural complex of his group. By subjecting himself to a new culture long enough he can consciously learn it.

The series of habits and customs which the individual shares with other members of his society have an important bearing on his existence and happiness. (1) The culture provides a large number of *ready-made adjustments* which the individual has only to learn. He is provided with a whole series of problems already solved, e.g., what kind of food to seek, how to protect himself from the weather, and how to get along with other people. The culture provides the individual with the distillation of much past experience, and he is thus spared the time and energy which would be required for analysis and solution of many problems vitally concerned with his very survival. (2) It provides a series of familiar *stimuli* to the individual to which he has only to respond in a familiar way. The majority of expectable life situations are already analyzed and interpreted in the culture, and through constant reinforcement the individual responds to them automatically. The importance of the adjustment of one's own habits to the ways of his group is illustrated when visiting in another country. In England, for instance, traffic on the left side of the road usually presents a situation unfamiliar to the American and causes him confusion. A man kissing another man is interpreted in our culture as a sign of effeminacy; the American is confused when greeted with this mark of esteem in France. In our own culture, unusual situations tend to throw the individual or the group into confusion, as in the case of a fire in a theater, a disaster at sea, an earthquake, or a revolution which has suddenly overthrown a government. In such cases the culture provides for the average individual no familiar stimuli and no practiced pattern of action. Each individual has to think or act for himself, and the result is often a stampede, undisciplined excess, and other signs of social breakdown, accompanied often by high incidence of injury or loss of life to individuals. But for most situations which the individual is likely to face during his life the culture provides familiar stimuli which evoke detailed and practiced ways of action. It is for this reason, for instance, that fire drills are carried on by

the children at school, or that a wise leader endeavors to make a theater fire appear to the audience as a familiar situation by announcing perhaps that the projector has broken down, that one of the actors has been taken ill, or that the fire is a small conflagration back stage which shows no sign of spreading, and asking the audience to leave the theater quietly. All these things are familiar cultural stimuli to the audience, and they respond to them with customary orderliness.

In addition to supplying patterns of response and artificial stimuli, the culture also provides (3) traditional and therefore familiar interpretations for many situations on the basis of which the individual may determine the precise form of his own behavior. But these interpretations often differ from culture to culture. Thus, among ourselves the birth of twins is looked upon with mixed feelings by fathers, but on the whole is interpreted mainly in terms of the financial factors involved. Among the Ju-ju of the Niger Delta, however, several different interpretations are given to such an event: (a) The woman may have committed adultery, and the twins represent different fathers; (b) one of the twins may represent an evil spirit with which the mother has been consorting and which has entered her body; (c) the birth of twins may be an ill omen, because in times past it has been followed by some calamity such as death, plague, drought, or famine.⁴ Again the father feels and acts in accordance with the interpretation common to his group. A thunderstorm is interpreted by our culture as the result of interaction between heat, moisture, and electrical charges in the atmosphere, and the individual thinks and acts with these natural physical features in mind. In British Columbia the same situation is interpreted as due to the flappings of the wings of the giant supernatural thunderbird, while in ancient Greece it was looked upon as a manifestation of Zeus's anger. In each culture the situation is interpreted, and the individual usually acts on the basis of that interpretation.

Predictive value of culture. The great value of the culture concept in social science is that it affords us a means of predicting a good share of individual and group behavior in specific instances. This is to say that, if we know the cultural patterns of the group to which the individual belongs, we can predict that he will follow them in most situations covered by the culture. Now, the culture serves the same function for the members of the group or society, although their "predictions" are usually made unconsciously. But the fact is that, without being able to "count on" what the other fellow is going to do most of the time, we could not live in society

⁴ Thomas, W. I., *Primitive Behavior*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1936, pp. 9, 10.

with him. Thus, when one is introduced to a stranger who is an American, one can be reasonably sure that he will not strike one on the jaw or stick out his tongue at one in the course of the introduction—rather, he will smile, extend his hand, and say a conventional phrase. We “expect” people to be quiet and reverent in church on Sunday, we expect storekeepers to follow the custom of opening for business at a reasonable hour in the morning and waiting on their customers with efficiency, we count on most fathers providing for the sustenance of their children and protecting the honor of their wives, we base our own driving plans on the assumption that other drivers will stay on the right side of the road, and so on. The culture thus provides a web, as it were, of *conventional expectations* upon which the individuals and the constituent groups of the society may rely, and without which they would be unable to carry on organized social life. The province of *social control*, with which we shall deal later, is concerned with methods used by societies for maintaining the reliability of such conventional expectations, and with the elimination of individuals whose behavior is not reliably predictable in terms of the approved patterns.

Analysis of cultures

A culture may be looked upon as a whole, even though it is made up of various elements, to each of which is attached different values. The complete culture is seldom absorbed or practiced by any single individual in the society. It is too varied and covers too wide an area of experience. In such a society as our own the range of patterns is so vast that many lifetimes would be required for their complete acquisition by any one person. Moreover, neither the needs of the individual nor the welfare of the group demands that every member share equally all the elements of the culture. One may be familiar with the artistic, but know very little about the scientific elements. Most of the members are required to share the core of the culture, say the “universals,” the folkways and mores, but may not be interested in or participate in what may be called the fringes, such as the literary, the aesthetic, or the specialized elements. Yet all these fields of activity are undoubtedly parts of the total configuration.

In spite of the configurational nature of culture, however, some concepts and intellectual tools are necessary for analysing its component parts. Particularly is this necessary for an understanding of specific customs and artifacts, and of those variant types of behavior producing social maladjustment or conflict.

Types of customs. A culture is always an organization of customs. A custom is a habit (i.e., a learned reaction) which is socially learned, socially shared, and socially transmitted. For purposes of analysis we postulate that each custom is patterned and that the patterns of the various customs are organized together into the over-all system of the culture in question. The pattern is often not consciously recognized by the practitioners of the customs, and in such cases it is an abstract concept used by the social scientist to define the central tendency of the various individual performances of custom. In other cases the pattern is known and agreed upon. Thus in the game of tennis, for example, there is agreement on the pattern which should be translated into action when stroking a ball, but with a racket in his hand each player will vary somewhat from this ideal pattern. We might think of the pattern of a custom as a straight and narrow path running through a countryside, with a high fence on each side a few feet back from the path. Actual performance would be shown by the tracks made by different individuals walking down this thoroughfare. A few individuals may adhere strictly to the path (pattern); many others, however, will wander to right or left, some will stagger a bit, and so on. So long as the individual does not try to climb over the fences on either side he is considered to be adhering to the pattern within the approved limits. In other words, each custom has a pattern, but variation on the pattern is usually permitted within a certain range.

From the point of view of the performer, we may speak of three types of customs: (1) actional customs, (2) representational customs, and (3) mental customs. Actional customs we may observe directly because they usually involve gross movements of the body or its parts. Shaking hands, kneading bread dough, digging a ditch are simple examples of this sort of customary activity. The actional type of custom is directed toward the goal of actually itself altering the situation in which it is practiced in some physical particular. The representational customs are also usually directly observable as movements of the body. They consist of speaking, gesturing, signaling and all sorts of customary activity which is intended to "stand for" something else. Thus the representational customs depend upon conventional understandings and they are not intended to affect physical alteration of the situation in which they are used. They serve to set off customs of the actional or mental types. If one man shouts "liar" to another, a fight may ensue, provided both understand English. But the resulting physical commotion is not directly caused by the air vibrations involved in the pronunciation of the word. It is only when the second man understands this combination of sounds as an insult that he is thereby

stimulated to start performing certain actional customs ordinarily considered permissible in such situations. On the other hand, such an epithet may serve merely to start in train a series of patterned mental customs. The second man may refrain from overt action, but the word may start a series of mental patterns involving "plans" for later retaliation. Mental customs consist of all patterned forms of mental activity which are socially learned, socially shared, and socially transmitted. They may take the form of logical thought (logic is a pattern for thinking), of fantasy, of dreams during sleep, internalized performances of overt activities, and so on.

It therefore appears that actional and representational customs are *overt*, whereas the mental customs are *covert* and therefore not directly observable by outsiders. The ideas which men have, and their dreams and fantasies, have to be "acted out" if others are to know about them, or they have to be "represented" in terms which others can understand. It is sometimes doubted that covert or mental activities are actually customary in the sense which we give to the term custom. Are they socially shared? We do not need to review the proofs at this point. A few instances from common experience are perhaps sufficient. It is well known that beliefs and attitudes are held in common by persons of the same group, even though the individuals cannot put them into words. Likewise, persons of the same culture tend to dream about the same types of cultural objects and situations and their dreams tend to follow similar "plots," whereas individuals of another culture exhibit a different range of dream content and pattern. It may seem to be a strange use of language to speak of "customs of dreaming," but if our terminology is to remain consistent the term cannot be considered misapplied. Internalized performance of overt patterns is a common experience. In our society individuals frequently have tunes "running through their heads," tunes which they have culturally learned. Without mentioning further examples, there seems to be no doubt of the operational reality of mental customs.

It should be clear that not all habits (learned activities) are customs. Everyone has some habits which are strictly idiosyncratic, because they are not socially shared. Such activities are not, of course, to be considered parts of culture.

Culture traits and complexes. If one looks at a culture as a total functioning system, one may break it down into its simplest units, which are called *traits*.⁵ A trait is either a single custom or a custom plus equipment. At all events, it is a unit which cannot be further broken down from a functional point of view. This is one of the features which distinguish

⁵ Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man*, Appleton-Century, New York, 1936, pp. 397-400.

cultural traits from simple unit responses of the organism as they may be considered from the point of view of a neurologist or a behavioristic psychologist. For example, "tying shoe laces" is a trait of our culture. It involves customary activity and artifacts; it is patterned, and the pattern implies a series of motions. But it is an irreducible unit in the complex of the culture. One cannot "half-tie" his shoes and be able to carry out fully the other associated traits in the complex of "dressing." Yet a good neuropsychologist could probably identify at least a dozen or so minute stimulus-response units in the trait. Probably three dozen or so muscles or muscle groups are used; but from the cultural point of view this is a matter of minor interest. Does the trait operate as a unit and does it play a unitary role in a customary situation.⁶ In language the unit sounds, such as long *a*, the nasal *n*, or soft *th* are culture traits, called by the technical name *phonemes*. In football the act of kicking the ball is a culture trait; the single blast of the referee's whistle is another; and so on. A single digit (1, 2, 3, etc.) is a trait, as are all simple, irreducible ways of acting shared by a social group.

It is seldom that traits are observed in life as independent entities. These simple units of behavior are almost invariably linked together in the human organism into functional units of response, which we may call a *complex*. The sounds of the language are combined into words and sentences and other complex forms of expression; the act of kicking the football is combined with a great many other unit traits of behavior to make that complex which we know as a football game. The single numerical digit represents some other trait or complex of the culture and usually is combined with other digits in a mathematical complex. The simple idea inevitably is linked with other ideas into a scheme of thought.⁷

Consider such a complex as horseback riding in our culture. On the material equipment side we think first of the horse itself which in its present form is the result of many unit traits of human culture involved in selective breeding, in breaking to the saddle, in feeding, in sheltering, in currying, in caring for the horse in many other details. The equipment which we use for riding represents a complex made up of many unit traits, such as the form of the bit, bit ring, straps produced and used in certain ways and combined into the bridle and reins, buckles, etc., according to a certain pattern. So with the rest of the equipment. Once the horse is present and equipped we might consider the costume and equipment of

⁶ Gillin, John, "Cultural Adjustment," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 46, pp. 429-447.

⁷ See also Wissler, Clark, "Aboriginal Maize Culture as a Typical Culture Complex," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, March, 1916, pp. 656-661.

the rider as trait complexes; then the various actions in handling and riding the horse—mounting from the left side, knee grip, elbows close to body, posting, neck pressure for guiding the animal, and knee pressure for change of gait. Thus horseback riding is a unit activity which consists of a number of trait complexes functionally linked together. The whole complex of horseback riding may become a functional part of a still larger complex, such as the cavalry organization of an army, with all the complexes involved therein, such as tactics, supply, drill, and camping. The cavalry complex in turn is functionally a part of the army, the army a part of an institution known as the state or political organization of the nation. Wheels within wheels, one may say. But even a superficial consideration of other traits and complexes will convince the intelligent observer that this is the way of culture.

Institutions. The simple units of culture not only tend to cluster in complexes, but complexes tend to organize into still larger systems of cultural configurations called *institutions*. Bear in mind that ideals, emotional expressions, meanings, values may be common to a group and therefore are cultural, just as are overt ways of acting. We speak of social relationships and activities as institutionalized. We shall avoid confusion if we consider institutions in terms of common modes of organizing the life of society and regard the buildings and other material objects sometimes popularly associated therewith as the cultural equipment of the institution. Thus a banking institution involves a building, adding machines, paper and metal money, typewriters, and fixtures of numerous but standardized types; and with each of these objects is associated patterned activities. Banking also involves rules of arithmetic, economics, law, and the like, plus rules of politeness, obedience to orders by employees, honesty, keeping of regular hours, and so on. All of the numerous modes of acting, thinking, and feeling involved in banking are organized into a system which gives a unified character to the activity of the institution as a whole and is functionally related to other institutions in the culture. Thus a bank building is nothing to a sociologist in terms of the group of people who work in it and the ways they act together.

Integration of culture. Although for purposes of study it is permissible to speak of parts, the culture of a society is always organized into a *system* or *configuration*. The integration of such a system may be more or less perfect, but a certain minimum of internal harmony and functional connection between traits and complexes must be present if the culture, and therefore the society, is not to disintegrate. Lack of integration in the cultural system results in confusion for the individual, loss of efficiency for

the society, and the rise of conflicts which may prove disastrous because of the consequent loss of adjustment within the group. Strong supernaturalism of a certain type coexisting in a culture with a well-developed science, a pattern of honesty in personal relations existing side by side with one of sharp dealing in business relations, a form of democracy in politics coexisting with autocracy in economic relations, are examples of possible lack of integration. Yet few cultures are completely integrated. This is probably due to the fact that all parts do not develop at an equal rate under normal conditions. One large complex develops and changes for a period faster than another complex, and a certain lack of adjustment between them arises. Only when the lack of adjustment is so serious as to make necessary unity impossible, does the culture break down and the society disintegrate. Then we have pathological conditions discussed in Part 7. During the early days of the settlement of this country a good many Indian cultures saw their religious complexes obliterated by the whites. Religious beliefs, feelings, behavior, and attitudes played a large part in all their group activities. With these old religious customs removed and a set of Christian ceremonies introduced which had no apparent connection with other aspects of the aboriginal culture, the latter rapidly went to pieces; integration could not be maintained at vital points. The result was the familiar breakup of the tribe and the demoralization of the individual Indians. It is clear, therefore, that the culture of any particular society is a system of complexes in equilibrium, showing a certain degree of integration. A culture is a dynamic system subject to stresses and strains and therefore liable to change, because it is a system of adjustment for individuals and groups to conditions which are themselves subject to change.⁸ We shall consider this matter further in the chapters on social organization, social change, and social pathology.

Values and meanings

Values. The *value* of a thing is its worth or desirability as compared with something else. Values cluster around (1) activities and attitudes which serve needs of the group, or a large or dominant portion of the group, or (2) about ways of life which have become habitual or customary and therefore require little conscious adjustment from day to day, or they are (3) so intertwined with other elements in the culture that disturbance of one part of the complex threatens others. It may be generally stated

⁸ Gillin, John, "The Configuration Problem in Culture," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, 1936, pp. 373-386; Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934.

that if the various cultural elements are well integrated for the members of a society, their entire culture has a high value, since even those parts which may not of themselves seem very important are closely interwoven. Consequently, there is normally resistance to rapid or obvious changes in any part of the configuration. Societies fight to protect their cherished values; groups resist change which threatens those values. Values are elements in any cultural complex.

Since the culture of a society represents an adaptation to its needs in a given situation, any change seems to threaten cherished values and to imperil the social solidarity. For example, payment of debts as a form of honesty is given fairly high value in our culture, for the reason that failure to do so disables the individual's social and economic life and tends to upset the equilibrium of the economic system, thus endangering the social organization. But some of the elements in any culture may not really be necessary to the society's integrity and security; they may have become a part of the culture by accident or because someone thought they were essential, and then they became embedded by custom as firmly as if they were really necessary. They have a value because they are interwoven with elements which are necessary to the existence of the group. Since the values of a culture are established in the individual by the process of learning, we do not think through all the reasons for our valuations. We learn to act or think in a certain way, and once the habitual responses have been established, it is difficult and therefore unpleasant and undesirable to establish new ones. The "goodness" or "badness" of a culture trait is usually interpreted in terms of the total configuration; the usual test is the part it plays in the equilibrium of interrelated traits and complexes which constitute the culture. That is why different groups cling tenaciously to quite different ways of meeting the same situation. Thus female infanticide (killing of some of the female babies) is considered good among the Central Eskimo, because certain factors such as comparatively unproductive environment, hunting and fishing subsistence economy, and high death rate of males have produced a cultural configuration in which this pattern is desirable, while in our culture such a practice is criminal. Realization that social values are relative should aid us in maintaining an objective attitude in our studies of social life.

Form, function, and meaning. It should be noted that any element of culture, has a *form*, a *function*, and a *meaning*, all of which characteristics⁹ are intimately associated in a cultural configuration. Let us consider

⁹ For Linton's distinction between *function* and *use*, see *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, p. 404.

briefly a short cultural sequence, namely, saluting the flag as it was formerly taught in public schools. The form consisted of the participants raising the right arm with fingers extended and palm down at an angle of about 45° and pointing toward the national flag, together with certain vocal movements, "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The function of this behavior was to orient the participants toward the symbol of this nation-society and to provide cue stimuli for certain anticipatory responses



A time-piece may be used by the white anthropologist to mark time, by the Indian an alarm clock is worn as an ornament.

or attitudes which are commonly grouped under the head of loyalty. The meaning to sincere participants might be phrased as "It is good to be an American and to live under this flag; the situations in our past experience in which this flag has been involved have been predominantly rewarding." In short, the form of culture may be analyzed in terms of the actual behavior responses involved and their patterning (order and sequence); the function may be described in terms of social and cultural interaction—the relation which such behavior has or may have with other members of society and with other cultural patterns. The meaning of a cultural complex derives from the associations in past training or experience which the members of a society attach to it. It is interesting to note in connection with civilian flag-saluting as above described that the extended-arm behavior has tended to be replaced by a bent-arm military-type salute. The

stiff-arm salute has become so widely associated with Nazi-Fascist behavior that the meanings have become confused.¹⁰

Cultural equipment, when it is involved in a cultural pattern, usually conditions the latter. The form of a material object is usually available to observation, but we should be wary of supposing that material form necessarily determines the cultural behavior in the absence of training. There is usually a "right way" and a "wrong way" of using or reacting to a piece of cultural equipment from the point of view of the particular society involved. One of the authors once had the pleasure of entertaining a Carib Indian fresh from the jungle at dinner in a hotel in Georgetown. When the finger bowls were passed, the Indian seized his in both hands, drank the water, and ate the flower floating therein with relish. There is nothing inherent in the form of a glass finger bowl containing water and a floating flower which should cause us to disapprove of such behavior, other than our past training with regard to it. One cannot play a violin unless he has the instrument itself, but exposure to this particular form of wood, glue, and catgut does not of itself make one a violinist.

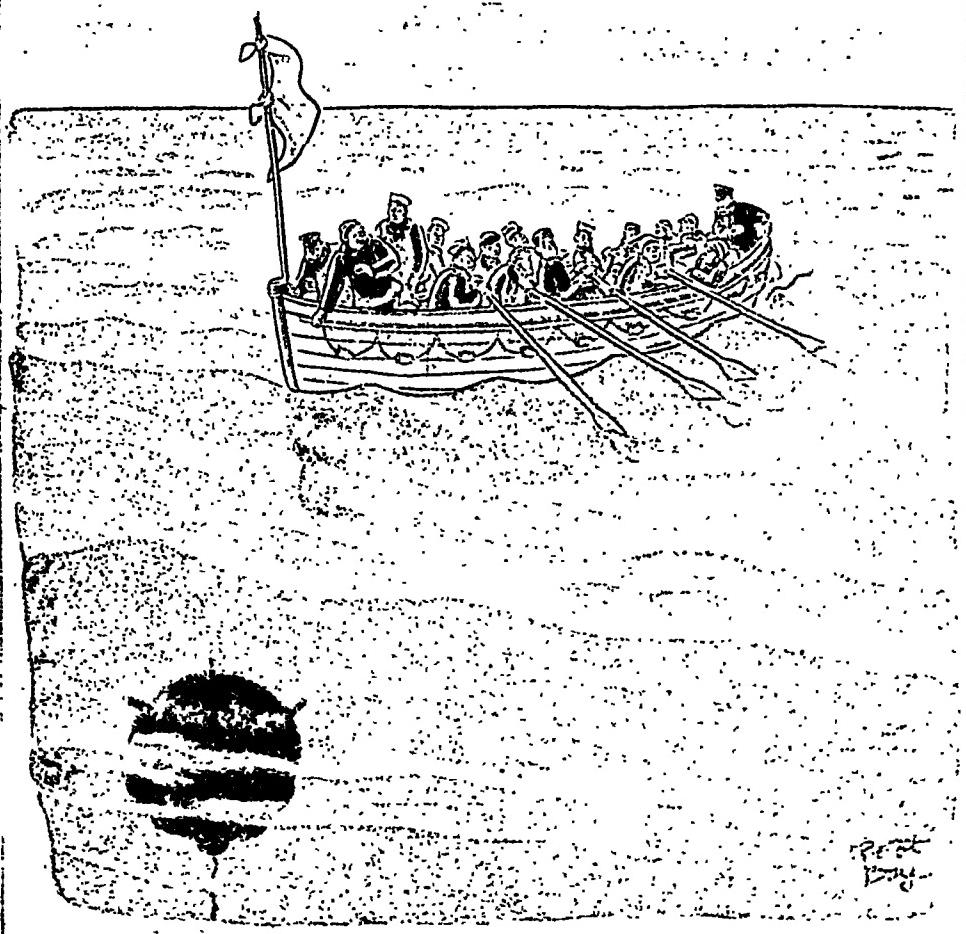
In view of these facts, we must be careful when considering cases of transfer of cultural equipment from one society to another. It is quite possible for an item of cultural equipment to "diffuse" without its culture. Considerable difficulty has been reported from Ethiopia with respect to European copper telegraph wire which is repeatedly stolen off the lines by the natives for the purpose of making personal ornaments; beer bottles are objects of trade in certain areas of South America where they are broken up and fashioned into arrowheads and knives. Dollar watches and alarm clocks are in demand among the Caribs as ornaments and toys; men wear them on strings around their necks and amuse themselves listening to the ticking, without any attempt to tell the time.

Cultural behavior itself may take on various functions and meanings as it passes from one group to another. The Lord's Supper occurs in almost identical form among a number of Christian sects each of which, however, gives it somewhat variant interpretations.

Certain formal elements of the Sun Dance among the Plains Indians were much the same for all the tribes who practiced it. The center pole of the lodge was "hunted," had coup counted on it, and was treated like the body of an enemy killed by a war party. Bloody torture of the participants

¹⁰ In May, 1941, when Charles A. Lindbergh, Burton K. Wheeler, Norman Thomas, and Kathleen Norris were photographed at an America First Committee meeting giving the stiff-arm salute there was considerable confusion among some editors and readers as to just what their meaning was. See *Time*, Vol. 37, June 2, 1941, p. 15.

was part of the routine of the Sun Dance, except at the margins of its distribution. But the functions and meanings of the ceremony differed widely from tribe to tribe. Among the Crow the Sun Dance was provided by an uncle in order to obtain supernatural power for revenging the death of a nephew. Among the Ponca it formed part of the annual ceremony of the Thunder Society. Among the Dakota the Sun Dance served as a mechanism for qualifying high-degree shamans. Among the Hidatsa it was part of the ceremonial necessary for the purchase of the family medicine bundle by a son from his father. Among the Cheyenne a warrior in danger



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"Look! We're approaching civilization."

CULTURAL SYMBOL?

Sociology in cartoons

or a father with a sick child would vow to hold a Sun Dance as a votive gesture if his prayers were answered.¹¹

We have suggested, on the basis of general learning theory, that meanings are learned by individuals on the basis of experience or training, and that, as groups of individuals learn such meanings, they become phases of culture.¹² As behavior a meaning may be regarded as an anticipatory response. An object or event has meaning to an individual if in the individual's experience it has previously formed part of a stimulus situation or sequence, all of the elements of which are not acting upon the receptors of the individual at the present time. Thus the meaningful object or event is a part of an old experience. The individual reacts to it *in anticipation* of the full presentation of its associated stimulus situation or sequence pattern, or, as we say, *as if* all the other elements of the situation were directly acting on his receptors. We should not assume that all meanings are conscious or that they can be put into words by the individuals or group of individuals who make them. Much of the art of psychoanalysis is concerned with bringing to light the unconscious meanings which individuals have attached to certain stimuli; five or six hours per week for a year or more of "free association" verbalization in the presence of a trained analyst are usually necessary to uncover them. Similarly long and patient interviewing of many individual members is necessary to obtain any reliable verbalization of the "deeper" meanings of the culture of a society. The meanings of a society's or social group's culture life are thus by far the most difficult aspects of culture for the investigator to uncover. Such difficulty in investigation should not, however, lead us to ignore this phase of culture.

Dewey¹³ has drawn a distinction between signs and symbols. Smoke is a sign of fire, says Dewey; the word *smoke* is a symbol of it. If we may follow this point in the terminology employed in this book, we may say that there are two types of meanings which the members of a society must learn. The one type is evoked by stimuli derived from *natural* stimulus situations; the other is derivable from *cultural, or artificial, situations* in the experience of the individuals who make up the society. When an adult individual of normal experience sees or smells an object of certain qualities,

¹¹ Spier, Leslie, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 16, 1921, pp. 451-527; Benedict, Ruth, "Religion," *General Anthropology*, F. Boas, editor, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1938, p. 657.

¹² For an interpretation of meaning as anticipatory response, see Krikorian, Y. H., "Meaning as Behavior," *Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 8, 1941, pp. 83-88.

¹³ Dewey, John, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1938, pp. 51-52.

which in our society we have been trained to call *smoke*, he makes an anticipatory response to fire—smoke means fire, regardless of the linguistic behavior involved. Members of all societies in which common training is given with respect to the objects smoke and fire attach similar meanings to the object smoke as directly apprehended by the senses. This is a meaning based on a natural stimulus situation, for there is a natural connection between smoke and fire in most situations of common experience, regardless of culture. The particular sound "smoke," however, has an arbitrary, *cultural* relation to the vocable "fire." In Spanish, for example, the sounds are, respectively, *humo* and *fuego*. Seeing the stimulus of the object smoke one has learned to anticipate a total situation involving also the stimulus of existential fire. Hearing the sound waves "smoke" a member of our society anticipates (1) a stimulus situation also involving existential fire. But he may also anticipate stimulus situations involving (2) the sound "fire"; or depending upon his training and the present stimulus situation, he may anticipate situations involving the sounds (3) "friction," (4) "oxidation," or he may anticipate the objective stimuli signified by these words.

In other words, the member of a social group learns the meaning of nature and the meanings of his culture as derived from the common experiences of the group. The group culture may create situations to which the individual is trained to respond meaningfully. Smoke in a natural situation means fire everywhere, but only in certain cultures does fire signify the presence of a deity.

In sum, cultural meanings are learned in social life. Those meanings associated with rewarding situations are regarded as valuable, those associated with punishing situations are regarded as not valuable, and the meanings are usually scaled between these two extremes.

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164 *Culture*

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Exercises

1. Define *culture*.
2. What is the difference between culture and cultural equipment as stated in the text? Compare the statement in the text on this matter with MacIver's treatment in his *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, pp. 272-281.
3. Distinguish between folkways and mores. Are either or both of them a part of the culture?
4. What are the important functions of culture for the group? For the individual?
5. What is the difference between a culture trait and a culture complex?
6. How is an institution related to a culture trait? To a culture complex?
7. What is meant by *integration of culture*? Give examples.
8. What may be the effect on the integration of its culture of the introduction of Christianity into the culture of a primitive people? Of the introduction of large-scale industry?
9. What effect on the integration of the culture of Europe during the late Middle Ages had the introduction of the ideas of Copernicus and Galileo?
10. Are all the values of a society necessary to its survival? To its integration? Explain.
11. Dr. John G. Paton in his autobiography told of a certain negro member of his mission, who, like his fellows, usually appeared at church services dressed only in a loin cloth, but who on one Sunday appeared with a vest and coat (without the trousers) which had been shipped in a barrel of old clothes to the mission and had been distributed to its members. In the light of the discussion of "meaning" in the test why was his appearance ridiculous?
12. Why was polygyny looked upon as proper in ancient Hebrew society (David had a number of wives), while in our society it is a criminal offense?

chapter 7 Culture—continued

Origin of culture elements

If the culture of the group or society to which he belongs has so far-reaching an influence upon the individual, does the individual in his turn have any influence upon the culture? While it is true that every individual shapes the larger part of his behavior after the forms current in his society, there is always room for (1) individual peculiarities or personal eccentricities and (2) revolt against or irritation with the current modes.¹

Individual peculiarities. Individual variations in conduct and ideas may arise from a variety of causes, many of which can be classed as accidental. Frequently there is no conscious striving by the individual to be "different." For example, allergy to certain types of food will necessitate an individual type of diet; abnormal fear of the dark, private personal doubts concerning the current religious beliefs, a physical accident or disease, behavior due to frustration of desires such as the desire for recognition or response, or an eccentric muscular habit may give rise to individual variations from the social norm. In every society we may observe an enormous number of these individual variations, and most of them die with their originators. However, when one of these variations possesses unusual advantages or attractiveness for other persons, it may be taken over by other members of the society and thus become a part of the culture.

Dissatisfaction with current modes. Personal dissatisfaction with certain ways of behaving or socially accepted attitudes may lead to conscious

¹ Emile Durkheim in *The Rules of Sociological Method*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938, argues that culture ("representations collectives" and "l'ame collective") determines individual behavior. He would seem to leave out of account the influence of the individual in starting innovations which modify the collective. See "Author's Preface to the Second Edition" and "Author's Introduction." Yet in spite of his emphasis on the collective aspects of this problem (e.g., p. 102), he asserts (p. 71) that, "To make progress, individual originality must be able to express itself." The authors of the present book have endeavored to give due weight to both aspects of the matter.

seeking for substitutes. Individuals who thus reject certain social norms and substitute new patterns are often called "cranks" and "rebels" so long as others do not imitate them. Yet when their individual patterns are taken over by others they become no longer individual peculiarities but cultural norms. A few years ago we read in the papers of a gentleman who became disgruntled with the custom requiring men to remove their hats in elevators while in the presence of ladies. He organized a club of men committed to the idea of keeping their hats on in elevators. If, in the course of time, this becomes a socially accepted form of gentlemanly behavior, a new convention comes into being. Thus the rebel is often a cultural innovator.

The individual and the origin of culture. Individual variations are of the utmost importance in cultural dynamics. For in the last analysis folkways and mores and social norms of thinking about matters have no existence except as they are practiced by and secure the assent of individuals composing a society. Some cultural elements may actually be traced to an invention or discovery made by an individual, although such examples are relatively rare, because many inventions and discoveries are considered too insignificant to be recorded at the time. The originality in an idea may be so small that other individuals hardly take conscious notice of the fact that it is an innovation; the original idea may be and usually is elaborated by the addition of small increments until the final result may be very imposing. Yet we cannot overlook the fact that each bit of originality must have been provided, even though unconsciously, by an individual. A new technique is improved by the addition of other bits of technique, so that it gradually becomes something very different from the original. Little by little elaboration goes on, often beyond any apparently useful purpose so far as group adjustment to environment or group welfare is concerned, as in the case of rococo art, the details of Zuni ceremonialism, and the like.

It is sometimes argued that individuals cannot be the ultimate source of cultural elements because many cultural innovations appear so gradually and unconsciously as to be "impersonal." Grant that many innovations do occur slowly, impersonally and unconsciously, and that no one knows who was the first man to use a stone as a hammer, or who first said "yeah." But we cannot escape the conclusion that some unrecorded individual made the first move, even though he did not realize that he was starting a new convention or custom. Language provides an example of slow change produced by an accumulation of minute variations. In this way presumably

bruder in German became *brother* in English, *wasser* became *water*, and so on.

Even those elements which are "borrowed" from some other society are often modified by the initiative of individuals in the process of adapting them to the already existing cultural context of the borrower's society. Thus, everyone knows that the basic elements of parliamentarism did not originate in the United States, but were brought here from Great Britain and were changed to suit the particular situation in this country. The use of the humble safety pin was apparently native to the Bronze Age people of Europe, but the uses to which it was put were elaborated in modern society. Even as to those elements which are clearly borrowed without modification, it is evident that the same principles of individual origin apply in the culture from which they were ultimately borrowed. We thus see that culture does not float down on a people like the gentle rain from heaven, nor is it generated in some mysterious supermind. Individuals, and only individuals, originate culture, and through their interaction in society is culture developed, preserved, and passed on to future generations.

Superindividual aspects. Despite the fact that all cultural elements originate with individuals and that we therefore have to discard concepts of an organic group mind, we must not conclude that a cultural configuration is the product of any one individual personality. This truth is borne in upon us by three facts: (1) The individual, as we have already noted, is seldom if ever able to practice or participate in all elements of the culture of his society. (2) The culture continues to exist despite the death of individual members of the society. We are born into a culture which is a going concern. During our lifetime it may change, but not usually in direct correlation with our individual physiological or organic changes. When we die, the culture still continues, carried on by our descendants. Culture has an existence of its own, independent of the lives of particular individuals. Here again the temptation is strong in unanalytical minds to invoke some mystic factor to explain the phenomenon. Actually the matter is relatively simple if we remember that mental and overt behavior patterns are learned by successive generations of individuals, while from time to time new increments are added which in turn become part of the social heritage. Not only does a culture tend to exist beyond the life span of individuals, but it (3) tends to accumulate and grow. A given configuration tends to expand as new elements are added by the process discussed above. This characteristic is due partly to memory, and partly to the fact that the cultural equipment usually in itself provides visible and tangible objects

which endure as stimuli for future generations. Thus the archaeologist is enabled to reconstruct in part the culture of prehistoric peoples from the artifacts found in refuse mounds and caves where they once dwelt. The most important mnemonic aids are of course those systems of symbols which we call writing, printing, and other forms of records. But even in those societies which do not have recording systems, the material equipment-tools, houses, utensils, art objects, and the like—serves constantly to recall the patterns of yesterday or to provide stimuli which evoke responses which might otherwise be forgotten.

Cultural variability. Each society has a cultural configuration of its own which is more or less unique. In complex societies such as our own, there may be a number of smaller configurations within the larger, such as the subcultures of New England, the Deep South, the Middle West, the Mountain Region, and the Coast. At least a thousand cultures, each associated with a society, have been recognized by anthropologists and sociologists. Ten thousand is not an unreasonable figure for the number of cultures which have existed at some time among men during either historic or prehistoric times. This great variability of culture reflects the adaptability of the human organism to various types of behavior, the inventiveness of the human mind, and certain environmental variations in various parts of the earth.

Most individuals are so influenced by the norms with which they are familiar that any other mode of behavior is unthinkable. When informed that certain Tibetan tribesmen exist all winter without a bath, that the Caribs relish the eating of certain tree worms, that the Polar Eskimo eats decayed birds, feathers, flesh, and all, the average American is inclined to be disgusted or incredulous. Yet one of the writers has seen aboriginal peoples in the jungles of South America who were nauseated by the taste of Grade A canned peaches, who laughed in derision at his practice of tooth-brushing, and considered the white man's firm refusal to pluck out his eyebrows an example of rank exhibitionism.

There are certain human and social needs which every culture must fill, but the precise form of behavior and ideology involved varies with the particular society and its cultural configuration. We, for example, consider the exposure of certain parts of the body below the neck a form of immodesty; the Tuaregs of the Sahara desert add the exposure of the face. In our society, women may use cosmetics to heighten the natural tints of the face, other attempts at facial ornamentation being on the whole tabu, but ethnography furnishes numerous examples of societies in which facial ornamentation is achieved by means of disks of wood in the

distended lips; buttons or labrets through the lips; plugs through the perforated cheeks; rings through the nose; painted designs on the face; oil, flower petals, feathers, clay, and other materials on the skin. We think of food appetites as among the most "natural" attributes of man. But let us consider very briefly a few preferences from other societies which may appear a bit exotic to our taste. One group of villagers among the Lepchas of Sikkim were, according to Gorer, serpent-eaters. They would stone the snake, cut off the head, and devour the body. At the present time Lepchas "will eat dead domestic animals and carrion found in the forest." They prefer their meat high but not maggoty.² Similarly the Veddas of Ceylon have, according to Bailey, "a decided preference for their game 'high'—if so mild a term can describe the exceedingly advanced condition."³ Likewise the Veddas seem to relish rotten wood which they eat mixed with honey, bark, leaves, and fruits; five different kinds of decayed wood are eaten.⁴ In describing the food habits of the Issa-Japura tribes of western Amazonia (mainly the Boro and Witoto), Whiffen remarks that, "it is possible that the salt in human blood may be one of the unrealized attractions that lead these people to anthropophagous habits."⁵ In addition to eating other human beings, a great craving is manifested for clay which, if it cannot otherwise be obtained, is scraped from under the fireplace. This practice is frowned upon, but is almost universal among small boys. Monkeys, frogs, and lizards are not only not disdained, but are regarded as "delicacies," as are head lice. "A scurf-comb is a most important present, and to comb your neighbor's hair and eat the 'bag' an honour and a luxury. They will also eat the grubs of wasps and bees, in fact any larvae."⁶ A common sight in the houses are the grubs of a large palm beetle strung on strings. When fried, they are much prized.⁷ In spite of these queer (to us) appetites, the Witoto refuse to eat birds' eggs. A survey of food customs in various human societies seems to show that almost anything which can be swallowed has been an object of customary ingestion in some cultural pattern, provided such objects were not immediately painful or lethal in their effects.⁸ These few examples from the field of alimentation may illustrate how secondary drives can be built up overlying the physiological drive

² Gorer, Geoffry, *Himalayan Village*, Michael Joseph, London, 1938, p. 56.

³ Bailey, J., "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddas of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, n.s., Vol. 2, 1863, p. 288.

⁴ Sarasin, P., and F., *Die Weddas von Ceylon und die sie umgebenden Völkerschaften*, Wiesbaden, 1893, Vol. 1, p. 401.

⁵ Whiffen, Thomas, *The Northwest Amazons*, Constable, London, 1915, p. 124.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁸ Gillin, John, "Custom and Range of Human Response" *Character and Personality*, Vol. 18, 1944, pp. 101-134.

of hunger. Not only appetites, but also anxieties (*tabus*) can be learned to a very wide variety of stimuli.

Cultural types

Classification of subsistence economies. Despite the variation in human customs, cultures can be classified in various ways—according to type of religious institutions, political institutions, rules of descent, and so on. Perhaps the most useful illustration for our purposes is the classification of the methods of providing basic sustenance. The economic and technological aspects of a culture are those which are most closely concerned with the external physical and geographical environment; it is by means of such responses that the group is able to subsist, the first necessity of any society. Subsistence cultures may be classified in a general way as follows: (1) *Gathering* societies depend for subsistence upon certain techniques of obtaining or extracting sustenance from the materials offered by the environment in their natural state. Gathering of fruits, seeds, and leaves, and the digging of roots by various techniques naturally limit the size of the population using these methods, because under all but very exceptional conditions, each individual requires a fairly large area for his support. Gathering alone is seldom the sole means of support in a group and is known for only a few societies. It is usually combined with (2) *hunting and fishing* techniques. For hunting and fishing rather more specialized tools and appliances are needed than for simple gathering. Though not universal, the domesticated dog is often a part of the hunting complex. Trained cormorants are used by fishermen in parts of Asia; the remora "sucker fish" is used as an aid to fishing in some parts of Oceania and southeastern Asia; the horse, obtained from the Spaniards, was adapted to the hunting of the buffalo by the Plains Indians.

Often in societies which depend upon hunting, fishing, and gathering, the women do the gathering while the men are responsible for the hunting and fishing, although this is not an invariable rule. Most societies depending exclusively upon these methods are closely limited in population and are frequently nomadic. The group must move about to follow the game and to find the various vegetable foods; as one area becomes exhausted the group moves on to another, usually moving in a seasonal cycle. A regular supply of fish, however, as on the Northwest Coast of America and in parts of Polynesia, sometimes permits a settled mode of existence. (3) *Herding* is a general form of economy which depends upon animal domestication. Pastoralists must at least have learned to keep herd animals and

to breed and care for them. Only a few genera of herd animals seem to be amenable to domestication, and although new varieties have been developed by selective breeding, it appears that all the present known types of pastoral animals were domesticated before the dawn of history. It also seems, on the basis of archaeological and ethnological evidence, that domestication as an original discovery has been made in only a few societies, others having borrowed the traits from these centers. As a rule, only pasture-feeding animals are amenable to herding. For this reason the mere possession of domestic animals does not form a basis for a pastoral economy. Whereas cattle, sheep, and camels, for example, are adapted to pastoralism, such domestic animals as fowl and swine, for instance, are not. Pastoralists are usually by necessity at least partially nomadic, owing to the necessity of seeking fresh pasturage at different seasons of the year. A fairly sizable population may be supported almost exclusively by pastoralism, as in the case of the Kazaks and other tribes of Central Asia, but nomadism interferes with elaboration of such activities as architecture, pottery, science, and so on. (4) *Farming* is a form of economy that depends upon the discovery and breeding of certain plants of high food value which can be grown artificially and upon the invention of the techniques necessary to this end. Any mode of agriculture usually increases the amount of food which can be produced on a given area and thus provides for consequent increase in density of population. Furthermore, agriculture not only permits but demands at least a modicum of settled life. It is said that all highly developed civilizations have rested upon cereal agriculture of some sort. As in the case of pastoral animals, so with cereal plants, it seems that their domestication has occurred relatively infrequently and in definite areas or centers from which the complexes have been diffused to other cultures. The principal grains are the wheat-barley-oats-rye complex, familiar in our culture, and maize, millet, and rice. The first two grains were probably first domesticated in early neolithic times somewhere around the eastern end of the Mediterranean; possibly oats and rye were domesticated in north-western Europe, although there is some evidence pointing toward a more eastern center. Millet was apparently domesticated in Africa, possibly in the Sudan. Maize is an American plant first domesticated in America, possibly, in the light of recent evidence, on the eastern slopes of the Andes in Peru or the Gran Chaco. Quinoa, a grain of relatively small world importance now, was important in the food supply of the Inca Empire of Peru and was probably domesticated in that region. Rice probably was first domesticated in southeastern Asia or the near-by islands. We have not the space to trace the origins of the numerous other agricultural plants and animals,

but it is clear that domestication is a very important part of any advanced economy. Cereals in particular provide a compact, easily stored food supply for a relatively small expenditure of labor, thus providing leisure for part of the population to develop cultural traits not directly concerned with sustenance, such as art, literature, philosophy, and the like.

Three general techniques of agriculture should be noted. (*a*) *Horticulture* or hand tillage is a form of cultivation depending upon the use of the hoe or digging stick operated solely by man power. (*b*) Cultivation in *plough agriculture* is accomplished primarily with the plough or other agricultural implements, the power for which is provided by domesticated draft animals, such as horses, oxen, camels, carabaos. It is obvious that, other things being equal, plough agriculture produces more food for less human effort than does horticulture. (*c*) *Power agriculture*, achieved only partially in the Euro-American cultures, depends upon some form of artificially generated power, such as provided by steam, gasoline, oil, and electric engines.

The precise *equipment and techniques* found in any one of these subsistence economies may vary from culture to culture. Fishing, for instance, may be accomplished primarily with hook and line (there are several varieties), spears, bows and arrows, nets, blowguns, seines, or by poisoning the water. But it is clear that the general configuration of the subsistence economy has a bearing upon at least the size of the social group.

It will be noticed that these types of subsistence economy have been listed in order of increasing complexity. It used to be thought that this order represented the actual historical order of development through which each society had to pass. It is now known that many societies have skipped one or more of these forms of economy, e.g., Indian tribes which have jumped directly from gathering-hunting-fishing into plough agriculture.

Those societies lacking pastoral animals have, of course, never enjoyed a herding phase. Many societies which have had pastoral beasts have never depended primarily upon them, but have combined grazing with cultivation.

It has been held by some that the method of getting a living determines all the other elements of the culture, but that is not always true. Thus plough agriculturists have been known to be monogamous, polygynous, and polyandrous; in religion they have been monotheists, polytheists, animists, Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, Confucianists, Shintoists, and so on. Some tribes with very poorly elaborated subsistence economy possess extremely intricate social organizations, e.g., central Australians; while the obverse is also true, e.g., colonial United States.

In general, it appears that one large "department" of a culture, such as

the subsistence economy, will influence all other aspects of the cultural patterning, at least to the extent of demanding a minimum of consistency. But as a general rule no one aspect of a culture can be said to determine the details of all other aspects. Plow agriculture, for example, can be associated with capitalism or socialism; a monotheistic religion can flourish in either a democracy or a monarchy; and so on.

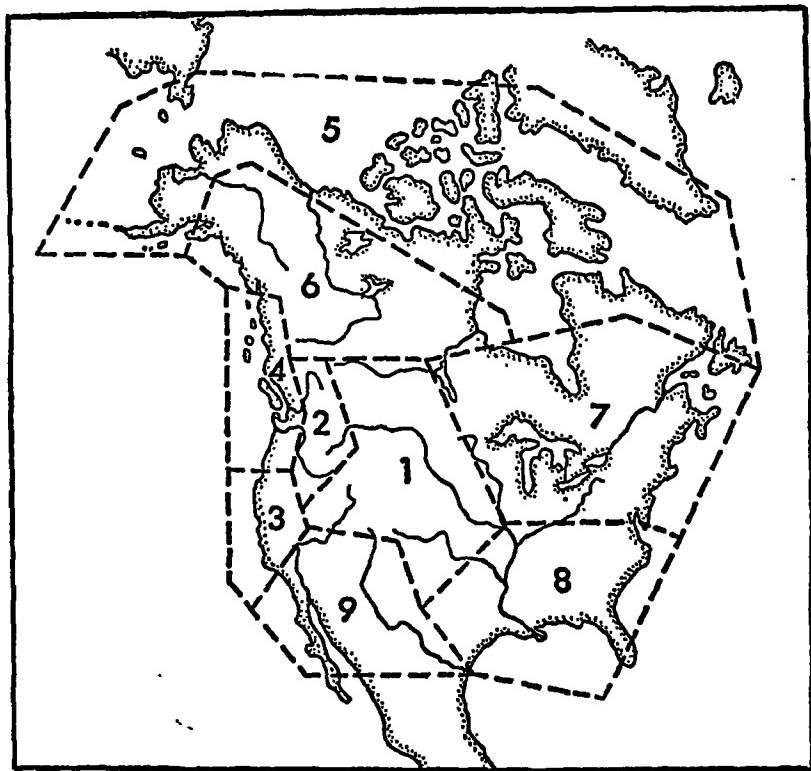
It should be noted that none of the domesticated animals of the Old World, with the exception of the dog, were known to the inhabitants of the New World at the time of its discovery, nor were any of the domesticated plants with the exception of cotton and the cocoanut (and possibly tobacco, in America and New Guinea). This brings up the question of regional differentiation of culture.

Cultural distributions

Culture areas.⁹ It is the usual thing to find cultural configurations distributed over more or less continuous areas, or at least those within a given area possessing many similarities. In aboriginal North America, for example, the following areas have been distinguished: Eskimo, along the northern fringe of the continent; Northwest Coast; California; Great Basin-Plateau; the Southwest, including most of the present states of New Mexico, Arizona, and southern Utah; Great Plains; Northeast Forest, north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi Rivers; Southeast Forest; and Northwest Interior, including most of the drainage of the McKenzie and Yukon Rivers in Canada and eastern Alaska. The cultures of each of these areas showed many similarities not shared with cultures of other areas. Likewise the aboriginal cultural configurations of Oceania were considerably different from those of Africa, and within each of these two areas, smaller areas can be distinguished. In modern society, a large area of Western culture extends throughout western Europe, throughout most of the Western Hemisphere and into outlying parts of the earth. Western, or Euro-American, culture is, however, a very general concept, and within it are to be distinguished many national and local cultures, each occupying definite

⁹ See Wissler, Clark, *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1923, pp. 55-60. For other examples of culture areas, consult Herskovits, M. J., "A Preliminary Consideration of the Culture Areas of Africa," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 26, 1924, pp. 50-63; Linton, Ralph, "Culture Areas of Madagascar," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 30, 1928, pp. 363-390; Kroeber, A. L., "California Culture Provinces," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 17, 1920, pp. 151-169; Skinner, H. D., "Culture Areas in New Zealand," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 30, 1920, pp. 71-78; Wissler, Clark, "The Culture Area Concept in Social Anthropology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, 1927, pp. 881-892.

geographical areas of distribution. We have already mentioned certain subcultures in different parts of the United States. Going into Mexico we enter the area of another national culture, considerably different in many respects from any United States configuration.



Aboriginal culture areas of North America

1, Plains area; 2, Plateau area; 3, California area; 4, Pacific North Coast area; 5, Eskimo area; 6, Mackenzie area; 7, Eastern Woodland area; 8, Southeastern area; 9, Southwestern area. (From Wissler, Clark, *The American Indian*, Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., New York, 1922. For a critique and more detailed consideration of North American culture areas see Kroeber, A. L., *Natural and Cultural Areas of Native North America*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1939.)

Within such an area is usually to be found a culture center, where the elaboration of the culture has proceeded farther than elsewhere in the region. For the present United States as a whole New York is probably such a center. For the New England sub-area, Boston would doubtless be designated the center; for the Middle West, Chicago; and so on. In these centers many of the traits and complexes seem to originate, and from them the innovations spread throughout the area. Under normal conditions the most inaccessible portions—not necessarily the farthest away—show the poorest elaboration of the configuration and are called marginal areas.

American regionalism. In recent years considerable attention has been devoted by social scientists to the areal aspects of present-day American society. Attempts have been made to work out the regional aspects of American culture and have been stimulated by the recent governmental emphasis upon social planning. It is obvious to all that many types of social plans will not work equally well for all parts of the country, but rather must be adjusted to the social situation as it exists in various regions. Agreement has not been reached among all authorities on the demarcation of United States regions or upon the criteria to be used. Odum and Moore have presented one of the better-known discussions.¹⁰ Using a large number of criteria, they divide the country into six large regions: the Middle States (Middle West), the Northeast (New England), the Southeast (Old South), the Far West, the Northwest (including the Great Plains), and the Southwest. In distinguishing these regions the authors not only indicate differences in culture, tradition, and historical development, but also differences in size and composition of population. In other words, historical and populational considerations, as well as geographical considerations, are used. On the other hand the composition of the various regions as blocks of states tends to give the arbitrary political boundaries of certain state lines a spurious importance as demarcators of social differences, which the authors recognize. The reader is referred to Odum and Moore's book for a detailed delineation of the cultural peculiarities of these regions which we lack the space even to summarize adequately here. There can, however, be no doubt of the tendency for cultures to extend over and differentiate according to regions or areas. We shall consider the locality and territorial aspects of social grouping and organization in Chapter 11.

Geographical factors in culture. Since a culture is in part a society's mode of adaptation to the natural environment, we should expect to find differences between areas corresponding in some degree to differences in geographical environment. To mention the obvious, sugar cane does not grow successfully in the Eskimo country, regardless of the techniques used. Nor is fishing a predictable activity in a desert. In each of the North American aboriginal areas mentioned above, the basic food-producing techniques were organized around certain natural resources. Thus the Eskimo concentrated on the hunting of sea mammals; the tribes of the

¹⁰ Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry E., *American Regionalism*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1938. A comprehensive bibliography is contained in this book; see also Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1936; "In Search of a Regional Balance of America," *Social Forces*, March, 1945, whole issue.

Northwest Coast on salmon fishing; the California Indians on gathering of acorns; the Southwest Pueblo peoples on growing of irrigated maize; the peoples of the Plains on hunting the buffalo.¹¹ Observe, however, that the geographical environment does not determine the details of the configuration, nor even the basic type of economy. Across the Bering Straits along the Arctic coast of Siberia live certain tribes in almost precisely the same environmental conditions as the Eskimo, yet having a culture with numerous differences. The European frontiersmen who moved into the Great Plains developed a highly efficient agricultural economy in the very environment where the Indians concentrated on the hunting of the buffalo.¹² In the Mesabi Range, along Lake Superior, where the Chippewa used to hunt bear and elk, the ore shovels now work night and day extracting the red iron ore. The descendants of the crude barbarians of northern and western Europe who were sneered at by the Greeks and fought by the Romans, now condescend in their turn and point with pride to their achievements in the same geographical area which in antiquity was considered so prejudicial to civilization.

Geographical environment therefore may be viewed as determining within limits a certain general type of subsistence economy. The societies living in the same region are faced with the same general problems of adjustment to the environment. This explains in part the culture area. But the environment does not determine in detail the precise form or function of particular traits, and the limits imposed by the environment may be widened by the introduction of new elements making new types of adaptation possible. How do these new elements arise?

Discovery and invention.¹³ Recall the statement that elements in a people's ordered life owe their origin to individual initiative. How do these individual variations become part of the customary behavior of the group? A discovery is the perception of previously unnoticed relations existing between aspects of nature and of their significance for human life, e.g., the perception that copper ore will melt and can be shaped into tools, or the discovery of the sea route to India around South Africa. An invention is the establishment of old elements into a new relationship, e.g., the placing

¹¹ Wissler, Clark, *The American Indian*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, New York, 1938, Ch. 14.

¹² See Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1937, Chs. 18 to 23 inclusive for a full discussion of culture and environment.

¹³ See Gilfillan, S. C., *The Sociology of Invention*, Follett, Chicago, 1935; Dixon, *The Building of Cultures*; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928, Carr, L. J., "The Patenting Performance of 1000 Inventors During Ten Years," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 37, 1937, pp. 370 ff.; Usher, Abbott P., *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1929.

of a stone tip on a reed shaft to make an arrow, or the "reinterpretation" of Marxism in modern Russia. Both of these processes—discovery and invention—require the ability to symbolize relationships and results mentally which are not immediately obvious; they are often the products of symbolic trial-and-error learning. The inventor and discoverer provide in part these new ways of doing things and new forms of thought. But the inventor and discoverer are subject to the influence of their sociocultural environment.

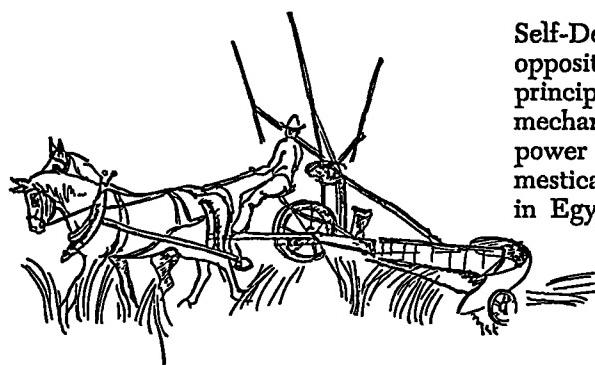
The following factors influence the number and type of inventions and discoveries which may appear in a society: (1) The degree of elaboration the cultural configuration has reached. Since inventions are new relationships between already existing elements, a culture having a large number of elements will provide greater opportunity for invention. So also an elaborate culture will usually touch nature at more points and thus provide more opportunities for discovery. (2) Size of the population is, to some extent, correlated with the degree of elaboration. It influences invention because superior individuals, geniuses or near-geniuses, occur with infrequency in any population. As a general rule the greater the population, the larger the number of geniuses produced. (3) the dominant interests or secondary drives already existing partially determine the type of inventions made. Relatively few mechanical inventions have been made recently in India or China. By the same token, relatively few religious innovations have been widely accepted recently in Western civilization. In short, a culture tends to reject inventions and discoveries unless they appear to satisfy felt needs in line with the dominant values and orientations. The inventor and discoverer have to work with the elements at their disposal. (4) Availability of natural resources and natural setting provide selective opportunity for invention and discovery. Maritime discoveries are seldom made by peoples confined to the interior of continents. The domestication of cattle never occurred in the pre-Columbian Western Hemisphere partly because of the absence of wild species. (5) Change of environment, such as migration to a new territory, or a crisis of any sort demanding new forms of adjustment for the group, usually stimulates invention and discovery. "Necessity is the mother of invention." (6) A tradition which rewards the inventor or discoverer with prestige or wealth usually stimulates invention. (7) Trial and error of a playful sort, and pure accident, sometimes result in inventions and discoveries, and occasionally dissatisfaction with a cultural pattern produces innovations which come to be recognized as advantageous. Columbus discovered America by accident. Dissatisfaction with the results of a strictly required curriculum in colleges led to the

Improving inventions in grain harvesting

Metal Blade with Handle: man power, one arm applied to cutting.



Scythe and Cradle: longer blade; handles permits utilization of both arms; cradle permits gathering into bundle with one motion involved in cutting.



Self-Delivery or Sail Reaper: blades set in opposition to each other on the scissors principle (invented during Iron Age times); mechanical movement of cutting bar by power from traction wheel supplied by domesticated horses (first used as draft animals in Egypt about 1700 B.C.); mechanically rotated arms which sweep the stalks off the cutting platform into bundles ready for tying to one side of the swath.

The basic item of cultural equipment is the cutting blade, which, in the form of a curved stone sickle, was invented and applied to grain harvesting during Neolithic times. The illustrations show some of the improvements made upon this basic invention and also

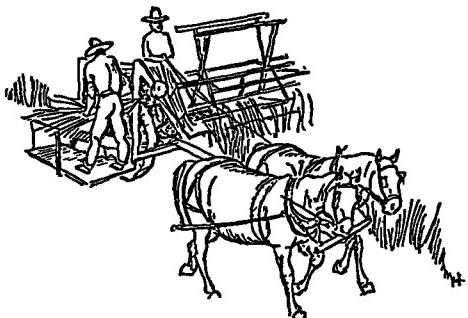
development of the elective system. (8) Customs of tolerance are important spur to invention and discovery. If, on the other hand, innovators are suppressed, inventions and discoveries tend to dry up.

Diffusion.¹⁴ Once a new element has been invented or discovered, it

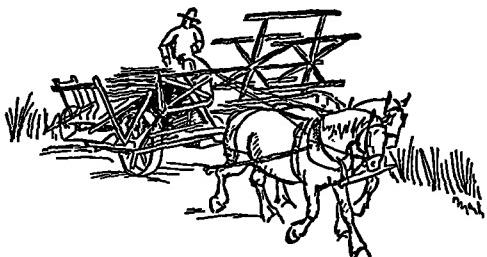
¹⁴ See Dixon, R. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 59-155; Wallis, W. D., *Culture and Progress*, Whittlesey House, New York, 1930, Chapter 4; Sayce, R. U., *Primitive Arts and Crafts*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1933, Chs. 6 to 9; Pemberton H. E., "The Spatial Order of Diffusion," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 22, 1938, pp.

Improving inventions in grain harvesting

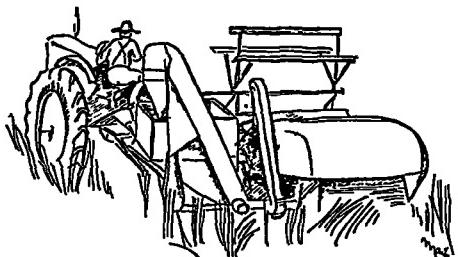
Hand-Binder Reaper: mechanically operated reel causes the cut grain stalks to fall parallel onto a moving belt which conveys them to a moving elevator belt which in turn delivers them to a platform beside the driver where a second man ties the stalks into bundles which are dropped on the ground.



Self Binder: mechanical fingers automatically tie stalks into bundles with twine; carrier retains bundles to be dropped on the ground in groups ready for shocking or loading on wagon.



Small Combine with Tractor Power: this machine combines the mechanisms of the reaper with those of the threshing machine; it cuts and threshes the grain in one operation. Traction supplied by gasoline tractor rather than domesticated horses. This is fully developed power agriculture.



some of the changes in human behavior patterns involved in the application of various mechanical principles to this item of cultural equipment.

must be accepted by the society if it is to become a part of the culture. The spread of culture from individual to individual or from one society to another is called *diffusion*. Two types of diffusion interest us here: (1) *intrasociety* and (2) *intersociety* diffusion. The first is the passing on

246-251; Pernberton, H. E., "The Effect of a Social Crisis on the Curve of Diffusion," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 55-61; Bowers, R. V., "The Direction of Intra-Societal Diffusion," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 826-836.

of culture from individual to individual within one society, the second is the "lending" and "borrowing" from one society by another.

Generally speaking, *intraculture diffusion* is influenced by the following factors: (1) recognition of the usefulness or need of the new element plays an important part. In the spring of 1938 the Patent Office issued a patent on a mechanical golf club, requiring no swing on the part of the player. It is doubtful that this invention will be considered useful or rewarding by the golf players of the country. On the other hand, the discovery of the X-ray and the invention of the vacuum tube making radio possible were widely adopted, because they served apparent needs. (2) Presence or absence of elements in the culture which already fill the need or desire lowers or increases the probability of acceptance of a new element. Another invention of 1938 was a doughnut-shaped soap cake; the advantage claimed for this invention is that its shape permits it to be attached by a string to the bather while in the bathtub, thus preventing its loss. This invention has not made much headway because of the use of floating soaps which satisfy the same need. (3) The presence of elements in the culture the function of which is directly opposed to the new element hinders its adoption. Communistic social organization is not readily accepted in a capitalistic economy. (4) The social prestige and position of the introducer of the new item hastens its acceptance. "Snob advertising" is based upon the fact that the society at large will imitate the practices of certain social leaders. (5) Force can be used by government or other authorities to a limited extent in securing acceptance of a new innovation or discovery. During both recent wars, the Allies forced the carrying of gas masks upon their populations and armies. The Nazi government in Germany forced the acceptance of substitute materials upon its population as a measure of war.

Intersociety diffusion is very important in understanding the content of any particular culture. It is estimated that no less than 90 per cent of the elements in our own culture originated somewhere else and were diffused to our society either in ancient or modern times. Borrowing from outside is one of the surest means of making a culture rich in content and complex in nature.

The following factors play a part in intersociety diffusion; most of them differ only in detail from those involved in intraculture borrowing.

(1) *Contact* is essential for the spread of culture elements from one society to another. The simple cultures are those of isolated peoples. Facility of contact between societies makes for easy diffusion and similarity of the cultures within a given area. One of the factors in the richness of our own culture and its widespread use of borrowed elements lies in its highly

developed systems of communication and transportation, whereby contact is maintained with almost all parts of the globe. Contact and communication may be assumed in intrasociety diffusion, but need to be emphasized in intersociety diffusion because of geographical, language, and other cultural barriers which are more likely to interfere with intersociety contacts.

(2) But even with close contact the spread of an element varies with its nature. *Demonstrability* of the element involved is important. This involves *demonstration of need and its satisfaction* as well as *demonstration of performance* of the introduced trait. A trait which can be readily demonstrated by overt action diffuses more rapidly than one the spread of which depends upon abstract language and explanation. For this reason material equipment diffuses at a more rapid rate than traditions, philosophies, and scientific theories. Whiskey and firearms are accepted by native peoples long before Christianity. This factor is also present in intrasociety diffusion, but to a lesser extent, owing to the greater facility of communication within a society.

(3) Recognition of need of usefulness, (4) presence or absence of elements competing with the new, and (5) presence or absence of opposed elements in the borrowing culture, all affect the diffusion of culture from one society to another, in much the same ways as in the case of intrasociety diffusion. However, resistance usually increases because of these factors when an element crosses cultural boundaries.

(6) Prestige of the lending society from the point of view of the borrowing society is important. Among ourselves, for instance, the French carried great prestige in the field of women's apparel, and we gave attention to Paris in fashion innovations; to the English in the field of men's clothing; to Germany in the field of optical instruments and photography. Not only the prestige of the lending culture, but also the prestige of the individuals in the borrowing society who introduce the innovations carries weight.

(7) Force may be used to insure acceptance of a new trait. For a long period the United States government forced the Indians to accept the elements of Western civilization. Conquest usually results in some attempt on the part of the conqueror to force its own culture upon the conquered. If the conquered people do not rebel, prestige can gradually be substituted for force, as in many tropical European colonies where the natives ape their white overlords. Force may be used even when the society is not conquered. Kemal Ataturk forced the acceptance of European dress and Roman letters upon his Turks. Chaka, the Zulu king, who during the 1880's carried on determined resistance to the British conquest of Southeast

Africa, nevertheless forced the acceptance of British firearms on his warriors over their preference for iron spears. Force, of course, often masquerades in economic, social, or religious guise. As we shall see in the section on social control, it must be used sparingly if open rebellion is to be avoided, but when resorted to, force may accomplish the acceptance of new cultural elements regardless of other factors involved. Its threat creates an anxiety (anticipation of punishment) in the population which can only be relieved by acceptance of the prescribed trait.

Thus diffusion, whether within a group or between societies, is a process whereby a culture grows. In either case the following factors are involved, although to somewhat different degrees: contact and communication, recognition of need or desire, usefulness and drive-reducing qualities of new elements, competition from previously existing elements, opposition from existing elements, relative prestige of introducers, and force. In all diffusions individuals are involved, and the cultural elements are transmitted from person to person.

Two principal differences between intra- and intersociety diffusion should be noted. (1) The resistances to intersociety diffusion are likely under most conditions to be greater, owing to the linguistic, geographical, and cultural barriers between two societies. (2) Intersociety diffusion usually involves some change of function, meaning, or value, in the sense defined in the previous chapter, either in the element which is being diffused or in the configuration of the receiving culture. Hence, when an element is transmitted from one society to another, its acceptance depends upon the consistency with which its meaning can fit into the system of the borrowing culture. This desk as a physical object, for example, can be transported to the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean. With us it is an instrument for writing and reading and part of many larger complexes in which they are involved. Since the Andaman Islanders possess no writing and reading, if the desk is accepted by them at all, a new form of behavior, a new function with associated meanings and values must be assigned to it. Perhaps the desk would be used as a rack for drying fish, or as a platform for sleeping, or as a place to keep babies. Under whatever guise it is accepted, it is clear that the diffusion has been only partial. The material form of the desk has been accepted, but not the function, behavior, and meanings. By the time it has become a part of the Andaman culture, the desk complex has become a new element of culture. The same thing has happened many times in the diffusion of non-material culture as well. For instance, the devil of the Christian mythology is equated by many western Indian tribes with the coyote of their own mythology.

In the case of intersociety diffusion, therefore, we must conclude that the transmission is often incomplete, that the form of the element is usually borrowed much more readily than the function, meaning, or value. This is due to the fact that each culture is a more or less integrated system, a configuration balanced for internal and external stresses and strains, embedded in the habit systems of individuals through prolonged training, and therefore possessing a certain consistency of its own which is never exactly duplicated in other cultural systems. Seldom, if ever, are the ways and inventions of one society completely adopted by another. There is always a certain remodeling either of the new element or of the receiving culture.

Partial diffusion is very important in understanding the various cultures of the world. The form of elements may be introduced among an amazing number of other peoples. The tobacco complex, unknown to the Eastern Hemisphere except possibly Melanesia previous to the discovery of America, within two hundred years had spread eastward around the world; the Eskimos of North America first learned the use of tobacco from the Russians in the seventeenth century. The present widespread use of tobacco is also an interesting illustration of *improving inventions* which are frequently made on a cultural element as it spreads; the water pipe, added to the smoking complex in the Near East, was one such invention; the long-stemmed pipe with small, T-shaped bowl was another in Asia; the chewing of tobacco mixed with molasses or other sweetening was invented by the whites in America; although cigarettes rolled in leaves were common among the aborigines of America, the use of paper as a rolling material was a European addition. Thus, tobacco-smoking, which was a strictly ceremonial usage among the tribes with whom the whites first came in contact, was adopted by the latter as a recreational or medicinal practice. The extension to all parts of the world during the past four hundred years of European machine techniques and certain European political and economic forms is too well known to require extensive description. Also the changes which have taken place in the borrowed elements are well known. Economic institutions of modern Japan, although derived in large part from Europe and America, are not precisely the same. Gunpowder, originally invented in China and used for ceremonial purposes, was elaborated into the war complex of Europe. The magnetic compass, first invented and used in China as an instrument of divination, became an instrument of navigation in the hands of the Arabs.

These instances must suffice for the moment to suggest two important concomitants, one or both of which will always occur with diffusion processes: change in the diffused cultural elements, and change in the

receiving culture. These will be discussed at length in the section on social change.

Why we study “primitive” cultures. Much of what we know about the dynamics and variability of culture has been derived from a study of preliterate societies in various parts of the world. In fact, systematic, scientific study of cultural complexes and configurations in our own society began only after a large amount of data had accumulated from primitive societies. The question is sometimes raised, Why waste our time with savages when we are in need of understanding our own situation? The study of cultures other than our own serves several important ends. First, the preliterate societies are usually smaller, and their ways are less elaborated and less complex than our own. We remember that one of the techniques of any science is to simplify situations so that the individual factors and relationships can be understood. Since the experimental method is not feasible for sociology, we try to study the phenomenon of interest, in this case, culture, under simplified conditions among preliterate peoples. Second, if we are to understand the general principles underlying culture, we must collect as wide a variety of data as possible. No botanist would be rash enough to generalize on the structure of life processes of plants solely from an examination of a weed pulled up in his back yard. Hence, if we are not to fall into erroneous generalizations concerning social life, we must observe and analyze it under all conditions in which it is known to exist. Much confusion has already been cleared away by this procedure. As scientists acquainted with the data of ethnography, we can no longer hold to the view that race and geographical environment play the only determining parts in social life. Informed sociologists likewise have become convinced through the same data that culture does not evolve through a series of rigid stages, as was formerly assumed. It does develop, but by enlarging our view we learn that the culture of every society has not followed the same precise path as our own and cannot be expected to do so. Finally the study of foreign social systems, whether primitive or modern, provides an opportunity for the development of that objectivity so necessary for science, but often so difficult to attain at first in respect to our own society. We can study the customs and behavior of primitive people or other foreigners with a detachment which is frequently difficult where our own friends and our own immediate interests are involved.¹⁵

¹⁵ Gillin, John, "Some Unfinished Business in Cultural Anthropology," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 48, 1939, pp. 44-52.

The individual and culture

Participation in culture. A single individual, because he has not the time or opportunity to learn or practice all the cultural forms in his society, is seldom if ever familiar in detail with all the traits and complexes, but the society is dependent upon *some* individuals knowing and practicing those traits. Because of this situation Linton has suggested a distinction between the following classes of traits or complexes found in any culture: (1) universals, (2) specialties, (3) alternatives.¹⁶

Each culture contains a number of traits and complexes which are familiar to and practiced by every normal adult member of the society. These are the *universals*. In our culture such complexes as the language (including, of course, a basic vocabulary); monogamy as the recognized form of marriage; the custom of sitting in chairs; the use of knife, fork, and spoon in eating, of wheat flour in bread as a staple article of diet, of metal and paper money as a medium of exchange; and representative democratic government, among other complexes, may be regarded as universals. An occasional individual or small group in our society will be found temporarily not practicing one or other of these patterns through lack of opportunity or need, but the patterns themselves are universally familiar both by hearsay and practice to the functioning members of the society. Comparable universals may be described for all cultures.

The *specialties* are "those elements of culture which are shared by the members of certain socially recognized categories of individuals, but which are not shared by the total population,"¹⁷ In our own culture the specialties are very numerous, e.g., most of the sciences are specialties, also yachting, mountain-climbing, carpentering, and housework. Specialties may attach to certain localities and to certain strata (classes or castes) within the society, to certain groups of relatives, to some age groups, and to one or other of the two sexes. In human societies, all members of the population may have a fairly clear idea of what the result of specialization should be, but will be unfamiliar with the details outside their own particular functions. A husband, for instance, may know little about cooking, which is a speciality of women, but may complain loudly if the results do not justify his expectations. Those of us, who are not doctors of medicine, have certain ideas concerning what a doctor is supposed to be able to do, even though we do not know exactly how he does it. The average Carib is not a medicine

¹⁶ Linton, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, pp. 271-287.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

man, but he expects cures from those who specialize in medical formulae and magic. In all societies, cultural or instinctual, certain things are done only by a designated part of the population, although contributing to the well-being of the whole. Division of labor is essential to the efficiency of social living because it relieves the individual of having to do everything. By becoming especially efficient in one field of activity, the individual makes a greater contribution, and the group as a whole enjoys a higher standard of living and a richer variety of activities and enjoyments.¹⁸ In human societies the specialties of culture provide duties for certain individuals which may serve the general welfare.

The third type of culture element is the *alternative*. All cultures possess a few alternatives; the more complex cultures usually possess many. They represent different patterns for achieving the same ends or different responses to the same situations. These alternatives are generally known to all or most of the members of the society, but no one alternative is exclusively followed by all. In our culture writing on paper, for instance, may be accomplished with lead pencil, mechanical pencil, ink pencil, quill pen, steel pen, fountain pen with rubber sack, fountain pen with vacuum chamber, and typewriter, to mention only a few of the alternatives.

Actually it seems that there are two types of alternatives among the cultural elements available in a given society. (a) The first are what might be termed *alternate universals*. These are of the type illustrated by the writing patterns mentioned above. They are known and available to all adults of the society, and a single individual will alternate between following one pattern and the other, largely depending upon circumstances and artifacts available at the moment. They are used interchangeably, so to speak, and the meanings attached to the various alternate universals are for practical purposes the same. (b) The second type may be termed *variant alternatives*, following a suggestion by Sol Tax.¹⁸ In this case the individual may exercise choice, but the choices are not interchangeable or equivalent because the meanings attached to the various choices differ considerably among themselves. For example, in our society one may commune with God, following the variant alternatives of a variety of Protestant patterns or of Catholic patterns. One may become rich either by following "ethical" business patterns or by following "sharp" business patterns. One may be either a "stern Victorian" father of a family, or a tolerant "modern" type of father. In all such cases the variant patterns are known to all adults mentally and representationally, but an individual, once having made his

¹⁸ See Redfield, Robert, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941, p. 347.

choice, is expected to follow the pattern of his choice consistently in all similar situations unless or until he elects to follow an alternative pattern. In the latter case he is also expected to be consistent following the change-over. Failure to do so results in confusion of meanings held by other persons. It is to be noted that variant alternatives have a tendency in some cases to develop into specialties; if a variant becomes gradually more and more esoteric, so that the details of its pattern are no longer known to the population at large, even mentally, it becomes a specialty.

It is through the subgroups having the variant alternatives that change is introduced into the core of the culture. During the period of change, stresses between the patterns of culture occur that produce the inconsistencies which give rise to socially pathological conditions to be discussed later.

Culture and personality patterns. We must briefly allude in closing this chapter to the influence of the culture in molding the personalities of the members of the society. Personality has been defined as "the habits, attitudes and ideas which are built up around both people and things."¹⁹ Hereditary as well as cultural factors are involved in the development of a personality. We shall return to a more detailed discussion of the problems of personality at a later point, but it should be noted here that at least in well-integrated cultures a concept of the "ideal" personality usually forms a part of the cultural content. It represents the type of person most individuals in the society would like to be. In a very loose and incomplete way we might tentatively say that the ideal male personality in present-day America is "physically vigorous, handsome, brave; honest but not puritanical; generous but canny; witty or at least able to appreciate a joke; intelligent but not pedantic; energetic; sentimental but not aesthetic; and able to make money handily, wherewith to indulge his capacity to enjoy the good things of life"—in short, the red-blooded, gentlemanly go-getter. No tests of sufficient range have been made for us to be able to say that this is the type which most people consider ideal, but cursory observation would lead us to believe that this is the type which many American men would like to be. The Hindu personality would be described very differently: aesthetic, metaphysical, lethargic, etc. Mrs. Benedict²⁰ has attempted to show that the typical personality of the Kwakiutl is somewhat megalomaniacal and jealous of prestige, that the Zuni is even-tempered and given to self-restraint, that the Dobuan is suspicious and paranoiac. Margaret

¹⁹ Young, Kimball, *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., New York, 1939 p. 84. For an earlier and somewhat different definition, see same author, *Social Psychology*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930, p. 116.

²⁰ Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934.

Mead describes the ideal personality of both sexes among the Arapesh as docile, the female as aggressive and irritable among the Tchambuli, and both sexes as aggressive and quarrelsome among the Mundugamor, the three tribes mentioned living close to each other in New Guinea.²¹

In spite of various careful descriptions attempted to date, we must be careful, until fuller precise evidence is at hand, not to describe too glibly and seriously the ideal personalities of various cultures, lest we fall into the superficialities of the popular lecturers who sometimes dispense much arrant nonsense about the "French type," the "German type," and so on. Nevertheless, there seems to be little doubt that the influence of the culture on individual personality is very strong. The ideas of how to act are part of the culture and are impressed upon the young members of society by their elders. Most persons in any society expect the individual to integrate his behavior with some conformity to a common pattern, and they bring pressure to bear when he deviates too radically from that pattern. Of course, there are always some deviations from the ideal pattern, and later we shall attempt to examine some of the factors involved. The bearing of this point will be seen in the chapter on socialization.

Culture and society

The beginner in sociology should not confuse *culture* with *society*. They are terms designating distinguishable phenomena. A society is a group of individuals in which common customs, traditions, attitudes, and feelings of unity characterize their interactions. They are bound together in a system of relationships and observe common ways of life including not only overt behavior but also values, sentiments, and beliefs. These common ways of living together, of looking at life, of responding to situations, their shared feelings and beliefs, their attitudes toward the material universe, toward each other, toward other groups, and toward the mysterious in the outer world and in their own personalities constitute the culture. Such things are the unifying characteristics which make them a society. Aside from their physical likeness, it is this common culture which forms the basis of what Giddings called "the consciousness of kind," which he thought is the fundamental factor in the formation and perpetuation of society. Culture is the cement binding together into a society its component individuals. To perceive that society and culture are not two words referring to the same thing, consider, on the one hand, the frequency with which *societies have*

²¹ Mead, Margaret, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1935.

changed their culture, or on the other, the *tendency of culture to be transmitted from one society to another*.²² Such change does not occur every day, perhaps, but it has been observed too often to permit us to view society and culture as identical. A society may change its culture, but it still remains a society. When a society changes its culture, the individuals change their habits and standards. Any reader whose memory extends back a few years knows that the present cultural pattern of the United States is considerably different from that of the "twenties," the "World War days," and earlier periods.²³ Yet the people of this country are not less a society than in those earlier periods.

Three general types of change may occur: (1) The age, sex, and racial composition of a society may remain relatively constant, while numerous aspects of the culture may change, as has occurred recently in this country. (2) The culture may remain relatively constant while the composition of the society changes, as has been the case, let us say, in China and India. (3) The composition of the society and the patterns of the culture may change concurrently, but at different rates, as in the case of our own society where the average age of the population is gradually increasing, but much more slowly than the rate of cultural change.

In more general terms, *human society* is *people interacting*; culture is the *patterning* of their behavior. The hundred and thirty-odd million people in the United States compose a society. The Federal statutes are a part of the culture, embodying certain of the patterns whereby the people interact with each other and their environment. The congregation of a church is society, the ritual and dogma are culture. Society might be likened to a choir, and culture to the musical score from which they sing. Both the group of interacting individuals and the score are required for the production of choir music, just as a society and a culture are necessary prerequisites for human social life. There are certain characteristics of the choir group, for example, the proportional number of voices capable of singing bass, which are inherent in the group itself, but which play a part in its performance. The type of performance, however, is governed in large part by the score, so that the choir may sing either hymns or swing music without necessarily altering its membership.

²² See Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change*, B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1922; see also Kroeber, A. L., "The Superorganic," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 19, 1917, pp. 163-215.

²³ For examples of cultural behavior of the recent past, now practically extinct, see Allen, F. L., *Only Yesterday*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1931; Walker, Stanley, *The Night Club Era*, Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1933; Sullivan, Mark, *Our Times*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926-1935, or the old files of almost any popular magazine or newspaper.

Historical accidents and cultural variation. When we examine any specific sociocultural configuration, such as that of the United States, or of the Hottentot of South Africa, or of the Polar Eskimo, we find that many circumstances have combined in a unique way to produce the forms and functions of each configuration. These circumstances we call *factors* in the situation. And in the present state of our knowledge the particular combination of factors may be said to be due to *historical accidents*. Historical accident is not precisely the same thing as "chance," which means that events occur whose precise causal antecedents are almost entirely unknown to us.²⁴ Historical accident probably explains why polygyny came to prevail among one people, monogamy in another; why matrilineal descent is traced among one people and patrilineal among another; why English is spoken in the United States and Spanish in Mexico. Each culture and society are a more or less unique growth owing to historical accidents sometimes known but often unknown. Evolutionary sociological thinking sought to uncover a picture of slow development for every society from the simplest social and cultural forms to the most complex. Many criticisms based upon more complete knowledge have been leveled at the theory and at the methodology by which the theory was supported. Today no sociologist believes any longer in such crude evolutionism in social development, because the evidence has accumulated that special combinations of historical circumstances may upset any such theoretical regularity. The mere factor of contact and diffusion may enable a society to make a vast leap forward in cultural accomplishment by borrowing from another culture. The variations in geographical environment, including geographical factors in communication and transportation, may result in one society taking a direction in its cultural development entirely different from another society. Finally, the immense potentiality of the human imagination—the ten billion synapses in the human brain—precludes the presence of extensive detailed similarities between the societies and cultures of different isolated groups except as a matter of the merest chance. Theories of social evolution should not be confused with the theory of biological evolution which in general is widely accepted, although even here there are gaps in the evidence. Society is not an organism but an organization, and the sociopsychological factors which underlie it are of an order different from biological factors.

²⁴ See Goldenweiser, A. A., "The Concept of Causality in the Physical and Social Sciences," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 3, 1938, pp. 624-636.

Summary

Culture is a psychological phenomenon observable as behavior. Cultural behavior includes both mental and overt patterns which are common to a society, and which are learned by the individuals and passed down from generation to generation by the learning process. A society always possesses a culture more or less unique, and the total culture serves as a pattern whereby the group adjusts to its environment and whereby individuals adjust to the biological and social requirements of group life. A culture may be analyzed into traits and complexes, but as a whole is always a system or configuration possessing a necessary minimum of integration and internal consistency. Both cultural equipment and culture are referable to psychological factors; the former may be viewed as tangible objectification of and adjunct to certain behavior patterns. The cultural configuration is characterized by a system of meanings and values, which rise from the common experience. Each culture usually has a definite geographical distribution which is the result of interplay between the geographical setting, the type of culture, and the factors of diffusion. Elements of culture emanate from individual minds, sometimes by accidental invention or discovery, are often unconscious changes, and are spread by diffusion to other individuals within and without the society. We have seen that culture cannot exist without society, nor can society exist without the systems of behavior and ideas which constitute culture. We have also seen that culture and society must be distinguished from each other. Society is a group of individuals interacting according to a common pattern of belief, customs, traditions, attitudes, and values. The pattern according to which they interact is called their culture. Further, we perceive that the various ways in which different societies solve identical problems are explained by historical accidents.

Other problems, involving adjustments of culture patterns to the exigencies of social situations will be considered in later chapters.

Readings

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Eubank, E. E., *The Concepts of Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1932, pp. 383-390, 333-380, and *passim*.

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Exercises

1. What part does the individual play in the origin of cultural traits?
2. Are innovations due to individuals always conscious on their part? Explain.
3. Why is it that after any great innovation has been introduced into the culture of a society the configuration retains many features found in the culture before the new invention was introduced? Give examples.
4. What bearing have the "superindividual aspects" of the origin of culture traits and complexes on the form of British government after the French Revolution?
5. Do all peoples solve the same problem in an identical way, e.g., the family relation, the treatment of the insane? Why? Do all peoples solve some problems in a similar fashion, e.g., living on land rather than in water, making efforts to save one's children from danger, seeking some kind of protection from cold? Why?
6. Does the way a people gets its living determine what form the other elements in the culture shall be? Why?
7. Of what importance in the study of society is the concept of a culture area?
8. What effect has the geographical environment on the general configuration of the culture? On the subsistence economy? On religion? On the form of the family?
9. Show how the discoverer and the inventor are limited by the natural environment and by the culture of his time and place.
10. Cite illustrations of (*a*) intrasociety and (*b*) intersociety diffusion.

11. Cite examples of (a) universal, (b) alternative, and (c) special culture elements.
12. What evidence from your own experience can you cite to show that individuals reared in different cultures have different personalities?
13. What is the distinction between culture and society? What is the relation of culture to society?
14. Cite some illustrations of the influence of historical accidents in producing cultural variation.

chapter 8 ✓ General characteristics of groups

Culture is only a term to designate a way of life. But culture does not exist in a vacuum. It describes the way human beings think, feel, believe, and behave. Further, these human beings normally behave in groups when we describe them as having such and such elements in their culture. So let us turn to consider the different kinds of groups they form. We have spoken of "society" frequently in the foregoing pages. We may regard a society as a self-perpetuating collection of human beings who recognize themselves as a group with common interests, definite cultural patterns, and a specific scheme for the organization of the place and function of individuals in the group activity. All the human species is one, the societies it has developed are many. And each society has evolved a culture which aims to provide the patterns of adjustment and adaptation for the group and its members.

Although a society is a social group, it is not the only type. Societies themselves are invariably subdivided into subordinate and constituent groups whose cultural activities are patterned by the culture. An understanding of the basic principles of human social life therefore involves a consideration of the factors involved in grouping, just as much as it requires an understanding of culturally patterned behavior and artifacts. The part the size of the population plays in society we discussed at some length in an earlier chapter on Population.

What is a social group?

Fundamental features. The basic feature of a social group is two or more persons in contact either directly or indirectly. "Contact" in the sociological sense means that the individuals either (a) are in a position to stimulate each other and to respond to each other's stimuli meaningfully, or (b) are in a position to respond meaningfully to a common stimulus. The result is social interaction or social relations of one sort or

another. Direct contact involves the presentation of stimuli without the use of any intervening instruments or persons, whereas indirect contact involves such agencies. Shaking hands with a person who speaks one's language usually results in a direct contact, with visual, auditory, and tactile stimuli being exchanged. Talking with a person over the telephone is of course indirect because it involves an instrument, and exchanging communications with another person by means of a messenger likewise involves indirect contact conveyed through an intermediate person. As a general rule, indirect contacts involve fewer stimuli or a narrower range of them than direct contacts.

An aggregation of persons not otherwise social can often be transformed at least into a temporary and ephemeral group like a crowd by presenting a single strong stimulus or situation to which all respond with some similarity. The ordinary occupants of a railway waiting room, for example, cannot usually be considered a social group, for they are not in social contact. But when the loud speaker blares forth a train announcement they are welded momentarily into a crowd, all responding first in terms of curiosity, then in terms of the meanings conveyed by the voice (if it can be understood).

When we say that contact involves meaningful response, a certain amount of similar past experience or training is implied. Mere stimulation will not necessarily produce this type of response, even though the situation be a face-to-face one. A foreigner who does not know the language of the people about him finds it very difficult to establish social contact and to enter into group life. The proverbial Englishman who will not engage in social activities with persons to whom he has not been "properly introduced" likewise remains isolated from many contacts. On the other hand, there are certain facial expressions, such as a smile, for example, which are almost universally understood to indicate friendliness; and in some cases group relations can be established by such means even over the barrier of language, as in the case of occasional Europeans lost in jungles who have been rescued by natives and who have lived for months or years in primitive communities. At all events "meaningfulness" implies some basis of common understanding, and this feature seems to be basic to all types of group relations of the truly social sort.

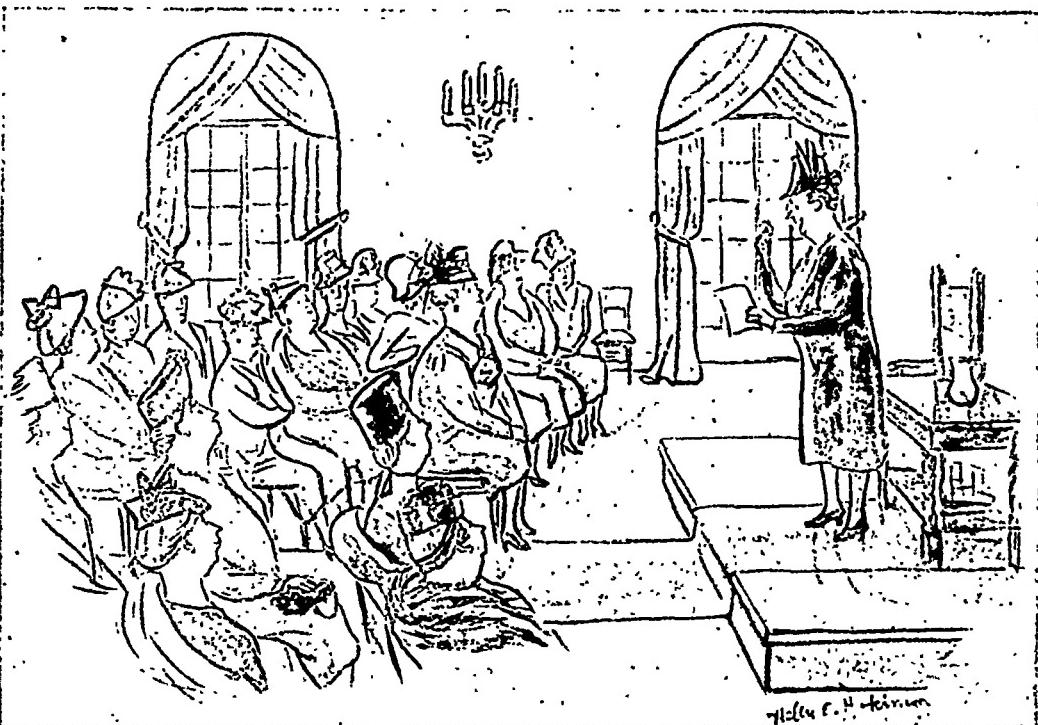
Once interaction on a meaningful plane, even though it be a relatively superficial one, has been established, we may speak of *social relations* within the group. This is another way of saying that the members are united by some common understandings.

Common understandings, in turn, usually revolve about a common in-

terest or interests. Interest is commonly defined as "attention with a sense of concern," focused upon some object or objective. Such objectives may be the satisfaction of innate desires rooted in the human organism, desires derived in the course of life experience, or those created by cultural experience, not to mention a host of other objects and objectives. In any case the interest is common in some degree to the members of the group, and, together with the other basic features already mentioned, accounts in a measure for that feeling of unity and "belongingness" which seems to be a universal feature of group life.

A social group thus grows out of and requires a situation which permits meaningful interstimulation and meaningful response between the individuals involved, common focusing of attention on common stimuli and/or interests, and the development of certain common drives, motivations, or emotions.

It should be clear, of course, that group experience may involve either a large sector of the individual's psychological experience or a relatively



By permission of *The New Yorker*

"*The Garden Committee reports that Mrs. Bernard Thayer, Mrs. Harrison S. Quigley, and Mrs. Thompkins Sperry have all seen pussy willows.*"

ALMOST ANY COMMON INTEREST CAN SERVE TO FORM A GROUP

Sociology in cartoons

narrow one. The family, for example, often involves many psychological factors common to its members, whereas the poker club to which the father belongs perhaps covers a somewhat more restricted area of life for him.

Conditions of group formation. If one is interested either in explaining the past development of groups or in predicting whether or not they can be developed in given situations in the future, one must always take into account conditions. These mainly have to do with the presence of factors in the situation which promote or inhibit the development of socially understood interests. Even in the simplest and most ephemeral type of group, a crowd, the object of attention may, for example, be an airplane stunting overhead; but the arousal of curiosity and interest in this object may be dependent upon visibility, the meanings attached to airplanes in the cultural system, the presence or absence of other competing interests in the social situation at the moment, and whether or not the individuals are blind or have good eyes—not to mention other possible conditions of importance. Conditions of this sort are provided by natural environment, cultural environment, inherent abilities of the potential group members, their numbers and distribution, etc. These matters will be discussed in a later section and in subsequent chapters dealing with various types of groups.

Interaction rates. The social relations which connect, so to speak, the members of a group, are describable in terms of interactions (interstimulation and response of meaningful types), but groups vary with respect to the general characteristics of the interaction which take place within them. From the present point of view perhaps the most significant aspect to consider is the rate of interaction which the group permits. For example, the members of a university alumni group who, following graduation, scattered to all parts of the country and of the world, do not normally interact with each other very frequently; perhaps they get together at occasional reunions and they may exchange letters at rare intervals. The editorial board of a metropolitan daily newspaper, on the other hand, holds daily staff conferences in which argument and discussion of the next day's editorial page frequently involves a high rate of interchange; furthermore, the editorial writers are able to interact with each other about the office during all parts of the working day. The "old-fashioned" rural family was a group with high interaction potentials; the same is true of all primary groups, such as bands, rural communities of the peasant-village type, and so on. Generally speaking, primary groups permitting direct contacts furnish situations compatible with high interaction rates, although direct contact does not necessarily result in high interaction, or vice versa. Illustrative of the first is the anecdote of the two Maine villagers who had nodded to each

other for twenty years in the village post office without ever exchanging a single word. One day they bumped into each other going out the door. "Where do you think you are going?" asked the one. "None of your business," replied the second, "and I wouldn't inform ye of that much if ye weren't an old friend."¹

On the other hand, indirect contacts and secondary group situations do not necessarily prevent a high rate of interaction. Take a typical situation in a moderately sized city some distance from New York. Here is a dealer in securities (stocks and bonds) traded on the New York Stock Exchange. He maintains a "board room" and ticker service, and during the hours that the Exchange is open, quotations pour in from New York and orders pour out to New York from the local customers who fill the "board room," most of whom have never personally seen the Stock Exchange members with whom they deal in New York. This particular local dealer has had a working arrangement with a firm of "floor traders" who handle small orders. He has actually never met the men who handle his business in New York, yet the local securities dealer is, during business hours, in constant telegraphic communication with them by means of a leased wire. The interaction is indirect, the group is of a secondary type, but the interaction rate is high.²

In spite of such exceptions, however, the primary type of grouping usually shows interaction of the greatest frequency and intensity.

Primary groups

Two types of groups may be distinguished on the basis of the type of contact and degree of intimacy which predominate between their respective members. Cooley, who introduced the term *primary* groups, did not speak of the *secondary* or *derived* groups, terms used by later writers.

Cooley emphasized the face-to-face character of primary groups:

¹ Cf. *Readers Digest*, March, 1946, p. 48.

² On the concept of interaction rates, see Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1942, pp. 38-41, 51. However, in this book we use the concept somewhat differently. For one thing, we do not subscribe to the simple "conditioning" theory of learning used by Chapple and Coon; instead of "the repetition of events necessary to produce habitual reactions" (p. 38), the crucial element in the present analysis is reward, rather than repetition, as reinforcement. The result is that we regard the interaction rate as a function of the group situation and/or the learning process rather than as an adjunct to learning. Once established, interaction rates are patterned by culture on the social level and inculcated by training or experience on the individual level. For example, one is taught (in conformity with the cultural pattern) to "hold his peace" and to interact at a slow rate in such a group as a prayer meeting, whereas the same individual may interact animatedly and at a rapid rate in a tea party group.

By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves a sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. It is not to be supposed that the unity of



Primary group

Children in a kindergarten class. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

the primary group is one of merely harmony and love. It is always a differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting a self-assertion and various appropriative passions; but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of a common spirit.³

As the most important primary groups Cooley designated the family, the play group of children, and the neighborhood or community. The important thing about primary groups is the intimacy of the contacts and interactions. Although face-to-face contacts strongly stimulate intimacy, as Faris

³ Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923, pp. 23-24.

has pointed out, they are not absolutely necessary for the maintenance of primary groups.⁴ Thus a family, although scattered over the country, will continue to be a primary group despite the loss of face-to-face contacts, although we must remember that the original experiences offered by the group occurred in face-to-face settings. Also primary contacts do not necessarily produce primary groups. One may have continued face-to-face relations with an individual or group he despises, fears, hates, or merely tolerates. A white plantation overseer in colonial Africa would not for a moment consider himself a member of his negro workers' group, even though day after day he has face-to-face contacts with them. A diplomat is ordinarily expected to be in daily primary contact with the government to which he is accredited, but let him and his country beware if he allows these contacts to develop into primary group membership. If a group is, as we have seen, a psychical phenomenon, it does not exist in the absence of the basic social responses, and unless these responses are elicited in the contacts between individuals, the individuals do not form a group.

The so-called secondary or derivative groups show an increase in number in the larger societies and in more complex cultures. The contacts between the members are usually less frequent, the basic social responses less intense and intimate, and the common interests considerably narrower. Contact between members of secondary groups in modern society is often maintained through third persons or by means of instrumental communications. The National Republican Party, the readers of *Time* magazine, the listeners to a popular radio artist, the citizens of the state of Ohio, are examples of different varieties of secondary groups.

Functional importance of primary groups. The primary type of group is of great importance because, as Cooley pointed out, it is first ("primary") in the experience of the individual and first also in the development of human society. It serves as the prototype, we might say, of all social life. Since for some time after birth a human being cannot survive without intimate and fairly constant care by an older person or persons, the infant willy-nilly spends its first years in a primary group consisting at least of itself and its mother, or a substitute for her. In all societies, of course, this first group in the majority of cases is a family consisting of both mother and father as well as siblings. Thus the average individual everywhere learns his basic patterns of social interaction, during the most formative period of his life, in a group of the primary type. The directness of the contacts, their high frequency, the intimacy of relationships in such a situation tend to produce

⁴ Faris, "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 38, 1932, pp. 41-50.

a certain "fusion of personalities."⁵ The individual thus establishes a set of habit systems appropriate to the primary group which may underlie all his social behavior of later years. If the individual lives in a society which requires him to participate to a large extent as an adult in nonprimary types of groups, it is evident that a certain disconformity of personal organization and expectancies may result, unless he is carefully trained or favorably experienced for the transition from primary group life to that of the more impersonal, less intimate "secondary" types of groups.

Adjustment to nonprimary groups. In our own society an increasingly larger area of adult social life is required to take place in nonprimary group situations. In other words, the average individual in modern society can expect to rely less and less upon the techniques and responses of the primary group in which he spends his early childhood. Somehow or other he must learn to adjust to secondary groups, to the management of indirect contacts, to the often impersonal relationships of the "cold, cruel world." Such a readjustment is too frequently a shock from which the individual does not easily recover. The expectancies of warm responses, of sympathetic understanding, of willingness to overlook small faults which he has built up with respect to his fellows in the family, the local play group, the neighborhood or small community, are often rudely shattered when he goes forth to take a part in the realm of secondary groups where "no one knows him or cares." The importance of this readjustment and the possible trauma which it may involve has not perhaps been sufficiently appreciated in modern society, even by sociologists. Nevertheless, it seems that many maladjusted persons in our society owe their principal difficulties to the fact that they have never learned the techniques of secondary group life, or are persons whose personality organization has not survived the shock of readjustment.

Effects of expansion of population and territory. In the more primitive, smaller, or simpler societies this problem seldom arises for the individual. In such societies adult social life as well as that of childhood is carried on almost entirely in primary groups. In the typical primitive tribe or rural peasant community, one moves, as he matures, from the intimacy of the family to the intimacy of the adult community, work groups, religious and artistic groups, and so on, all of which are likewise primary groups. There is a consistency between the type of social situation with which one becomes familiar in childhood and the type of situations with which he will have to deal as an adult. The basic habit systems which applied early in life become gradually elaborated as the individual matures, but they do not have to be radically altered or changed as one takes up his roles in maturity.

⁵ Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Adult social experience, except for relations with strangers, continues to take place largely in the framework of primary groups. In societies which are organized into clans, or other kinship groups, the terminology and the relationships uniting members of the clan are extensions of those of the immediate family. Although the intimacy between individuals may be somewhat reduced as compared to that of the immediate family, the individual is still bound to a family-like group. Relations between members of different clans, on the other hand, tend to develop "secondary" characteristics. But such relationships are patterned and stabilized so that the individual need feel no uncertainty or insecurity. Everyone is assured of a firm primary group affiliation throughout his life.

It seems that societies based fundamentally on primary groups were the only ones known among human beings for hundreds of thousands of years. The hunting societies of Old Stone Age times were certainly of this type, as were the farming communities of Neolithic cultures. Even in clan-organized societies, where certain types of "secondary" relationships may exist between members of different clans, few if any secondary groups, as constituent units of society, have been reported. If cross-kinship groups, such as work groups or religious groups or political councils, are formed in such societies, they develop on a face-to-face basis, with the intimacy, mutual understandings, and relatively high interaction rates of the primary group type. Secondary type groups as constituent elements of societies probably appeared nowhere until the development of urban civilizations and the growth of large cities, which first began to appear in the Old World (Egypt and Mesopotamia) about six thousand years ago. A society which develops a large population and an extensive area presents conditions with which primary groups are not compatible. Groups of the primary type can, of course, continue to function in such a society, but they cannot cover the whole area of social relations. Primary group relationships are a physically impossible means of carrying on all social interactions in a metropolis and in a society whose physical extension is so great that direct contacts cannot be maintained between various sectors. Reliance upon primary groups exclusively in such a situation would merely bring about the decay of those basic interactions and that unity of sentiment and purpose necessary for the maintenance of the society as a unit. Thus it is that groups of the secondary type seem inevitably to grow up in such societies. Their importance to the average individual varies from society to society. In America they assume great importance.

Personal security systems and the primary group. One of the fundamental values of a primary group from the point of view of the individual

is the security which it provides him. The average member of such a group knows that he can obtain help from it in time of trouble, assistance in projects and enterprises approved by the group, comfort or at least sympathy in defeat and disappointment, and punishment of erratic behavior. In short, he knows "what to expect." Thus the individual tends to integrate within his own personality a *security system* around which he can organize his scheme and style of life. There are various other social mechanisms whereby personal security systems may be formed and maintained, but that which grows out of primary group experience is often especially solid, provided the other aspects of social life do not exert too disintegrating an influence upon the system once the individual moves out of the protective area of the primary group.

Other types of grouping

Subjective aspects of groupings. Two types of groups, considered from the subjective point of view of the members themselves, are usually distinguished, the *we-group* or *in-group*, and the *others-group* or *out-group*. In the words of Sumner, who first described this distinction, "A differentiation arises between ourselves, the *we-group*, or *in-group*, and everybody else, or the *others-group*, *out-groups*. The insiders in a we-group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or others-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it."⁶ Although Sumner over-emphasized the conflict relations between in- and out-groups, the subjective attitude to which he referred is widely accepted by sociologists today and easily verified. The majority of the members' positive, approaching, friendly behavior is directed inward toward other members of the in-group. In this type of group esprit de corps runs high. The out-group, on the other hand, calls forth sentiments of antagonism, competition, ridicule, fear, disgust, dislike, or even hatred. Examples of prejudice toward out-groups are very familiar: The Bolsheviks were until 1939 and again beginning in June, 1941, in the official Nazi view, "the blood-soaked criminals destroying civilization"; to Christians, Mohammedans sometimes seem to be "immoral polygynists and murderous infidels"; the rival fraternity next to our own may be slightly referred to as composed of "only the cruder men"; and slurs may be passed concerning the housekeeping habits of the disliked family down the street. Such verbalizations often are merely rationalizations for the real motives of antagonism toward the out-group, the real reasons being fre-

⁶ Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1906, p. 12.

quently masked, if considered unworthy, in the interest of preserving the esprit de corps of the in-group. Thus the members of a labor union may be referred to by the employer's group as "drunken spendthrifts," whereas the employers actually may care little or nothing about the drinking or financial habits of the employees, but do fear that the demands of the latter may result in smaller profits. The rival family on the block may be called "ostentatious boors," whereas the real feeling is envy of their ability to spend money.

During times of peace and within a whole society a certain amount of tolerance usually prevails among the various groups. It may even prevail between whole societies and nations. The overt patterns of rivalry and avoidance are confined to verbalization, athletic contests, business competition, and the like. We like to derogate the pretensions of a rival college or the inhabitants of another part of the country, but our behavior in normal times is usually confined to epithets, ridicule, gossip, and the like. We may patronize the inhabitants of another nation, but until war breaks out, our feelings of superiority will be expressed at the most in boasts and in patterns of economic and social discrimination. In times of stress, however, the out-group becomes the object of highly emotional prejudices and overt hostile activity. Negroes are tolerated until a race riot flares up, whereupon members of the white groups in the conflict "let themselves go." The Jews and Gentiles got along all right together in Germany until economic depression and the rise of Naziism unleashed behavior of overt cruelty toward the Jews as an out-group.

The distinction between these two types of groups is particularly useful in understanding conflict situations, but it is helpful also in illuminating many other sociological problems, such as socialization of the individual, social and cultural change, social control, and social pathology.

In preliterate societies the in-group and out-group relations are frequently more formalized than among ourselves. For example, the Uro-Chipaya Indian tribe of Bolivia is divided into two hereditary moieties. In the main settlement of the tribe the members of the two halves live on opposite sides of a creek; each has its own religious officials and shrines, pasturages, headmen, herds, and economic area; members of the two halves seldom have anything to do with each other socially or economically except at rare intervals when the whole tribe unites for defense or to make representations to the Bolivian government.⁷ Among those tribes practicing the

⁷ Métraux, A., "Les Indiennes Uro-Chipaya de Carangas," *Journal, Soc. des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. 27, 1935, pp. 111-128, 325-415; Vol. 28, 1936, pp. 155-207, 337-394.

mother-in-law tabu and similar avoidance patterns the group of people who are related to each other only through marriage form an out-group with whom intimacy is forbidden to any member of the in-group.⁸ In our own culture the in-group and out-group relationships are no less numerous, although occasionally somewhat less formalized. The resistances and antagonisms between groups, which are familiar to everyone, from the level of the family to that of the nation are, in large part, based upon these attitudes of in-group solidarity and out-group antagonism. It is upon these attitudes that the cultural patterns of social discrimination are built.

It should be noted, despite Sumner's original view,⁹ that group solidarity and the behavior characteristics of the in-group do not necessarily require an out-group for their development. Tribes are known, such as the Polar Eskimo,¹⁰ which, when first discovered by whites, were totally unaware of the existence of any other people in the world, but which exhibited group solidarity. It is probably true, however, that the presence of out-groups does stimulate the feelings involved in solidarity and enhance the cohesion within the group unit. At least in modern western societies a conflict situation, such as a war, with a clearly defined out-group in opposition and conflict, seems to promote at least temporary unity and solidarity in the society.

It will be observed that the relationship between an in-group and an out-group may be expressed in terms of *social distance*. The boundaries which are drawn around the in-group serve to hinder contacts with the out-group, and social distance is increased, even though the physical distance may be slight. The family across the street, or even next door, may be an out-group as surely as a nation in Europe or Asia. Yet, strictly speaking, contact of some sort is necessary between in-group and out-group. This is to say that members of a we-group must at least be aware of the existence of members of an others-group as a group if feelings of the in-group toward them are to be typical of the behavior described in this section. The members of a hitherto undiscovered tribe in New Guinea, even though they are not members of our we-group, cannot be considered as members of an others-group until we become aware of their existence. They must become a stimulus to us before we can respond in any way whatever. Furthermore, we meet

⁸ By way of preliminary acquaintanceship with the material, the reader may be referred to Eggan, Fred, *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1937, *passim*; Lowe, *op. cit.*, Ch. 5 and *passim*; Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1924, Ch. 4; Thomas, *op. cit.*, Ch. 9.

⁹ Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 18, "The relationship of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war to the others-group are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside."

¹⁰ Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1934, p. 218.

many persons in our daily lives whom we do not always associate with any group; we have no clear conception of what groups they belong to; and we think of them purely as individuals. One meets a man on the train and discovers that he is an ichthyologist. If one has no idea or experience of ichthyologists as a group, or if one's in-group has no recognition of such an out-group, the man remains an individual rather than being identified as an out-grouper.

Thus, an out-group is always defined in terms of the experience of the in-group. From our point of view (*a*) any *others*-group must be in sufficient contact with our group for us to be aware of its existence, and (*b*) we must be aware of the existence of the members of the *others*-group, not so much as individuals, but as a group unit, analogous to our own group unit.

We speak of in-groups and out-groups as functional concepts because the characteristics which adhere to these groups are not a part of the structural organization of a society. The in-group and out-group feelings can be associated with any structural group.

Ranked groups. As the groups within a society multiply, there appears a tendency to assign the various groups to places in a scale of values often thought of in terms of "low" and "high." In rankings of this sort all the groups involved, except the highest on the scale, are obviously subject to some invidious comparisons. Various criteria of worth may be adopted in such a scheme. The most common, and often the only, type of ranking in non-literate societies is on the basis of *age*; the various groups are known as "age grades." Other values adopted in various societies are *wealth*, *ancestry* of specified types and antiquity, *learning*, *refinement*, *military prowess or power*, *religious background or status*, and so on. In practical terms, the "higher" groups usually are accorded certain privileges withheld from the lower groups, and there is always a tendency for certain aspects of the total culture to be confined to specified groups within the system.¹¹

It should be understood, however, that any system of ranking is itself a part of culture—the ideas of what is "good" or "bad," etc., are parts of a system of "mental customs." There is therefore nothing inevitable about the formation of such systems, nor are they universal. One of the unfavorable aspects of such ranking systems is that they tend to weaken the overall unity of the society. Not the least of the difficulties experienced by India in the past in achieving independence as a modern nation arises from dis-

¹¹ For examples in our own society, see Warner, W. Lloyd, *et al.*, *The Yankee City Series*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941 *et seq.*; Dollard, John, *Class and Caste in a Southern Town*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937. See Gillin, John, "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatemalan Community," *Social Forces*, Vol. 24, pp. 1-14, 1945.

unity produced by the caste system, although at present the Hindu-Moslem cleavage is most important. The growing difficulty which our own society seems to have in uniting behind any program of national or international concern seems to be due in large part to the widening chasm between our social classes: when members of the upper classes literally have no comprehension of the daily life of workers, and vice versa, it is almost impossible for them to agree, for example,¹² on an economic or industrial program.

It has been traditional in sociological literature to differentiate between two types of ranked groups as *closed groups* (castes are usually of this type) and *open groups* ("social classes" are often placed in this category). In the closed type of group one's membership is theoretically fixed for life. In the open type of group one can theoretically move either "upward" or "downward."

Other classifications of groups. Groups may be distinguished as relatively *permanent* or *transitory*, depending upon the degree of stability which they exhibit. A street-corner crowd is relatively transitory, whereas Columbus, Ohio, let us say, is relatively permanent or enduring.

Groups may also be either *voluntary* or *involuntary*. In our society one is usually involuntarily a member of his family, while on the other hand, the group of friends to which one belongs, the lodge or church one joins, is more a matter of individual choice.

Sapir suggests a classification of groups according to (1) spatial relations, (2) purposes, and (3) symbolic functions.¹³ Wiese and Becker distinguish the chief types of "plurality patterns" as follows: (1) crowds which are relatively "loose-textured" and transitory; (2) groups which possess relatively long duration and well-established patterns of interaction; (3) abstract collectivities, such as the church or state, which appear to the members to be "superpersonal structures virtually independent of mere human beings."¹⁴

Some general characteristics of group life

A social group thus appears to be fundamentally a psychical construct. The activity manifested in and by a group owes its reality to the reactions which are called forth in the individual members by the presence and activities of other members, and the group might be said to become manifest

¹² See Angell, R. C., *The Integration of American Society*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1941, especially Chapter 12.

¹³ Sapir, "Group," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, Vol. 7, pp. 178-182.

¹⁴ Wiese and Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, p. 88.

through the behavior which the members exhibit toward each other and toward the outside world. As Znaniecki remarks, "the group is not an association of concrete individuals, but the synthesis of members' roles . . ." Each group "as an empirical datum is originally experienced only by the individuals who belong to it or have dealings with it as outsiders. Their experiences are evaluative and active."¹⁵

Aggregations may become social groups, but not until interrelations between individuals and what we may call the *basic group responses* have been established. Those psychical reactions are the phenomena which Gumplowicz considered under the head of "sygenism," essentially what Cooley called the "we-feeling," and what Giddings termed "consciousness of kind."

General social responses. 1. One who lives in a group or functions within it feels, as it were, that he is part of something larger than himself and that he is involved in a whole which often acts quite independently of the individuals' private wishes. In a crowd at a football field he is carried helplessly toward the exit gate regardless of his own efforts. When the family as a whole starts to go to a concert, unaesthetic Johnny who prefers to stay home reading *Tom Swift and his Electric Rifle* finds his own desires to be of small importance. If one's home town decides to build a Gothic city hall, the fact that a single individual alone prefers the modern style seldom has much influence on the action of the group. Individuals, of course, do affect the activities of their groups, but even when they succeed in imposing their individual wills upon the other members, they realize that they have been dealing with an entity larger and somewhat different from their own persons and personalities. *Social life tends to make individuals realize that the group is larger than and, in some respects, independent of themselves.* Certain aspects of this matter are sometimes discussed under the heading of "morale" or "collective will," which represents "an organization of behavior tendencies,"¹⁶ and methods have been proposed for measuring "morale."¹⁷

2. Members of a group also tend to become aware of the fact that the *group is capable of and invariably does exert pressure* on the activities of the individual; life in a group is inevitably *frustrating* in some respects. Group pressure may be direct and obvious, or indirect and subtle, but it is

¹⁵ Znaniecki, Florian, "Social Groups as Products of Participating Individuals," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 4, 1939, pp. 799-811.

¹⁶ Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921 p. 164.

¹⁷ For example, see Zeleny, L. D., "Sociometry of Morale," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4, 1939, pp. 799-808. Zeleny's concept of morale partakes of some of the aspects of *esprit de corps*.

always present. The individual is no longer a totally free agent, but finds his purely selfish activities at some point restrained in the interests of the group as a whole. Individuals have two alternatives; they may conform to a certain extent and acquiesce in the restraints placed upon them, or they may rebel. Rebellion on the part of normal individuals may take two forms: The individual may remove himself from the group, either becoming a hermit or joining another group which appears more congenial to him; or he may continue in purely individualistic action, endeavoring to escape the pressures brought against him by the group. If he chooses the latter course he is usually labeled as either *criminal* or *insane*, as defined in terms of the culture, and when finally apprehended, he is removed from participation in group life by banishment, imprisonment, execution, or otherwise.

3. Most individuals, however, either because of persistent training or reflection upon the advantages of group life, remain a part of the group and adjust their behavior in conformity with its demands. These individuals, who compose the functioning membership of any group, tend to *identify themselves with the group as a whole*. They feel that the interests served by the group are their interests, that attacks made upon the group are attacks against themselves, that the qualities of the group are their qualities, so closely have they identified themselves with it. Conversely, nonmembers of the group tend to identify individual members whom they do not know personally with the characteristics which they associate with the group, as in the familiar college-boy procedure of "rating" unknown co-eds by their sorority affiliations. There are, of course, all degrees of this identification of individuals with their groups, but a certain minimum, at least, is found in every group and contributes to the general psychic setting of group life in all societies.

4. Among the members of a social group there is *esprit de corps*: This expression, which may be translated as "group spirit,"¹⁸ refers to the feeling of well-being associated with the community of ideas, values, and activities shared among the members. The individual becomes habituated to the behavior of his fellow members in the group; he prefers the way they do things to other ways; he feels a certain pride in sharing in the life of the group; and he knows that other members feel somewhat the same way. It is the feeling of "being at home," of "being among friends." In psychological terms group life tends to be "reinforcing."

5. Also associated with group life is the concept that the group is a *unit with limits*. Members of the group are aware that there is a certain line which excludes them from non-members, a line, however vague, which out-

¹⁸ Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

siders may not easily cross. A feeling of exclusiveness is thus a part of group life, an awareness of difference between group members and nonmembers. This feeling may range in expression from some theory such as, "The folks on the other side of town are peculiar," to "You can't come in unless you know the password and grip." Individuals are taught to *discriminate* members from nonmembers.

6. Finally, the group situation calls forth in its members *reciprocity*. Contact and interaction are the beginnings of individual behavior in groups. But the individual comes to respond, to interact with other individuals, in a reciprocal way. The individual feels that his actions must balance to some extent the actions of other individuals, and vice versa. In other words, behavior in the group is not of the purely random sort, but motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for reciprocity. One learns that his own responses are more rewarded if reciprocated. This response is the basis for the *coöperation* which is so universal a characteristic of groups and tends to promote the cohesiveness and solidarity of the group as a unit. As with the other social responses, the precise modes of reaction are determined by the culture. It may be stated as a general proposition that a certain degree of reciprocity underlies the relations of individuals in all stable groups. In the family, for example, the father provides sustenance and protection for the child, who reciprocates with obedience and respect. In a factory the workman provides skill and labor for which the employer is expected to pay. Unrest within groups is frequently traceable to a breakdown in the patterns of reciprocity, or to a feeling on the part of one party that the other is not reciprocating fully. So also, the criminal is usually an individual who fails to do his part in reciprocal interactions which are approved by the majority of the members of his group.

These psychic reactions arising out of group life form the groundwork of the universal phenomenon of *group solidarity*, which means that all social groups tend to show a certain amount of internal cohesion between the members.

The social responses vary in their development and expression with (*a*) the type of group involved and (*b*) the configuration of the culture. It is clear, for instance, that *esprit de corps* and group solidarity in general are only vaguely present among the members of a street-corner crowd, while they are usually much more vivid in the family group. Certain types of groups, in other words, provide social situations better suited for calling forth social responses than do others. As a general rule, we may say that, other things equal, the group which provides the most frequent and prolonged primary contacts develops the highest degree of solidarity, and that

continued and repeated primary contacts provide an unexcelled set of stimuli for calling forth the social responses.

The basic social responses are psychic reactions and are elaborated in many diverse ways by the culture pattern, so that their expression in behavior may differ widely from group to group. For example, the culturally defined exclusiveness of the group may be so extreme as even to prohibit breathing air in the vicinity of a nonmember, as is the case in certain Hindu castes, or it may be relatively unaccented overtly as was the case with respect to the rich and poor on the early American frontier.

Group "possessions." The common interest or focus of attention of the members of a group is often objectified as "property" of some sort. Although such a property may have a utilitarian function, as with a tract of territory or a building, in any case its function is also symbolic or representational of group unity, and sometimes has only the latter function, as with a motto, slogan, or creed. Durkheim analyzed this aspect of group phenomena under the head of "collective representations."¹⁹ At all events a common territory, building, ritual, flag, set of ideals, badge, or password may each be a common "property" to which a group is attached. Even tools assume a symbolic significance for group organization, as with the Soviet hammer-and-sickle, or the Mason's compass-and-square.

The individual and the group. Although we must consider groups the structural units of societies, we must not lose sight of the fact that groups are after all composed of individual human beings. Cooley has expressed this point as follows:

A separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is a society when regarded as something apart from individuals. The real thing is Human Life, which may be considered either in an individual aspect, or in a social, that is to say, a general aspect; but it is always, as a matter of fact, both individual and general. In other words, "society" and "individuals" do not denote separable phenomena but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same thing.²⁰

For some purposes it is best to focus attention upon the individual; for others it is well to view the group as the object of study; but neither the group nor the individual alone is an adequate exhibit of all aspects of social life. Some features of the relation of the individual to society will be considered in the chapters dealing with socialization and personality. Here it is only necessary to remind the reader that in group life the individuals are usually expected to play more or less integrated roles in the groups of which

¹⁹ Cf. also Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 808.

²⁰ Cooley, Charles H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902, p. 33.

they are members, and that a certain degree of variation is always to be found in these roles.²¹

Roles of group members tend to become patterned and a part of the cultural configuration and even to become solidified and ritualized into *statuses*. Thus, what we may presume to have been the original men-of-all-work at informal Iroquois councils came to occupy the highly ritualized positions of Keepers of the Sacred Fire in the Council of Sachems, and among ourselves the jesting suitor of courtship days metamorphoses into a stern paterfamilias.

Another common feature of individual relations with groups is that membership in a given group often confers a certain status upon the individual in the larger social system, a natural result of the fact that groups are the structural units of societies. The fact of being a member of a certain family, lodge, or city gives one more or less automatically a "position" in general social life. Groups thus possess a *symbolic* function in social life.

Ethnocentrism. An almost universal aspect of the social responses arising out of group life is the phenomenon of ethnocentrism. It rests on the idea that one's group or people is more important than any other, that it is the center around which all else revolves. Ethnocentrism is obviously merely an expression of group solidarity combined with antagonism toward outside groups. We ourselves are familiar with the common American beliefs that our country is the richest in the world, the most democratic, the freest, the most advanced technologically, the home of the highest standard of living, and so on. Much of this may be true from the objective point of view, but it is interesting to note that other countries also consider themselves superior. Even primitive tribes are inclined to regard themselves as better than other groups. Ethnocentrism receives its expression through the culture and to a large extent is centered upon the culture. Thus our pride in bathrooms and disgust with certain European peoples who do not cherish bathing facilities of our type is an expression of pride in our own culture. Ethnocentrism also expresses itself in so-called racial differences, although the ideas and feelings are always conditioned culturally. If we belong to a flat-nosed group we contend that high-bridged narrow noses are aesthetically offensive, and vice versa. Good examples of blatant ethnocentrism, rather unusual for peacetime in modern civilization, were the pseudoscientific teachings of the Nazi government of Germany:²²

²¹ See *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1939, which is entirely devoted to the problem of the individual and the group; see Gillin, John, "Personality in Preliterate Societies," *American Sociological Review*, 1939, pp. 681-702 for a review of the literature dealing with individuality in preliterate societies.

²² Childs, Harwood L., translator, *The Nazi Primer*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938, pp. 17-18, 20. Quotation by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

The Nordic man grows tall and slender. He has, according to our discoveries, limbs which are large in proportion to the body. That suits our sense of beauty. . . . Now what distinguishes the Nordic race from all others? It is uncommonly gifted mentally. It is outstanding for truthfulness and energy. Nordic men for the most part possess, even in regard to themselves, a great power of judgment. They incline to be taciturn and cautious. They feel instantly that too loud talking is undignified. They are persistent and stick to a purpose when once they have set themselves to it. Their energy is displayed not only in warfare but also in technology and in scientific research. They are disposed to leadership by nature.

Many primitive peoples have only one term for "men" and for themselves, implying that all other human beings are something else than human. The Caribs call themselves *karinye*, meaning "men." Conversely "stranger" and "enemy" are expressed by a single word in many languages.

According to Eskimo beliefs, the first man, though made by the Great Being, was a failure, and was consequently cast aside and called *kob-lu-na*, which means "white man"; but a second attempt of the Great Being resulted in the formation of a perfect man, and he was called *In-nu*, the name which the Eskimo give to themselves. . . . When anything foolish is done, the Chippewas use an expression which means "as stupid as a white man." . . . A Fijian . . . having been to the United States, was ordered by his chiefs to say whether the country of the white man was better than Fiji, and in what respects. He had not, however, gone very far in telling the truth, when one cried out, "He is prating"; another, "He is impudent"; and some said "Kill him." . . . Even the miserable Veddah of Ceylon has a very high opinion of himself, and regards his civilized neighbors with contempt. . . . When a Greenlander saw a foreigner of gentle and modest manners, his usual remark was, "He is almost as well-bred as we," or, "He begins to be a man," that is, a Greenlander. The savage regarded his people as *the* people, as the root of all others, and as occupying the middle of the earth. The Hottentots love to call themselves the "men of men." . . . The aborigines of Hayti believed that their island was the first of all things, that the sun and moon issued from one of its caverns, and men from another. Each Australian tribe regards its country as the centre of the earth, which in most cases is believed not to extend more than a couple of hundred miles in any direction. . . . We meet with similar feelings and ideas among the nations of archaic culture. The Chinese are taught to think themselves superior to all other peoples. . . . According to Japanese ideas, Nippon was the first country created, and the centre of the World. The ancient Egyptians considered themselves as the peculiar people, especially loved by the gods. . . . To the Hebrews their own land was an "exceeding good land," "flowing with milk and honey," "the glory of all lands"; and its inhabitants were a holy people which the Lord had chosen "to be a special people unto Himself above all people that are upon the face of the earth." . . . The Greeks called Delphi—or rather the round stone in the

Delphic temple—"the navel" or "the middle point of the earth"; and they considered the natural relation between themselves and barbarians to be that between master and slave.²³

The group as a cradle of habit systems. Although the member of the group may sometimes feel that his preference for his own group is a hereditary inborn characteristic, there is no doubt that it is due to training and experience. The group in which one lives, especially the primary group, provides a background of experience to which the individual responds. Repetition of stimuli and repeated response thereto in the group situation establish habits and attitudes which it is difficult to change. Not only our customs, but our habits of thought, emotional responses, attitudes, and learned reactions of all sorts are colored by this background which the group provides. Animals no less than man show reactions of a type analogous to ethnocentrism. The fighting which occurs between cats and dogs, the refusal of ant colonies to admit strangers without a period of probation, the tendency of wild social animals such as monkeys to die or become sick and morose in isolated captivity, are cases in point. Stefansson experienced difficulty in training his Eskimo dogs to eat food to which they were not accustomed. Having been brought up to eat seal, caribou meat, and fish, they would not eat for several days in a region where only geese and deer were available.²⁴

All learned behavior can, however, be changed, and the old responses can be brought out by new stimuli. Owing to this fact men can throw off the ethnocentrism of one group for another; they can change their groups. Stefansson says that Eskimo dogs can be trained to be omnivorous if they hang around the garbage pails of ships long enough. Explorers and travelers have succeeded in becoming so accustomed to the stimuli of a former out-group situation that they find their old in-group unfamiliar. Livingston reported that he was shocked at the sight of white men after a long period in the interior of Africa and consequent habituation to black skin. McGovern reports that the acrid smell of yak dung which pervades food and clothing in Tibet can become so much the usual thing that he himself missed it when leaving the country; "food cooked in an ordinary way seems almost tasteless."²⁵ Food prejudices are numerous and frequently have no other basis than custom within the group. Mussels are eaten in Britain and

²³ Westermarck, Edward, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, The Macmillan Co., London, 1908, Vol. 2, pp. 171 ff.

²⁴ Stefansson, Vilhjalmur, "Food Tastes and Food Prejudices of Men and Dogs," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 11, 1920, pp. 540-543.

²⁵ See Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, p. 32, for other examples.

soft-shell clams in New England, but each group feels a certain disgust at the thought of eating the favorite shellfish of the other group.²⁶ The Plains Indians, although living in territory watered by fish-bearing streams, refused to catch or eat fish. The same was true of the Pueblo Indians, although since they lived in a more arid climate, their prejudice was perhaps better founded. Many peoples, including cannibals, have a horror of eating eggs. Certain tribes which think nothing of eating decaying fish and the raw viscera of animals are revolted by some of our delicacies.²⁷ "I remember how the A-Barmbo [an African tribe] were disgusted at the smell of some genuine old Edam cheese, of which I had eaten a few scraps, and gave out that the white people eat 'the foulest muck.' Many smells affect them differently from us, and they turn with loathing from eau de cologne, for instance, and from scented soap."²⁸ Milk, even at the present day, is regarded as disgusting and unfit for food in China, Korea, Japan, and Indo-China, but was the more understandable with them because of their lack of milk-producing animals; certain eastern Asiatic peoples, however, have many milk-producing animals, such as cattle, buffalo, mares, sheep, goats. Despite the fact that they were surrounded by milk-using Turkish and Mongol peoples, the Chinese looked down upon milk-users and maintained that it was cruel to deprive a calf of its mother's milk.²⁹

These ethnocentric customs, attitudes, and properties serve to develop and to reinforce the solidarity of the group, to recall again and again to its members that it is different and "better" than other groups, and to strengthen the "we-feeling."

The same type of response is frequent in regard to out-group physical and racial features. Livingston writes,

There must be something in the appearance of white men frightfully repulsive to the unsophisticated native of Africa; for on entering villages previously unvisited by Europeans, if we met a child coming quietly and unsuspectingly toward us, the moment he raised his eyes and saw the man in "bags" (clothes), he would take to his heels in an agony of terror, such as we might feel if we met a live Egyptian mummy at the door of the British Museum. Alarmed by the child's wild outcries, the mother rushes out of the hut, but darts back again at the first glimpse of the fearful apparition.³⁰

²⁶ Townsend, Charles W., "Food Prejudices," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 27, 1928, pp. 65-68.

²⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²⁸ Junker, W. J., *Travels in Africa*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1890-1892, 3 vols.

²⁹ Laufer, B., "Some Fundamental Ideas of Chinese Culture," *Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 5, pp. 167-168, quoted in Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

³⁰ Livingston, Donald, *Narrative of an Expedition in the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1893, p. 181.

The negroes, who generally imagine the devil to be white, consider a black, shiny skin, thick lips, and flattened noses as the type of beauty.³¹ The children that are born [in Malabar] are black enough, but the blacker they be the more they are thought of; wherefore from the day of their birth their parents do rub them every week with oil of sesame, so that they become as black as devils. Moreover, they make their gods black and their devils white, and the images of their saints they do paint black all over.³²

The observations of a typical American traveler in Europe may likewise be colored by ethnocentrism and in-group and out-group feelings. The foreign inhabitants may be spoken of in a patronizing tone, and referred to as *limies*, *frogs*, *dagos*, and in other terms which at least carry overtones of superiority feelings. The railroad service, language, sanitary arrangements, dietary habits, costumes, and other features of the foreign scene are compared unfavorably with the "good old U.S.A." Even when we enjoy staying abroad for an extended period, we are usually glad to get back eventually to "God's country," just as when away overnight in a strange town we realize that "there's no place like home."

General components of sociological situations

Social groups and their cultural patterns do not, of course, grow up in vacuums. Each group is part of a situation. And the characteristics of the group and of its cultural adaptation are in large part determined by the components of that situation. Thus in some situations no group can develop; in others only simple groups may appear; in still others, elaborated groups or nothing. Whatever the details of the situation may be, the social and cultural characteristics of the groups which may develop within it are always correlated with the characteristics of the components.

Numerical size of the group. A group is usually conscious of its limits, but in cultural-social rather than numerical terms. Nevertheless, the size of the group or population obviously affects the social relationships of the individual members and the patterns of such relationships which it is possible to establish.

For instance, in a society of very small size, say 100 individuals, we may expect such close personal relations among all the members as are impossible in a society of 130,000,000. Also in a small society the number of subsidiary groups is necessarily smaller; the problem of the distribution of

³¹ Moore, F., *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*, p. 93; quoted in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³² Polo, Marco, *The Book of Marco Polo*, Book III., Ch. 18; quoted in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

economic goods, other things being equal, is simpler; the number and type of social interrelationships between individuals is smaller and more direct.

Sex. A self-perpetuating human society is composed of necessity of the two sexes. Though the primary differences between the sexes are in their reproductive structures and functions, the two sexes also differ on the whole in such secondary features as the size and conformation of the bony skeleton, musculature, soft parts of the body, endocrine balance and metabolism, and hairiness. These differences set ranges of behavior and function which do not entirely coincide. The sex differences in function and structure are biological and physiological features, but the fact that the two sexes exist together in the society is primarily a social phenomenon, growing out of the necessities of the society for self-perpetuation. On the basis of these differences in structure and function, cultural differences in behavior and subsidiary social groupings may arise. An example of the result of these differences, to be discussed later, is sex conflict. Furthermore, a group predominantly male will of necessity develop certain features of customary behavior and organization different from one predominantly female, and vice versa.

Age. A self-perpetuating society always includes individuals of different ages. Societies with poor cultures in very rigorous environments may sometimes contain relatively few or no individuals of advanced age, but every society of a permanent nature necessarily contains at least infants, youths, and adults. The differences in structure and function which are found at different ages again serve as basis for subsidiary groupings and cultural behavior. The proportions of the sexes and the ages are again of importance as a social phenomenon. Social life may assume a complexion quite different in a society with a disproportion of females or of children or of the aged from one in which the proportions are reversed or the numbers balanced. For example, a disproportion of females affects family and economic arrangements and forms of social control. A sudden increase or decrease of infants has a bearing upon the activities of women and the care of the sick and of the aged. An increase in the proportion of the aged affects not only the methods of caring for them, but also introduces a conservatism into the social policies of the group. An unusual proportion of youthful adults is supposed to result in aggressive social policies and in new experiments, determinants of social change.

Kinship. A self-perpetuating society always contains groups of relatives, individuals more closely related to each other by "blood" than to other individuals. The tie of blood relationship is important because it is a symbol of close social ties, and hence is a primary social phenomenon. In human

societies there is great variation in the degree to which these ties of blood are recognized. Among ourselves only a comparatively few relatives are recognized, and the kinship groups, except for the immediate family, are of minor importance to the society as a whole. Among certain Central Australian tribes, however, the relationship of every member of the society for five generations is carefully computed and recognized; strangers, and hence enemies, are those who can trace no relationship to the society. One blood relationship is recognized, however, in all human societies, the mother-child relationship, arising out of the fact that human infants are born helpless and must be reared by adults. In some societies, substitute mothers, even adults who are not actually related to the infant by blood, take the place of the real mother; but in any case, a relationship corresponding to mother-child obtains. In every society the *concept of racial unity* plays a part in the basic social bonds. Even in modern democratic societies, not to mention such rather homogeneous racial groups as the Chinese, the Japanese, and Hitler's Germans, the concept of blood likeness enters into the attitudes which determine membership in a society. This *concept of blood likeness*, whether true or false, may motivate race conflict, and even though it is actually only a symbol of cultural likeness, it modifies social relationships. Hence, in all human societies the concept of kinship must be considered a primary social condition. Upon it are built many elaborations of behavior and many subsidiary groupings.

Individual Differences. The individual leaves on a tree differ, even though slightly, among themselves, as do the individual fish in a shoal, the individual sheep in a herd, and so on. So also some individuals in any given society are stronger, healthier, handsomer, quicker, more intelligent than others. One of the most obvious features of nature is that men may be born free, but they are not all born equal so far as their physical and mental abilities are concerned. These differences among the members of a society have always been recognized whether it was a preliterate group, a dictatorship, or a democracy. The culture usually defines the recognition which shall be given to these differences and the behavior which they entail. And out of these individual differences arise such phenomena as leadership and fellowship, personal ascendancy and subordination, care of the weak and the defective, and control of the dangerous variant.

Locality and spatial distribution. Finally, a society is located within a given geographical area. The members may be thinly scattered about over a wide region or concentrated at certain points. The geographic distribution influences social life, particularly as it affects contact and intercommunication between individuals. If the members of a society are scattered

over a wide area or otherwise disposed spatially in a way which interferes with personal intercourse between them, a loosely integrated set of behavior patterns, attitudes, and values results as, for instance, on the western frontier of the United States. The individual under such conditions is forced to rely upon himself. The concentration of individuals close together, on the other hand, multiplies contacts, demands coöperative efforts in obtaining sustenance and preserving health, and frequently results in personal friction and conflict, as sometimes occurs in overcrowded areas of large cities. The culture must adjust itself to this feature of society (locality), and cultural forms are built around it. Cultural devices may to a degree preserve social integration even in the face of spatial scattering of the individuals, as when radios and telephones maintain interindividual contacts in western ranching and mining groups, while carefully planned architecture and modern sanitation may permit close spatial crowding without too much interpersonal friction, as in the case of modern apartment hotels. But many relationships cannot have the same form in a scattered population as in one concentrated within the narrow confines of a great city. In no case is the spatial distribution of the members of the society a matter of indifference to the sociologist.

The natural environment. The variations in this aspect of sociocultural situations have already been suggested. The characteristics of group life are obviously controlled within broad limits (although not determined in detail), by the features of the natural environment. For example, it seems doubtful that a large urban group will ever develop in Tierra del Fuego, where neither mineral nor agricultural resources are available. It is no accident that the Swiss nation is subdivided into four language groups and many small local groups when we consider that its habitable territory is a series of high and relatively constricted mountain valleys.

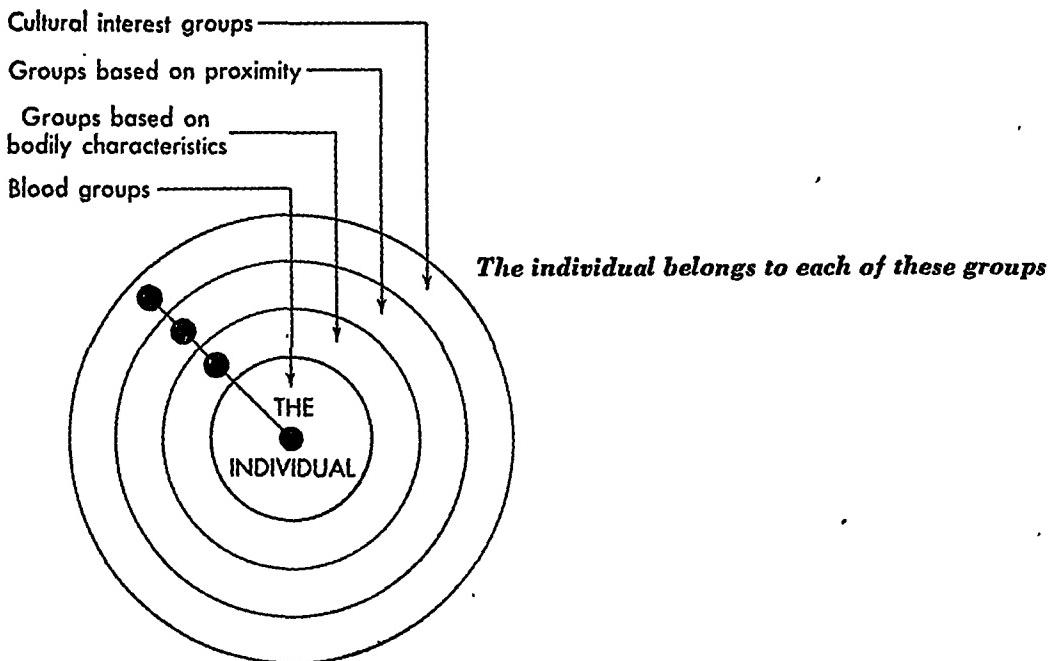
Cultural contacts. The group we are studying may or may not be in contact with the cultures of other groups. In any case, its social characteristics will be determined to some extent by this aspect of its situation. Generally speaking, groups which are completely isolated and out of contact with others are the poorest and least "progressive." On the other hand, a group in contact with another of aggressive tendencies, for instance, tends to draw together to defend itself. Possibilities for exchange of labor between groups affect their constitution and potential organization, and this is to some extent determined by their respective cultural developments and interests. For example, a completely urbanized group cannot usually grow up without working relationships with food-producing groups whereby the one can exchange manufactured products for foodstuffs. Again, contact

with a source of cultural innovations will probably produce a constantly changing series of social relationships which will not be found in a situation of cultural isolation.

The classification of social groups

It is difficult to determine the proper emphasis to place upon the classification of groups and other social phenomena. Classification itself, after all, is merely a scientific procedure for arranging the material under consideration in the most convenient manner for the perception and demonstration of its significance for human understanding. Every human group is in a sense founded upon the common interests of its members. These are, of course, elaborated and defined in cultural terms. But what are the universal factors around which interests of this sort may develop?

The Individual and the Group



We believe that such interests may be subsumed under four general heads, and that group formation may be most usefully viewed in the light of them. The general factors of group interests seem to be the following: (1) kinship or blood relationship; (2) physical composition and characteristics of the group population; (3) locality and territory (or relative proximity); and (4) culturally derived or generated interests. In the four following chapters we shall discuss these various interest-types as foci of groupings.

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Exercises

1. In what sense are the seven characteristics named in the text "primary social phenomena"?
2. What is meant by the statement in the text that the social group fundamentally is a psychological unity?
3. Upon what interests are the following groups based: (a) a church or synagogue, (b) a bankers' association, (c) a women's club, (d) a service club (Rotary, Kiwanis, etc.), (e) a football crowd at a game, (f) a juvenile gang in the slum area of a city, (g) a college fraternity or sorority?
4. Illustrate the statement in the text that "the group exerts pressure on the activities of the individual."
5. Cite instances of esprit de corps in some campus group.
6. Illustrate reciprocity among the members of a group by an example coming under your own observation.

222 *General characteristics of groups*

7. Can any of the basic social responses be classed as common possessions of groups?
8. Name some of the common possessions, material and spiritual, of: (a) a family, (b) a college fraternity, (c) a business corporation, (d) a firm of lawyers, (e) an association of teachers, (f) a labor union.
9. What is meant by the statement in the text that groups possess a *symbolic* function in social life?
10. What light is thrown by the discussion in the text of "The Subjective Aspects of Groupings" on the significance of such statements as, "The best people belong to our church"; "Only the riff-raff go to that beach"; "That fraternity attracts only the roughnecks"; "Our set comprises all the nice people in the community"?
11. Cite illustrations of social distance between negroes and whites.
12. Cite incidents from your own attitudes and feelings showing ethnocentrism.
13. Is this class a primary or a secondary group? Classify your fraternity or sorority, your church, the college student body.

chapter 9 Kinship groupings: family groups

One type of social relationship, namely, that between mother and child, is universal in the human species and grows directly out of the necessities for survival during infancy. It is true that some other individual may be substituted for the actual mother, but no societies do this systematically or on a large scale. The human infant as a mammal must be nourished on milk which under normal biological circumstances is provided by the mother; more important, it is totally helpless for many months after coming into the world and could not survive without the nursing care provided by the mother and/or other older persons. This relationship between the infant and the adult protector or nurse sets up the basic family grouping, and is probably the kernel of all human society. Thus there is no need to posit a gregarious or social "instinct" or "drive" in the species, because every human individual who survives beyond the stage of infancy has been heavily rewarded and experienced in this type of social relationship, if no other. Furthermore, the conditioning which one receives in early family experience tends to generalize to other types of social contacts which are offered as one grows older. In short, we may say that every surviving human being has learned unconsciously in early infancy that it "pays" to have social relations with others; he has learned a basic social way of life which with many variations is followed throughout his career. Of course, it is not consciously clear to many individuals that sociality is the fundamental human approach to life, but the fact remains that the family grouping is basic in some way to all social grouping and organization.

The immediate family. There are no societies in which the typical and expected family group consists only of mother and child. Almost universally other persons or social statuses are involved. Among the most universal, in addition to mother and child, are the father, or mother's husband, plus other siblings. This grouping, consisting of husband and wife and their minor children, is practically universal throughout human society, and is called the immediate or elementary family. We shall not pause for an

extended consideration of the factors which may account for the continued presence of father and older minor siblings in the family group. But we may remark that most human beings the world over seem to find it more rewarding to remain a member of the family group than to break away from it. This is comparatively easy to understand with respect to minor children, but cynics, having in mind the roaming propensities of some men, find it difficult to understand why a man should "stick with" his family. We may mention only those types of rewards which would seem to exert holding power over the husband and father almost universally.

1. Sexual attraction toward the woman, combined with her sexual accessibility, is without doubt a strong inducement. In practically all societies, the Don Juan who depends for sexual satisfaction upon a constant succession of promiscuous affairs is liable to heavy punishment, to failure of consistent satisfaction, or to both. Everywhere, even in those societies in which the adult Lothario is not directly punished for his philandering, it is universally difficult for a man to arrange for consistent and steady sexual satisfaction from a woman or a variety of women toward whom he is willing to assume no social responsibility.

2. In the division of labor between men and women which, in some form, is to be found in all societies, the man usually finds that the single life, if not impossible, is at least highly frustrating and uncomfortable. In a society in which only women know how to cook as "mother used to cook," a man needs a wife if he is to be properly fed. Again, among the Eskimo, for example, only women know how to make and repair the warm garments which are a necessary factor in the very survival of the male hunter, so that a wife or other woman more or less permanently established in the household is an absolute necessity. It is for this reason, among others, that a traveling Eskimo man, away from his wife, expects a friend to lend him his wife temporarily while he visits the friend's home. In this connection, it is probable that the higher proportion of divorces and broken marriages among peoples of complex culture and urban way of life is connected with a certain tendency for the interdependent and interlocking functions of men and women to break down in such cultures. Thus, in a modern city a man or a woman can live alone, because specialized groups and institutions have taken over such functions as housekeeping, cooking, food production, protection, etc., which in most other societies are interdependently shared between men and women. It is still true, however, that the wife as a homemaker can be immensely rewarding to her husband. Many a broken marriage in modern times is due simply to the fact that the woman either has not been properly trained in the patterns of housekeeping or

refuses to practice them, at least to the extent which would provide the minimum satisfaction which the man has been trained to desire.

3. Finally, to mention no other factor, there is a tendency for men to project their own hopes and ambitions upon their children. Other animals, apparently lacking the ability to form mental images and to project plans, are not concerned with such considerations regarding their offspring. Among human beings, however, once a man has publicly admitted that a child is his, the child and he are to some extent publicly identified with each other. Thus the average man in all societies wishes, at the least, to see to it that his child does not "disgrace" him. The child or children will carry his name, inherit his property or position in society, or in some other way reflect upon him as their father. To be sure, this connection is often closer in patrilineal or patronymic societies than in those in which the matrilineal principle prevails, but it is almost universally present. The identification between father and children is reinforced to a large extent by the natural responsive behavior of small children of tender years. If the father deigns to play with the baby, he usually finds that it responds affectionately and trustfully. The toddler in whom the grown man shows an interest will usually follow the man about, imitate him, express a childish admiration for the man's greater strength and knowledge, etc., in a way which is bound to inflate the man's ego and to appeal to his sense of importance. Thus an emotional bond may develop between a father and his children which tends to unite them into the group we call the immediate family.

General characteristics of family-type groups. In their normal functioning, groups of the family type, whatever their particular forms or patterns may be in given societies, show the following characteristics:

1. A family group normally is characterized by the existence of a marriage bond between two or more members of the group. This bond may be destroyed by divorce in many societies, and by death in all, so that in actual life we occasionally see family groups containing widowed spouses in which no marriage tie exists at the time. In our own type of immediate family the marriage tie unites only two of the family members, namely the father and the mother. But in polygamous families there may be several spouses involved, and in extended families the spouses of children may be included.

2. The family group is also characterized by a recognized actual or putative blood relationship bond between the offspring of the spouses and the other members of the group. A real biological relationship between children of the spouses and everyone else in the group is the normal

condition, but several exceptions must be noted. a. This bond may be of a potential nature only, as in the case of childless marriage in our own society. b. The blood bond may be only putative (assumed) in the case of adopted children or other adopted members of the group, stepfathers or stepmothers, affinal relatives of blood members who are taken into the family group by marriage, and offspring resulting from secret adultery of a mother of the group.

3. Family-type groups are distinguished by the possession of a residence or series of residences which are jointly occupied at least occasionally by members of the group. The common residence of the American family is familiar. In the polygynously extended families of Mormon Utah (previous to 1890), each wife and her children occupied a separate house or apartment, an arrangement in vogue among most South African Bantu tribes and numerous other polygynous peoples.

4. All social groups, of course, have special social functions and status in the society in which they occur. This is also true of family-type groups. The specific functions of family groupings differ to some extent from one society to another, but among those functions most commonly associated with the family, we may call attention to the following. a. Family groupings are almost universally charged with some aspect of the physical care of the family members. Such care commonly involves (1) protection from bodily harm and illness, and care of the victim or invalid if harm or illness occurs, including care of mother and child at time of birth; (2) provision and distribution of food to the members of the family; (3) provision and distribution of shelter, including clothing, to the members; (4) provision for sex activity of the spouses and sometimes for other members. b. Family groupings also function as the agents whereby culture patterns are transmitted to the children belonging to the group, at least during the age of childhood and often until much later in life. Among ourselves the first training in eating, elimination, reaction to pain, speech, cleanliness, wearing of clothing, and respect for others is provided in the immediate family. c. A third type of activity of the family is in the field of economic functions. Universally we find (1) sexual division of labor within the family, while age division of labor is also common; (2) the family grouping commonly is vested with the ownership and/or control of certain property, such as a dwelling, a farm, a shop, an insurance policy, a crest, a motto. The control of property also frequently involves its inheritance. d. Finally we may say that the family group provides social care for its members. (1) It is through one's affiliation with a specific family that other persons in the society first learn to identify one's "place" in society.

Thus the family is one of the status-giving agents of society. Naturally, there are other status-giving units in most societies, but the family unit services this function almost everywhere at least during the first few years of the individual's life. The use of a family name is not universal, but where it occurs, it serves to symbolize family status and to aid in identification of individuals from this point of view. On the national scene in America, few persons have to be told the difference in significance between the name of Roosevelt, for example, and plain Mr. Smith. If one is a Roosevelt, the next question is which Roosevelt family does he come from, and so on. Your family gives you your starting point in the social system. In our own society one may go up or down or wander far away from this take-off point; elsewhere the family position may determine the individual's position for life. (2) Included in the function of social care of its members by the family group is social protection—protection from insult, defamation, bankruptcy, and other forms of attack upon the individual's social standing. (3) The family group also commonly takes an interest in the marital activities of its members. Such an interest may amount to control of the choice of mate, or insistent advice. Family interest likewise usually extends to the political, religious and general social activities of the members, even though the activities in question take place outside the family group. (4) Finally, one social regulation is universal in family groups, namely, the incest tabu. Sex activity or marriage between the blood relatives of a family group is generally forbidden. This prohibition is universal with respect to sex relations between parents and children.

Relationships within the family. The family, then, is a procreative group, a child-bearing group, and a status-giving group. Its fundamental principle is the bond of kinship which, as we have seen, is a social relationship going back to the need for response by helpless human infants. However, this relationship may be elaborated in various ways, so that the form and structure of family groups and their derivatives vary from one society to another.

There are two types of relationship in the immediate family which are apparent at once: the marriage relationship and the relationship of biological kinship. Thus the relationship of husband to wife is of the first type, while the other interpersonal relations normally found in the immediate family are of the biological type: father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, brother-brother, sister-sister, and brother-sister.

As we examine the family structures of the world we see that some place the major emphasis on the marriage relationship, while others make the

"blood" relationship dominant. Thus we may speak of two general types of family: the *conjugal family* in which the dominant relationship is that between spouses; and the *consanguine family* in which the most important relationships are those of blood, i.e., the bonds between the blood kinsmen involve more obligations and activity than do those between spouses. Since it is only in rare cases that the spouses are permitted to be recognized close kinsmen, the distinction between the conjugal and consanguine factors are usually clear in any given instance. Child-rearing and status-giving are functions performed in either case, but the cultural patterns involved usually differ with the type of organization.

Conjugal families. Since our own type of family is conjugal, we are often apt to consider it the only possible type and certainly the "best." Conjugal groupings are almost, although not completely, universal throughout human societies. For example, the Nayars of the Malabar coast of India evolved a system which succeeded in legally eliminating the husband and father from the recognized family group. Here, when the daughters of the house were eleven or twelve years of age, a young man of appropriate social standing was invited to the house, where a religious marriage was performed but not consummated. After three days, he was given presents, the brides were divorced from him, and he was dismissed, never to appear again. Later the married divorcees normally set up liaisons with other young men, who however were given no social status in their mistresses' household nor any control over their children. Thus the family consisted of a group united through the maternal line and one biological parent had been socially eliminated.¹

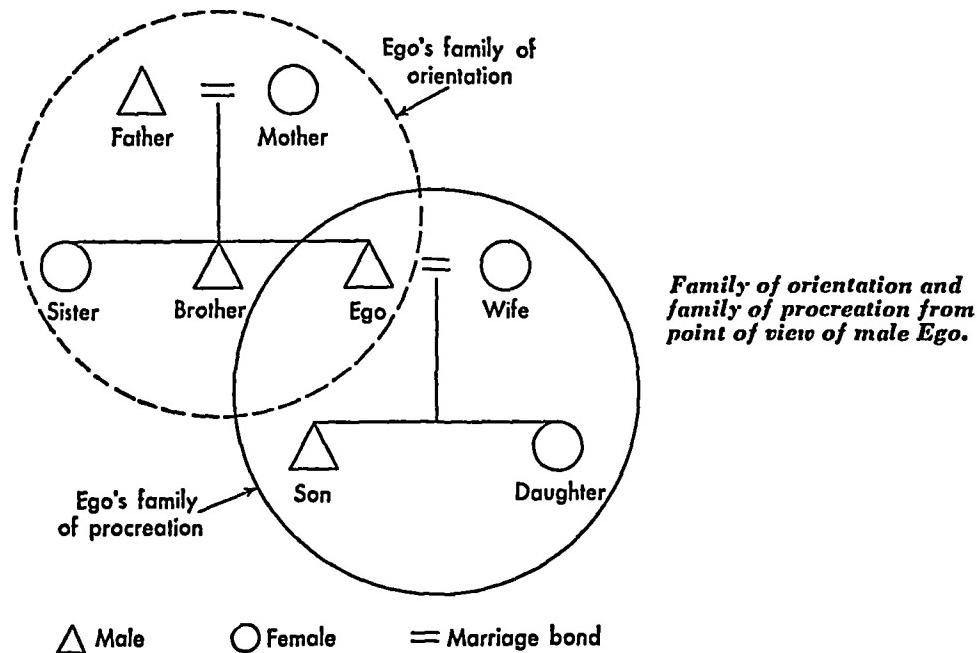
In other societies the father is partially eliminated from the family group. Among the Mentawai, for example, a marriage is often not publicly formalized until the children born to a couple are half-grown and able to work, for when a man is married he is ceremonially prohibited from ordinary labor. Before this time he lives in his father's household, whereas his children and their mother live under the protection of the maternal grandfather.²

These instances bring home to us the fact that the conjugal relationship is not necessarily the essential feature of a family grouping. In fact, a family group whose principal basis is the marriage bond possesses certain disadvantages, some of which are apparent in our own family institution.

¹ Panikar, K. M., "Some Aspects of Nayar Life," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 48, pp. 254-293, 1918.

² For further discussion of examples of this sort see Mead, Margaret, "Contrasts and Comparisons from Primitive Society," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 160, 1932, pp. 1-6.

Outstanding among these is *instability*. Such a grouping may be destroyed by death of husband or wife or by their divorce. Furthermore, since the individuals in the marriage bond have not had the opportunity for lifelong adjustment to each other's personalities, which is provided by membership in a consanguine group, possibilities of friction and disagreement between them are correspondingly increased. Finally, such an arrangement always involves complications in such matters as disposal of mutual property, division of authority in discipline, and the like. These problems are usually solved by the development of patterns defining the activities of the spouses, as in the case of the patriarchal family of Victorian Europe where the husband was given most of the formal authority. On the other hand the conjugal family often gives the individual member more freedom in the sense that he can remove himself from the group if he finds it uncongenial, rather than being bound for life as in a consanguine type of grouping.



Despite the fact that it may not be considered pre-eminent, the conjugal relationship is recognized in practically all societies, even among those that do not understand the biological function of the father in procreation. Thus in practically all societies one belongs to an immediate family even though this unit may not be considered of first importance. In fact, during the course of a normal life, the average individual belongs to two types of families: (1) the family of orientation which consists of his parents and siblings (brothers and sisters); and (2) the family of procreation con-

sisting of his spouse and children. These two types are illustrated in the accompanying diagram.

Consanguine families. The consanguine type of family may be pictured, in Linton's phrase, as a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a fringe of spouses. For example, in the Trobriand Islands, northeast of New Guinea, the functional family unit consists of a woman and her brother. Although the woman lives with a man who is recognized as her husband and the brother lives with his own wife, the organization is such that the wife's brother becomes the functional head of the family with certain rights and responsibilities not enjoyed by the husband in this particular household. The wife's brother takes a large interest in the economic arrangements of his sister's household and is morally bound to see that it does not suffer want; he acts as disciplinarian of the children; and his property and social position are inherited by his sister's children, rather than by his own. The husband has similar responsibilities and rights in the household of his own sister. The husband is tolerated in the household for his personal characteristics, and in fact enjoys certain privileges in his own right, but not as head of the household. In such a society, the immediate family, consisting of husband, wife, and their children, exists along with the consanguine household, but the latter overshadows the former in importance.

The main advantage of the consanguine type of grouping lies in its greater stability. The consanguine group is constituted by birth rather than by choice. Brother and sister, for example, have ample time to adjust their personalities before they reach adulthood. Furthermore their mutual training and experience are continuous and involve no break and assumption of new roles as is necessary when the basic factor is the formation of a conjugal relationship.

In essence, the consanguine family or household permits the perpetuation of sibling patterns learned in the family of orientation to be carried on in full function, even after one has set up a family of procreation. Where the basis of social life is the conjugal family, on the other hand, the sibling relationships of the family of orientation are loosened, and major emphasis is placed on the relationship between spouses.

In the consanguine family the maturation of the children or the death or divorce of a spouse does not usually destroy the group. Many of the functions which are assigned to the immediate family in our own society are as adequately fulfilled by the consanguine family in other societies. The one general exception is sexual gratification, which, because of the

universal tabu on incest between close relatives, cannot be counted as one of the functions of the consanguine group.

Extensions of the kinship principle in grouping. The kinship relation is usually a strong one, based as it is upon early and prolonged conditioning in the family. As a general rule, an individual's earliest satisfactions are obtained from kinsmen and his earliest attempts at learning the cultural patterns of adjustment are assisted by them. It is not unusual, then, that many societies have sought to utilize this type of relationship, not only for the organization of the family or household, but as a basis for larger groupings—even, in some cases, the whole society. It is not necessary to analyse all of these forms of groups in detail, but we may mention a few to indicate the importance of kinship in the formation of social groups in certain societies.

Extended families. Groups of this sort are found in our own society and were even more the rule in past generations and in rural areas than in modern urban life. In our situation the immediate family may be extended bilaterally. This is to say that no rule is in force requiring that only the mother's or only the father's relatives be included. Thus we often find households consisting of an immediate family plus one or more grandparents, a brother-in-law, perhaps a maiden aunt, or children and grandchildren. So far as the marriage relations are concerned, they are always monogamous. At the opposite extreme of what our ideal of an extended family should be are various forms of "group marriage." For example, the Todas of the Nilgiri Hill country of India originally practiced the custom whereby a group of brothers have one wife in common, an arrangement called fraternal polyandry. This was made possible by the practice of killing a certain percentage of the female babies. In recent times female infanticide has largely disappeared owing to the disapproval of the British, with the result that a form of group marriage is developing. A group of brothers may take two wives instead of one, and even if each has only a single wife, the brothers hold them in common.³ The Chukchee of Eastern Siberia also have a form of "group marriage" which in general seems to be merely an arrangement for the exchange of spouses on certain occasions. However, Bogoras says, "I have been told that poor people, on entering the group union, are sometimes so friendly that they live in one tent and even in the same sleeping room."⁴ In effect, this is group formation by

³ Rivers, W. H. R., *The Todas*, The Macmillan Co., London, 1906, p. 516.

⁴ Bogoras, W., "The Chuckchee," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. II, 1904-09, pp. 603-604.

the extension of the family through the addition of extra spouses and their offspring. The same enlargement of the family group may be achieved through polygyny, the addition of plural wives and their progeny to the household. In some societies, however, plural wives each maintain a separate household which the husband visits in turn.

The enlargement or extension of *consanguine* families is usually unilateral, which is to say that additions are made to the nucleus through the inclusion of members of only one line, kinsmen of either the father or the mother, depending upon the rule in force. Such extended families are often called "lineages" in the literature. For instance, among the Iroquois Indians of New York State, the functional household unit was the matrilineal "long house," a group of brothers and sisters who occupied a single bark building. Each adult woman and her children had a compartment, and the whole group was presided over by an old woman. At marriage a man moved to the household of his wife, but continued to spend considerable time in his own mother's household, which was often only a step away in the same village.⁵ In Ontong-Java, an island of Melanesia, essentially the same type of unilaterally extended family unit occurs, although here brothers and sisters belong to the group of their father. Hogbin calls these units "paternal joint families." In this society the members of the group do not occupy a single house, but they own in common coconut trees, religious rites, the privilege of singing certain songs, and so on.⁶

Thus we see that the family nucleus may be enlarged by the inclusion of kinsmen either from "both sides of the house" (bilaterally) or from one side only (unilaterally).

Larger kin groups. Large groups in which both maternal and paternal kin are included (bilaterally) may arise under certain conditions or forms of culture. *Local endogamy* is the rule which requires that one choose his mate from within his local community, although not from recognized close relatives. The Ainu of Northern Japan, for instance, usually marry within their own village, which thus in effect becomes a bilateral kinship group.⁷ This type of "inbred" kinship group was characteristic of many parts of peasant Europe until recently. In the later Inca Empire of Peru, also, a man was obliged to choose his wife from his own community or *aillu*.⁸

⁵ Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1934, Chapter 2.

⁶ Hogbin, H. I., *Law and Order in Polynesia*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1934.

⁷ Batchelor, J., *Ainu Life and Lore*, Tokyo, 1927; Murdock, G. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 180.

⁸ Rowe, J. H., "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1946, Vol. II, p. 285.

Another type of group essentially based on bilateral kinship is represented by hereditary status groups, such as castes, which require that their members marry within the group. We may call these units *endogamous status groups*, because they are usually ranked on a scale of prestige and privilege. Although the extreme classical example of caste is to be found in India, such hereditary status groups are of course by no means unknown in the European tradition. Hereditary orders of royalty, nobility, and commoners were the rule in most European societies until recently. Although our own country was ostensibly founded on the notion that such kin distinctions should be abolished, the present day sees the hardening of social classes and castes along the same hereditary principles. Indeed, from the beginning, two racial castes—whites and Negroes—were characteristic of our society. Within each of these castes, although the door is still open to "climbers," wealthy and "good" families taken together form a group which is in fact, though not formally, endogamous, and which passes on membership and privilege by birth.

Sibs and similar groups. If a society follows the unilateral rather than the bilateral principle, it will usually have sibs or siblike groups. A sib is a social unit, all the members of which are united or supposed to be united by descent through either maternal or paternal ancestors, but not through both lines. In some societies the unilinear relationship which unites the members is only assumed rather than being genealogically demonstrable. Among Bantu tribes of South and East Africa, sibs with tens of thousands of members are not unusual. Nevertheless, the members hold to the belief that they are all descended from a common ancestor. There are two types of sibs: *clans*, which are the matrilinear, and *gentes* (*gens*, sing.), which are patrilinear.

Sibs may be localized or nonlocalized. In the latter case members of a given sib may be found in many or all local communities of a society. Among the Iroquois the various clans were not only composed of many different households in various communities, but sib membership even crossed tribal lines, so that the Bear clan for example was represented in five Iroquois tribes.

A sib always has a name and usually possesses a certain array of ceremonial equipment and usages for the exclusive use and benefit of the sib members.

In our own society we have nothing resembling the sib, and therefore we often find it difficult to understand the part which the idea of unilateral descent plays in the thinking and behavior of individuals who live in such a system. The nearest we come to this idea is the unilateral descent of

our family names in the male line. When the male members of the Gunderson kindred, for example, get together, we have a unilateral group slightly resembling a sib. The members of such a group, however, do not ignore their mothers' relatives, nor as a general rule do they attach any more importance to their Gunderson relatives than to others. Sib members, however, carry the idea of unilateral descent much farther. Thus, if you are a member of a society organized into gentes (patrilineal sib groups), you do not consider your mother's relatives in connection with your gens life at all. They are ignored and are excluded from your gens. The mother of a gens member is not a member of his gens. This is a type of social organization which has played a very important part in many societies—even in certain civilized societies of antiquity, such as early Greece and Rome. Unilateral social grouping, however, tends to disappear in societies having large populations and extensive internal migration and mobility. When the members of a population are moving from place to place and are changing their occupations and social positions, it seems to be difficult for them to maintain the ties based upon unilateral blood relationship.

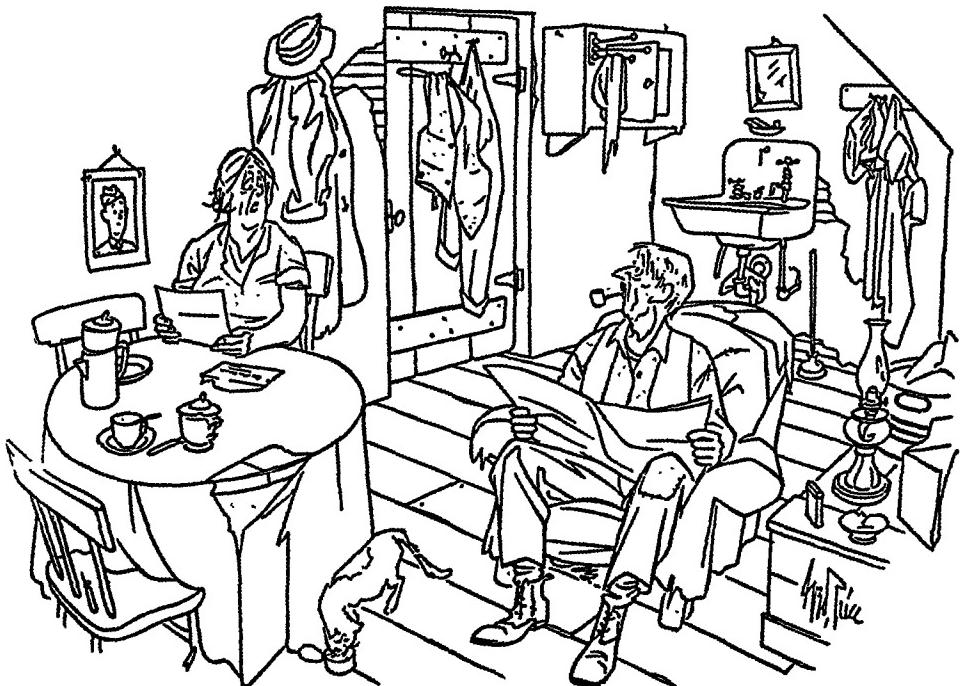
Sibs and similar groups may perform practically all of the functions of other social groups. They may be the basis of industrial specialization and division of labor, they may serve educational functions, they may own property, and so on. However, because of the idea of common kinship and descent, certain features are especially congenial to sibs. *Totemism*, for example, consists of patterns of behavior based on the notion that the members of a group are associated in some mystical manner with a species of plants or animals, or with a class of other objects of nature. Such beliefs and practises may arise in any type of social group, even in an army unit in modern times.⁹ The sib, however, forms a group to which totemism is particularly well adapted. Frequently the idea is current that the common ancestor is an animal or plant; the Bear clan feels, for example, that a special connection exists between the members of the social unit and bears; it may be forbidden for members to kill or to eat bears; ceremonial behavior may be enjoined to increase the number of bears; patterns of reverence may be required toward these animals, etc. Totemism thus serves to unify members of the group and to heighten the feeling of group exclusiveness. Another feature of sib groups is their almost universal control over marriages of their members. Owing to the fact that all members of the sib typically consider themselves to be relatives (*siblings*) and usually call each other by terms which are merely extensions of those

⁹ For an example, see Linton, Ralph, "Totemism and the A.E.F." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 26, 1924, pp. 294-300.

used in the immediate family (terms like brother, sister, father, mother, and so on), it is considered incestuous to marry within the sib. Finally, children born into the group assume the social position common to the members, and since it is impossible to "resign" from a sib they are destined to share the social fate of the other members for life. It is perhaps for this reason that group responsibility in economic, legal, political, and other matters is so commonly exhibited by sibs. When an individual gets into trouble his sib members help him. If the member of one sib has committed a wrong against a member of another, it must be adjusted between the groups as units, rather than between the individuals and their immediate families.

Without going into more details, we may say that sib patterns are in major part extensions of family patterns. Excluding reproduction, practically all of the functions fulfilled by the family are attempted within the sib, while the sib usually also plays a major group role in the society as a whole.

In some societies the component sibs are grouped into large units called



"He's homesick."

BE IT EVER SO HUMBLE, THE KINSHIP BOND IS STRONG

Sociology in cartoons

phratries, composed of "brother sibs," all the members of which consider themselves united by kinship. In some cases the entire society is divided into two exogamous kin groups, which in such a case are technically called *moieties*. A moiety may be a more or less homogeneous collection of kinsmen, or it may be composed of a number of sibs.

This brief discussion of the kin principle indicates that the basic parent-child relationship is a powerful factor in the creation and maintenance of groups. In certain circumstances cultures may elaborate upon this basis to erect complex structures of social relations and social organization. In no society is kinship to be ignored as a factor in group formation.

Summary

We may sum up this chapter by recalling the universal importance of the immediate family in which the children of all societies receive their earliest care of physical needs, their first training in social life, their primary experiences with human response, and their basic notions of security. So important in forming the fundamental outlook of the individual are the first years of life, that it is not surprising to find attitudes and activities derived from immediate family life carried over into the larger spheres of adult social participation. Many societies endeavor to enlarge the basic family in one way or another, to stabilize the enlarged family group of kinsmen. Extended families and unilateral kin groups are not only numerical enlargements of the intimate family group of childhood; they also represent attempts, as it were, to extend the setting of family life into a wider field of adult social activity. The unilateral principle permits the establishment of permanent kin groups in which the individual can continue his participation throughout life, without having to anticipate and readjust to the inevitable breakup of his immediate family of orientation. We may assume, then, that the basic family is in general so satisfying that human beings try to preserve something of its atmosphere throughout their lives. In a sense, this attempt to extend the protections and gratifications of early childhood family life into later years may be "infantile"; yet on psychological grounds it is not difficult to understand. Men tend to repeat habits which have been rewarded and to seek situations in which they have in the past been rewarded. The basic family is as a general rule heavily rewarding to the small child. His fundamental habit structure is formed in its atmosphere. Is it any wonder that individuals wish to preserve the joys of childhood forever? This is perhaps the essence of the hold which the "kinship bond" has over individuals in all societies. In some societies this bond is exploited more than in others, but nowhere is it ignored by the typical adult. Even in our own society kinship symbols and the responses which they bring forth are actively exploited in the formation and maintenance of social groups, for example, churches (the members are "children of God"), and fraternal organizations (members are "brothers" or "sisters").

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Exercises

1. What common interests bind people into family groups—(a) husbands and wives, (b) parents and children, (c) children and children, (d) grandparents and grandchildren, (e) in-laws and in-laws, (f) uncles and nieces or nephews?
2. Is the blood bond between relatives as important as the close association and common interests in family relations in binding relatives together into a group?
3. What social interests are menaced by illegitimacy?
4. What are the chief interests of society served by the biological functions of the family? By the psychological functions? By the economic functions? By the social functions? By the cultural functions?
5. Which of these functions of the family group have been most seriously affected by modern social changes?

238 *Kinship groupings: family groups*

6. What are some of the advantages of the consanguine family compared with the conjugal family?
7. What is the difference between a clan and a gens?
8. What are the chief functions of a sib? Of a phratry? Of a moiety? Of kinship categories?
9. In origin how are the kinship categories related to the levirate and the sororate?
10. How did the castes of India originate? What is the function of caste?

chapter I ○ Physical groupings: bodily characteristics

The population of a self-perpetuating society inevitably falls into a number of categories which may be differentiated on the basis of the bodily characteristics of the individuals involved. Similar physical traits predispose their possessors to common or similar life experiences, with the result that similar habits and interests may be developed. On the basis of such similarity in interests social groups may be formed.

Sex

That male and female social roles are differentiated in society is well known, not only for our own but for other societies reported by anthropologists. For the United States, Terman and Miles¹ have devised an elaborate scale based upon seven different types of tests for measuring the differences between characteristic male and female patterns of response. After trying this with hundreds of subjects of different ages and social position they have found that it is statistically reliable in differentiating male and female groups, although occasional individuals vary from the norm of their sex and, in the case of homosexuals, even toward the responses of the opposite sex. But with respect to Americans in general, so far as this study has sampled them, distinct differences are shown between the sexes with respect to interests. For example, females show a preference for indoor, artistic, decorative, and "ministrative" activities, while males prefer those involving adventure, bodily risk, muscular strength, and prolonged exertion. Males prefer occupations undertaken predominantly by males, but females like male as well as female occupations; males prefer aggressiveness and are interested in mechanical contrivances, business,

¹ Terman, Lewis M., and Miles, C. C., *Sex and Personality: Studies in Masculinity and Femininity*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1936; for a survey of the literature on sex differences, see Miles, C. C., "Sex in Social Psychology," in *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, Carl Murchison, editor, Clark University Press, Worcester, 1935, pp. 683-797.

commerce, and political activities, whereas females express preference for experiences evoking maternal tenderness or active sympathy. Many such differences in interests between the sexes are the result of cultural training and would not hold in societies with a different culture. But, as Miles remarks in her summary of the literature, "social tradition is not wholly responsible for the diversity in pattern in the life of each man or woman, for the underlying glandular basis of physiological sex development and expression reinforces from one crucial period to another the attitude-set which society conspires to maintain." Although cultural training is responsible for many specific patterns, it cannot be the cause of the fact that on the average males are stronger than females and that the two sexes differ in certain aspects of biological functioning. We are therefore justified in taking the position that constitutional differences between the sexes inevitably provide a basis for differentiation in life experience, cultural training, interests, and separate group formation.

However, the mere fact that women, for instance, recognize their common differences as compared with men does not mean that they constitute a social group unless social interaction takes place between them. It is rare in human societies for women to be so closely confined to their husbands' homes that they have no opportunity whatever for contact with other women and for the development of a group behavior. In most societies on the primitive level of culture, male dominance rests upon the physical advantages of men in hunting, war, and other muscular activities required by a simple technological adjustment, combined with their greater ease of getting together, as compared with the women who are more restricted to the home by their physiological functions of childbearing and rearing. Thus the men tend to form groups more readily and to take over the political, religious, and economic power of the society through these groups. Desires for new experience, companionship, and recreation are also a factor in the greater development of male groups, because in many primitive societies sex relations are forbidden during pregnancy and lactation; the man seeks outlet for his social tendencies outside the home.

Many Australian tribes are organized into groups of men from which all women are rigorously excluded. Every male is initiated at puberty and in effect joins a secret society whose rituals and mysteries are prohibited to the women on pain of death. In the Banks Islands, the separation of the sexes into distinct groups is still more emphasized. The men belong to a club from which women are rigidly excluded and into which boys try to enter at the earliest opportunity. In some tribes men neither eat nor

sleep with their wives, but spend practically their whole time in the men's clubhouse. In some of the Banks Island tribes, the women also are grouped into clubs which are imitations of those of the men. In any case a form of grouping which removes the men from the company of their women tends to throw the latter together into a functional group, whether formalized or not. Among the Pueblo Indians, the men are usually grouped into secret fraternities from which women are excluded.² In some primitive societies, a tendency toward female dominance or at least greater organization of the women has developed. Among the Iroquois, for instance, the women of the clan were actually the "powers behind the throne" politically and formed a sex group within the clan. Among the Zuni, the women of the clan form a functional group, particularly active in economic matters. We are not interested here in the question of sex dominance except as it affects the formation of social groups. Nevertheless, there has been a tendency for the men's groups to be better developed and more solidified even in those cultures where social survival does not depend primarily upon male muscular strength and physical endurance. The division into sex groups in modern society is well illustrated on most co-educational university campuses with their fraternities and sororities.

Women's groups in modern society. The development of women's groups on a large scale in modern Western society has occurred during the past century. It is a phase of various social changes which have resulted in the so-called emancipation of women—among others reinterpretation of religion, opportunity for women to earn their own living, rise of birth control. Many of the women's organizations grew up for the purpose of obtaining and defending women's rights, although certain others, such as the familiar ladies' aid societies and card clubs, were and are primarily social. In England, 1897 saw the organization of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and in 1903 the Women's Social and Political Union was founded by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel. In France, Louise Michel organized the Union des Femmes in 1870, and the French League for Women's Rights appeared in 1876. The Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein (General German Women's Union) was founded in Germany in 1865. In the United States the first Women's Rights Convention met at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In Turkey, women's organizations for political and legal purposes appeared as early as 1908,

² For further details, see Lowie, *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, Ch. 10; Webster, Hutton, *Primitive Secret Societies*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1909; Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1894.

and in Japan the New Women's Society for feminists of the upper classes was organized after 1898 and the Association of Proletarian Women in 1921.³

Among other outstanding women's organizations created for special purposes or for general sociability we may mention the following: The Boston Female Society for the Promotion and Diffusion of Christian Knowledge was organized in 1800, and the Female Society for the Relief and Employment of the Poor in 1798. The Women's Home Mission Board was started in 1877, and the Young Women's Christian Association was organized locally in Boston in 1886 and nationally in 1906. The Daughters of Temperance, which were active in the 1840's, developed into the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874. Numerous women's peace organizations appeared during and after the first World War. Culture and general improvement are reflected in the names of many local women's societies—Athenaeum, Wednesday Culture Club, Browning Circle, Ladies' Library Association—which are still active. In 1868 Sorosis was organized in New York, and later sixty-one women's clubs were banded together under its leadership to form the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1889. The Association of Junior Leagues, founded in 1921 in New York, had expanded by 1946 to 161 leagues with approximately 44,500 members.⁴ Women's secret societies and fraternal orders appeared during the latter half of the nineteenth century, e.g., the Degree of Honor, 1873; Order of the Eastern Star, 1876; Ladies of the Maccabees, 1886.

Patriotic women's groups appeared about the same time: Women's Relief Corps (auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic), 1883; Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890; Colonial Dames of America, 1891; and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1894. Educational groups include the Pan-Hellenic Association founded in 1891. The Association of Collegiate Alumnae, which became the American Association of University Women, was organized in 1882, and under the latter name had 947 local branches with 86,000 members in 1946.⁵ Among other prominent women's organizations we may mention the Medical Women's National Association, the International Association of Policewomen, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the National League of Women Voters, organized in 1920.

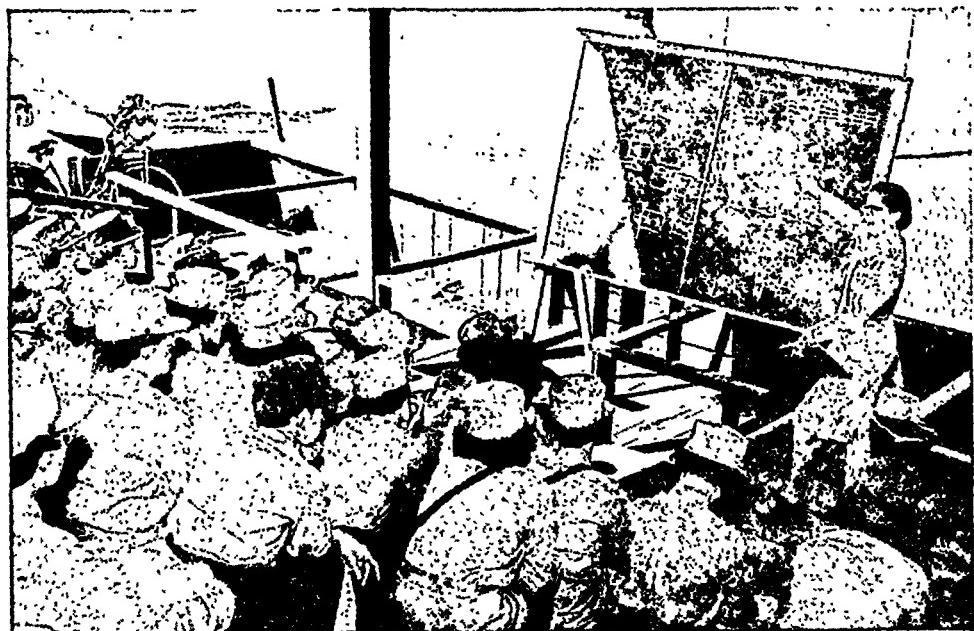
³ Stern, Bernhard J., "Woman, Position in Society," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, Vol. 15, pp. 442-451.

⁴ Meyerand, Gladys, "Women's Organizations," *Ibid.*, pp. 460-465; *Social Work Yearbook*, 1947, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1947, p. 605.

⁵ Meyerand, "Women's Organizations" *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, pp. 442-451, *Social Work Yearbook*, 1947, p. 588.



A suffragette parade, agitating for women's right to vote, about 1912.



A group of WAACs (women auxiliary soldiers of the United States Army) in training, 1942. (Photos by Brown Bros.)

Women's group activities

At the younger age levels female groups also are numerous. The Campfire Girls, founded in 1911, had a membership in 1945 of 338,162 with 10,952 groups,⁶ while the Girl Scouts, organized in 1912, had in 1945 a membership of 1,012,465,⁷ organized into 1,316 local councils.

Though many of these organizations center around specialized interests, such as economics, politics, religion, and so on, in practically all cases these interests arise from the fact that the members are women and approach their problems in a somewhat different way from men, owing to peculiarities in bodily characteristics and also in cultural background.

Men's groups in modern society. Turning to men's organizations, we have space only to indicate a few of the types of groups confined to this sex. Many economic, political, religious, and social groups are purely masculine in membership. Their sex exclusiveness is usually based on two factors: (1) real or alleged inferiority of women as functioning members of the group, and desire on the part of the men to maintain their superiority; (2) real or supposed temperamental differences, either inherent or culturally defined.

In 1935 there were, according to the most generally accepted authority⁸ seventy-six national men's "social" fraternities for undergraduates in American colleges and universities. Twenty-nine national undergraduate "social" sororities were listed. Each of these organizations, formed on sex differentiation, was composed of a varying number of local groups or "chapters." These figures do not include those Greek-letter societies of honorary and professional type, whose membership may be confined to one sex or open to both sexes, nor do they include some 500 "locals." In 1936 it is estimated that there were 4,526 fraternity and sorority units, 3,921 of which were national, in 418 colleges and universities. About 80,000 students lived in houses maintained by these groups.⁹ The fraternity system has even made some penetration into high schools and grammar schools, so that American men are familiarized with strictly male groups from a fairly early age. The earliest established of the extant Greek-letter societies, Phi Beta Kappa, dates from 1776 and has lost its secret features and sex restrictions. The oldest existing collegiate national secret fraternity for men was founded in 1827 and was followed by the founding of several other national orders before the first national sorority came into being. The priority of men's fraternities

⁶ *Social Work Yearbook*, 1945, p. 535.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

⁸ *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities*, 13th ed., Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wis., 1935.

⁹ Marsh, C. S., editor, *American Universities and Colleges*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1936.

and their greater number at the present time reflect the restrictions under which women's groups labored in American academic circles until less than a century ago.

Social groups for boys only have become a part of modern life. The Boy Scouts of America, founded in 1910, in 1946 numbered 1,978,119 members and 545 first-class councils; each council is composed of several troops or neighborhood groups of boys. The Boy Rangers of America, founded in 1913, have 1,056 chartered lodges in forty-seven states composed of boys from eight to twelve years of age.¹⁰ The membership of the Young Men's Christian Association in the United States consisted of 1,411,341 members and 322,918 registered non-members, grouped into 1,345 local associations in 1946.¹¹

A very modern development in men's groups is the "service club," or "luncheon club." The first Rotary Club was organized in 1905, and the national organization was formed in 1910. Many other similar men's groups were formed within the following decade. In 1931 the thirteen largest national and international organizations of this type (Active, Civitan, Co-operative, Cosmopolitan, Exchange, Gyro, Kiwanis, Lions, Optimist, Rotary, Round Table, Torch, Twenty-Thirty) had in the United States about 8,500 local groups containing about 430,000 members.¹² These organizations are not secret and are devoted to improvement of social and business conditions, but their membership is restricted to the male sex. In a study of a representative sample of service-club members, Marden found that one-half were in commerce or trade; one-fourth were professional men; 10 per cent were manufacturers; and the rest were public officials, farmers, or retired. Seventy-five per cent were Protestants, 20 per cent Catholics, and the rest either Jews or those with no religion. About 90 per cent were native-born. One-half the members had been through high school, and the larger portion of the other half had been through college.¹³

These figures indicate a lack of homogeneity in the backgrounds of the individual members. There seems to be little doubt that masculine congeniality and middle-class, or better, economic status are the strongest factors promoting group solidarity in this type of male groups.

It is hardly necessary to mention the secret men's orders of the lodge type, also founded primarily on congeniality and rigidly exclusive of women.

¹⁰ *Social Work Yearbook*, 1947, p. 606.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1947, p. 666.

¹² Marden, Charles F., *Rotary and Its Brothers*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1935; figures from table on p. 5. On July 1, 1947 there were 6,349 Rotary Clubs with 308,000 members. For a popular article on new service clubs see Arnold, Oren, "Clubs are Trumps," *Collier's*, January 10, 1948.

¹³ Marden, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

Freemasonry, the largest movement of this type, appears to have been an outgrowth of the mason's guilds of the medieval period of cathedral-building. In its present form Masonry apparently dates back only to 1717. As Hankins points out, the interests of the members are so widespread and depend so much upon local cultural and social interests that the only common denominator seems to be masculine congeniality, ritualized behavior at meetings, and a leaning toward Christian religious principles. Although attacked by Catholics, the Masons are said to include, in this country at least, a fair number of that persuasion. The Knights of Columbus is a somewhat similar organization for Catholic men.¹⁴

We have attempted no complete survey of the groups based upon sex differences. Such a subject is worthy of a very large volume of its own. We have, however, attempted to suggest the extent to which sex differentiation enters into the formation of groups in our own and in other societies. The reader will once grasp the fact that these groups are not organized about "sex" as we usually understand the word in the primary sense. They are formed about secondary physical, psychological, and cultural characteristics which are recognized in varying degrees within various cultures. Members of the male sex find certain social activities more congenial when carried on solely with other males. And the same applies to members of the female sex. Men would not be wanted in a sewing circle in our culture, because they cannot sew well, nor do they have any cultural interest in discussing sewing. Therefore women group themselves together for this purpose. Women are not wanted in a men's athletic association because they, as yet at least, are incapable of the feats of strength and endurance of the men.

It must be borne in mind that each culture tends to define the differences between the sexes. In one culture women are thought to have no capabilities other than raising children and housekeeping. In another, such as modern American culture, women are thought capable of almost everything but military service. Whatever may be the definition given to the sex situation by the culture, it is important to understand that not only one sex, but both sexes, have been trained to believe in it. Thus the Victorian lady was firmly convinced that she was a delicate creature with no head for business, easily shocked by the realities of the world, and entirely dependent upon men. If women are taught to believe that their place is in the home, we do not expect to find much development of business and professional women's groups. The interests of the two sexes, though resting upon a basis of physiological and anatomical difference, are usually reinterpreted culturally.

¹⁴ Hankins, F. H., "Masonry," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., Vol. 10, 1933, pp. 177-184.

Age groups

We have already seen that sex groups may be subdivided on the basis of age. Age gives one certain bodily and mental characteristics generally common to others of the same age, but different from individuals who are appreciably older or younger. Studies of the physical and psychological aspects of aging have been fairly extensive. Height and weight show rapid increase during the first years and in adolescence; from ages twenty to fifty increase in weight continues on the average; and in old age a decrease in both height and weight occurs. Heredity and culture, particularly food habits, may distort the average picture, but do not halt the inevitable process of aging. Well-nourished individuals or groups are usually more precocious in weight, height, and onset of puberty than other members of the same race or breed; within our own society members of the middle and upper classes are more precocious than those of lower socioeconomic status. Maximum physical efficiency seems to be around age twenty-five following which there is a very gradual decline until the sixties when the decline accelerates. By age seventy the average decrement is from one fourth to one third of the average vigor of twenty-five.

The ability to learn new responses, as measured by intelligence tests, grows rapidly during childhood and adolescence, reaching a peak during the late teens and early twenties. Test material would indicate that a gradual decline in learning ability sets in about age twenty-five continuing slowly toward old age; such material should not be taken too conclusively at present, for there are indications that habit strength, response incompatibility, and acquired drives or motivations interfere with the test performances of older subjects. Such material does, however, form a basis for the judgment that age is "conservative" and less amenable to change. A set of habits reinforced by a lifetime of practice and rewards should not be expected to be changed so readily as habit sets of only twenty years' reinforcement. In our own culture, data on the ages of publishing books, patenting inventions, etc., show maximum productivity of authors and scientists to be during the thirties, while master works in these lines as well as in administration, statesmanship, management, and the like, tend to be produced in the forties and fifties. Works of genius in the arts, on the other hand, often appear in early adult life. All of this is consistent with learning theory. Those accomplishments which, in our culture, require mastery of a complicated set of techniques and symbolic patterns, usually appear after a prolonged period of training and experience, but before the habit patterns

have become so strengthened that recombination is difficult. Works of genius, usually based upon innate learning facility of the necessary techniques and symbolic apparatus, appear in early adult life before thought patterns have become solidified. Although notable individual exceptions are known, both tests and accomplishment show a definite decline in "mental ability" after age sixty.

Data summarized by W. R. Miles, Pressey, and others indicate that interests tend to center in motor activities during childhood and youth and gradually tend toward more sedentary activities in adult life and with increasing age. In our society, boys by the age of ten are usually interested in active games. By age fifteen active sports are still predominant, but interest has developed in the team aspects and technique. By the age of twenty, having "dates" and watching sports or movies become more predominant than active participation in games.¹⁵ Younger children show a greater diversification of play interests than do young adults aged twenty, while in later adult life, at least in the middle class, diversification of interest again appears. The decade from fifteen to twenty-five years appears to be the age of greatest "social" activity, while the period from twenty-five to forty-five is dominated by economic interests for men and homemaking for women.

No cultures overlook age differences, and everywhere informal groups, at least, tend to grow up on the basis of age or generation. We have seen how a kinship terminology separates relatives into generation groups. In our own society we are familiar with the age grading of our educational system. Formalized age groups are not found in every culture, although there seems to be a general tendency in that direction, accompanied by a trend to ceremonialize the passage from one age group to another. Attention has been called to this feature by van Gennep.¹⁶

Birth, adolescence, and death are landmarks in the personal life history which are most universally marked by some sort of social ceremonial. In some cultures even death is merely a passage from one period of existence to another, rather than the end.

¹⁵ Lehman, M. H., and Witty, P. A., *The Psychology of Play Activities*, A. S. Barnes and Co., New York, 1927. This study was based on 26,058 reports of play activities most liked from ages five to twenty by both sexes; for some adult studies see Strong, E. K., *Change of Interests with Age*, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, 1931; Thorndike, E. L., *Adult Interests*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935.

¹⁶ Gennep, Arnold van, *Les rites de passage*, E. Nourry, Paris, 1909; see also Tozzer, A. M., *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1924, pp. 86-126. For summaries of psychological age differences, see Miles, W. R., "Age and Human Society," in *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, pp. 596-682; Pressey, S. L., Janney, J. E., and Kuhlen, R. G., *Life: A Psychological Survey*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1939, pp. 161-280.

Age groups among preliterate. Among some preliterate peoples the age levels are strongly emphasized and differentiated. The Andaman Islanders, according to Man,¹⁷ had twenty-three terms to indicate the different age levels of an ordinary human life. Among the Incas of Peru ten divisions of the population by age levels were in effect:

1. *Punuc rucu* (old man sleeping), 60 years and upward.
2. *Chaupi rucu* (half old), 50-60 years. Doing light work.
3. *Puric* (able-bodied), 25-50 years. Tribute payer and head of family.
4. *Yma huayna* (almost a youth), 20-25 years. Worker.
5. *Coca palla* (coca picker), 16-20 years. Worker.
6. *Pucllac huamra*, 8-16 years. Light work.
7. *Ttanta raquizic* (bread receiver), 6-8 years.
8. *Macta puric*, under 6.
9. *Saya huamrac*. Able to stand.
10. *Mosoc caparic*. Baby in arms.¹⁸

The Masai, a warlike tribe of East Africa, are strongly divided on age and sex lines. Three stages for males are boy, warrior, and elder. At puberty the boy undergoes circumcision through which he attains the position of a warrior. Until the wound is healed he ranks as a neophyte (*ol siboli*, "recluse"), and for the following two years he is an apprentice (*ol barnoti*, "shaved one"). After this period is over he is respected as a full-fledged warrior (*ol moruo*). At the age of twenty-eight to thirty he marries and becomes an elder. All the boys circumcised during the same quadrennium belong to a group called an "age." Follows a period of three and one half years during which no initiation takes place, then another "age" is initiated. The group of individuals initiated during one quadrennium are designated as "right" handed, that of the succeeding as "left" handed. A right-handed and left-handed age together constitute a "generation." During the period of warrior status the young men of an "age" live together in a bachelor kraal or barracks. Here they may bring girls of their own ages who live with them, but who do not marry their lovers. The important consideration is that the group formed as an "age" and to a lesser extent the two "ages" which together constitute a "generation" continue to function as a group through life. Older men who have been initiated together continue to regard themselves as members of the age group, even after they have settled down and married. Among the Masai the women are also graded, although less formally

¹⁷ Man, E. H., "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 12, 1882-1883, pp. 69-175, 327-434.

¹⁸ Markham, C. R., *The Incas of Peru*, Elder, Smith, London, 1910, pp. 161-162.

than the men, according to age; girls, unmarried women (during the period they live in the barracks as lovers of the warriors), married childbearing women, and old women. Clitoridectomy is performed at the initiation ceremony at adolescence.¹⁹

Youth groups. In modern American society universal recognition is given to the age factor in our legal distinction between minors and adults, the two categories which are legally divided for males by the twenty-first birthday and for females at eighteen. In some churches certain ceremonies, such as christening, confirmation, and so on, mark the passage from one age grade to the next. In society as a whole differences in dress distinguish the various age levels.

The neighborhood play group and gang is a familiar age grouping in urban communities. Informal in organization, it is also unstable in membership, because of the changed interests of the members as they grow older. Many city gangs grow into more permanent organizations such as athletic and political clubs, as Thrasher has shown. Although frequently grouped along sex lines as well as age, the gang may and frequently does include members of both sexes.²⁰

The recognition of the "youth problem" in modern society of recent years has given rise to a large number of organizations of young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. According to reports of the National Youth Administration, the total number of youths on relief in May, 1935, was estimated at 2,877,000, about 15 per cent of this age group in the country, or one in seven. Sixty per cent were urban youths, 30 per cent rural and 10 per cent lived in villages.²¹ Various youth groups organized by the government as relief and educational organizations have become a regular part of the American scene during the past few years. The first camp of the Civilian Conservation Corps was established in Luray, Virginia, on April 17, 1933. At the peak of its development, August 31, 1935, the corps included 519,000 enrollees distributed through 2,109 camps. Up to March 31, 1940, approximately 2,209,000 men between the statutory ages of eighteen and twenty-eight years, had passed through the corps. These organizations disappeared with the depression of the thirties. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, and similar groups named above continue their activities. During World War II many youth organizations sprang up to provide wholesome leisure time activities. The Youth Centers, many of which took over the facilities of the U.S.O. and

¹⁹ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, pp. 270-275; see also Merker, M., *Die Masai*, Reimer, Berlin, 1910, pp. 66ff. and *passim*.

²⁰ Thrasher, *The Gang*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927.

²¹ *Social Work Yearbook*, 1941, pp. 614-617.

others, developed even before the end of the War. These were motivated by the desire to prevent delinquency.

Youth movements abroad have usually been composed of groups of young people dissatisfied with the culture and society of their elders. The numerous *Jungebünde* of inter-war Germany promoted interest in literature and romanticism. In Czarist Russia the youth groups were active in revolutionary activity. The authoritarian governments, such as those of Russia, Germany, and Italy, all used the youth organizations in their rise to power. German and Italian organizations disappeared with the end of the Nazi and Fascist regimes. It will be of interest sociologically and politically to see what part, if any, youth groups play in Germany and Italy following the withdrawal of the occupation forces. Early in Fascist Italy the aging members of Premier Mussolini's cabinet were forced into vigorous exhibitions of swimming, weight-lifting, and fire-jumping to demonstrate their lack of senility.²² The modern militant youth groups arise largely out of dissatisfaction with the work of the older groups which have held the controlling power in modern society until recently. In preliterate societies the absence of written records means that a man or woman must live a considerable time to acquire the wisdom which greater familiarity with the culture bestows. In modern literate societies with special educational institutions, the younger groups are able to familiarize themselves with the culture in shorter time, but cannot normally acquire the money, which spells social power, except over a period of years.

In America and western Europe, the fall in the birth-rate coupled with the greater average length of life has resulted in an increasing "aging" of the population. The median age of the United States population in 1850 was 18.9 years, in 1880, 20.9 years; in 1900, 22.9 years; in 1919, 24.1; in 1920, 25.3, in 1930, 26.5 and in 1940, 29.0. This represents a steady rise of over ten years in the median age of the population in the past ninety years.²³ Since 1900 the percentage of persons forty-five years of age and older in the population has risen from 17.7 to 26.7.²⁴ What effect this increasing proportion of older groups may have upon the character of the culture and the society remains to be seen.

Even though further cultural changes eventuate which remove the older groups from a monopolistic position in regard to money and knowledge, there will still be differentiation. The younger groups have energy, strength,

²² See *Life*, July 23, 1938, for pictures. On the German youth movements see Becker, Howard, *German Youth: Bond or Free?*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1946.

²³ "Median age" means that there are as many people of lower age than the "median" as there are with higher age.

²⁴ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940; Population, Part 1, Tables III and VII.*

and a tendency to progressiveness; the older groups have experience, increasing infirmity, and conservatism. It is doubtful that any society will be able to ignore the differences inherent in age.

Differentiation and linkage between generations. Although we have emphasized the factor of differentiation in the formation of groups from various age levels, we must not lose sight of the fact that in most societies *generation linkage* is an important factor in the stability and continuity of social life for the society as a whole and for the individual. This means that the majority of human societies have discovered that a reciprocal division of labor and function between the generations is a rewarding way of organizing effort.²⁵ Generation linkage implies that no adult can properly repudiate responsibility for the whole of society so long as he remains a member of it, and that all age groups function best if their respective activities are coördinated for the common benefit. Since about 1920 our society has shown a tendency to flout this principle. The younger generation, on the one hand, has "revolted" from the domination of the elders, while the latter have proclaimed that youth is "going to hell" and, in some cases, have declared that if the youngsters want to ruin the world, the oldsters will wash their hands of the whole business. It seems that many persons have been misled by certain superficial differences in manners between the generations and have tended to overemphasize the diversity. The "flaming youth" of the 1920's are now middle-aged and in some sectors are decrying the present generation of young adults. The fact of the matter is that a new balance between age groups will probably be achieved. Within the category of adults there is no reason for one level to dominate the others; each has its place and certain functions which it can best perform in the general equilibrium. This becomes increasingly important as the older groups of the population increase in size.

Racial groups

A third type of bodily characteristics around which social groups may be formed is that associated with race. We have already remarked upon the caste types of groups which have grown up in India, partially at least, representing racial groupings. Throughout North Africa and most parts of the Sahara Desert, the dominant stock is white. But included in most of these white (Berber, Arab, Tuareg, etc.) societies are usually small num-

²⁵ Cf. Simmons, Leo W., *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1945; Linton, Ralph, "Age and Sex Categories," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, pp. 589-603, 1942.

bers of Negroes. Almost invariably they are grouped into separate units, distinct from the other groups of the population, and are conceded the monopoly of ironworking, blacksmithing, and certain types of magic. In some parts of the Congo basin tribes of full-sized Negroes live in a kind of symbiotic relationship with groups of Negro pygmies. The large Negroes supply the pygmies with vegetable products, while the latter supply their larger companions with game. Though the pygmies actually possess a sort of subsociety and culture within the sphere of the society and culture of the larger Negroes, they are recognized as a separate group.

In the United States a series of historical accidents have resulted in considerable racial heterogeneity in the population. According to the 1940 census, out of the total population of 131,669,275, there were 12,865,578 Negroes, 333,969 American Indians, 126,947 Japanese, 77,504 Chinese, and 50,467 members of other races. The colored races altogether compose only about 12 per cent of the population, but this much heterogeneity provides ample opportunity for the rise of social groups based on race.²⁶

All of these racial elements tend to become the bases of social groups in America. Each of the racial elements above mentioned publishes several newspapers for its brethren in various parts of the country. Chinese and Japanese clubs; Negro country clubs, lodges, and churches; Mexican organizations of various types; Indian organizations and others, are to be found in most parts of the country where a racial group exists in sufficient numbers to make group life practicable. Among national organizations founded along race lines are the National Urban League (welfare organization for Negroes with membership of 25,000 in 44 local organizations in 1937), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Health Movement, the National Negro Congress (with 585 affiliated national and local organizations), the National Council of American Indians (with 54 local lodges), the National Association on Indian Affairs, and the National Association of Colored Women (with 20,000 members and 44 state organizations).²⁷

In many parts of the country, because of restrictions imposed by the whites, the members of the colored races have to form their own groups if they are to have any social life. Prejudices and segregation tend to accentuate the formation of racial social groups.

²⁶ *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Vol. II, "Characteristics of the Population,"* Table 4, Washington, 1943.

²⁷ See Johnson, Guy B., "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 43, 1937, pp. 52-71; Frazier, E. Franklin, "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 43, 1937, pp. 72-88.

One warning should be issued against confusing social groups based on race with those based upon cultural interests. Jewish groups and immigrant groups from European countries are usually racially white. Their peculiarities are cultural rather than racial. Inherited physical differences of the racial type, however, are a factor in group formation wherever two or more races are brought together in one large society. The dominant group tends to exclude the minority group or groups from full social and cultural participation, thus forcing the latter to form social organizations of their own. Education can do much to lift the prejudice against the members of the colored races, but it seems doubtful that anything less than biological amalgamation (by interbreeding) will do away with the race problems which characterize American society. As long as the obvious physical criteria of race remain, society will use them as symbols for segregating and grouping individuals.

Groups based on other bodily characteristics

While age, sex, and race are the most important bodily characteristics determining the formation of functional groups, there are a few others of minor importance. Among such groups readily identifiable are athletes, policemen, and soldiers. Other groupings distinguished by physical characteristics have been studied. For example, the English men of science have been shown to be unusually tall men, but it is questionable whether size is an important qualification for a scientist. It is possible that families producing individuals of unusual stature were in a financial and social position to give their sons unusual educational opportunities, and that large physique was highly valued in English society, and thus tall men were provided a chance to develop a scientific interest. Further, for example, it has been found that certain types of criminals—pickpockets, burglars, and thieves—are small and slender, while those convicted of crimes of violence are stronger than males in the general population.²⁸ It is probable, however, that size is not of direct importance in making these men criminal, but that puniness acts indirectly in selecting them for unemployment in honest businesses, leaving open to them only criminal pursuits as a way of making a living. In any case their bodily characteristics have something to do in bringing them together and work with other factors to form them into social groups.

Athletes are chosen for their strength, coördination of nerve and muscle,

²⁸ Gillin, J. L., *Criminology and Penology*, rev. ed., D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1945, pp. 80-82.

quickness of response, and other qualities based upon bodily characteristics. Boxers are usually well muscled, have long arms, good hearts and lungs.

It is well known that all policemen are given tests on body build and physical agility besides the other tests in the examination. A certain stature and weight are required. While other requirements must be met, bodily characteristics are emphasized. They must be strong enough and sufficiently agile to deal with the largest offenders they may have to handle.

Soldiers are selected on the basis of age, height, condition of the eyes and of other organs of the body. Every care is exercised to select those whose physical condition is of the best in the population.

In all these cases bodily characteristics form a very important basis on which functional groups are formed. It is probable that in the formation of many free groups of associates, bodily characteristics play some part in the attraction which brings individuals together. Every society builds up its ideals of beauty, male and female, and selects for approval those individuals who correspond most closely with those ideals. In addition, types of bodily form and grace, strength and size, are socially accepted, while variations from these types are disapproved. One needs only to observe the types of physical figures drawn by artists to perceive the socially approved types, and those of the cartoonists to ascertain the socially disapproved types. Although these types are in part culturally determined, it is believed that the socially approved types are those which correspond closely with the statistically normal bodily form.

That variation from the socially accepted form of body results in rejection by certain groups is clear from common observation. Otherwise, how explain that the fat girl in our culture has difficulty in being chosen a member of a sorority or getting a date? Or, how interpret the frustration of the malformed, crippled, and "homely" individual? Physical characteristics alone do not determine membership in groups, but they play a part. They combine with other characteristics in making a person a socially acceptable member of a group. This is especially true of congeniality groups in which the characteristics of the individual form the basis of association.

Thus the bodily characteristics distinctive of age, sex, and race constitute the basis on which groups of the same age, sex, and race are formed. In addition certain functional groups in any society—athletes, policemen and soldiers—are selected for certain tasks in part upon the basis of their physiques. And finally those groups formed in free association because of the recognition of personal characteristics esteemed by the other members are based in part upon the bodily characteristics valued as beauty, strength, agility, and grace.

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Exercises

1. Why in primitive societies do the males tend to form groups to a greater extent than the women?
2. Explain the recent growth of women's organizations in our civilization.
3. Why has such a luxuriant growth of male groups occurred in the first part of this century?
4. Explain first rise of the modern "youth movements" in our society since World War I. How do those explanations differ from those which account for youth groups in primitive societies?
5. Does a shift in the age groups of a society have any effect on the economic life of the group? On the political attitudes? On the attitude toward social change? On religion?
6. Discuss the underlying motivation of racial groups from the standpoint of the dominant group's assumed superiority, of the desire of the racial group to keep the blood pure, of the desire of the minor racial group for protection of its interests.
7. Do physical characteristics play any part in determining what boys will be "bid" to join a fraternity, or girls, a sorority?
8. Do ideals of physical beauty have any influence in the formation of any social groups? If so, what groups?

chapter I I Physical groupings: spatial

Plant and animal ecology is the science which is devoted to the study of the ways in which plants and animals adapt themselves to the varied environments of the earth. It explains their protective coloration, their distribution, their numbers, their mode of life. Although human beings are less dependent upon the environment than plants and animals, since man to a greater degree than animals adapts the environment to his needs, yet ecology is important to enable us to understand human phenomena. The size of human groups, the social division of labor, and many of man's habits, customs, and institutions are the result of the interaction between man and his natural environment.¹ The physical proximity of a number of individuals necessarily means that they face common environmental conditions, which provide them with a set of interests which they share in common. Let us first consider groups of this type which are more or less temporary.

I. Temporary groups

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the importance of psychological factors in sociology is to be found in the study of temporary groups based on physical proximity. The psychological interstimulation which may arise among a group of people who start out with nothing in common but physical proximity may give rise to group activity of serious and far-reaching character despite its short duration.

1. **The crowd.** Perhaps the most elemental of these groups is the crowd.

¹ On plant and animal ecology see Weaver, J. E., *Plant Ecology*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1929; Pearse, A. S., *Animal Ecology*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1926; Allee, W. C., *Animal Life and Social Growth*, Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1932; Elton, Charles, *Animal Ecology and Evolution*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930. For human ecology, see Alihan, M. A., *Social Ecology*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1938; Bews, J. W., *Human Ecology*, Oxford University Press, London, 1935; McKenzie, R. D., "The Scope of Human Ecology," in *The Urban Community*, E. W. Burgess, editor, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1926, pp. 167-219; Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, Ch. 13.

A mere aggregation of human beings on the street is not a crowd. But as soon as these individuals begin to respond as a unit, as soon as interpersonal stimulation and response are set up and they become aware of each other's presence, the aggregation may become a crowd and a functioning social group.

One of the first necessities for the formation of a crowd is a common focus of attention for individuals. If you care to experiment, go out on a busy street some day and stare fixedly toward the top of a building. Whether there is anything of interest to look at there or not, it will not be long before a crowd of people has collected around you, asking each other questions, staring upward, and drawn by common curiosity. As soon as this common interest—curiosity—disappears, the crowd may dissolve and disappear, each individual going his way and possibly never again meeting the other individuals who carried on the brief life of the crowd. Similar crowd groups may be formed to watch a fire, to see a parade, to attempt to buy articles at a bargain sale, to look at the scene of an accident, and so on.

From the structural point of view the simple crowd is characterized by the following features: (a) The crowd is *nameless* and therefore has no permanent identity. By the same token the crowd has no place in the social



By permission of *The New Yorker*

"Now let's think of something less hackneyed than 'Break it up!'"

NO GREAT ORIGINALITY REQUIRED, CROWDS BEING WHAT THEY ARE

organization of a society, nor does any culture provide specialized patterns of behavior for simple crowds. Individual members therefore feel no personal responsibility. (*b*) The crowd is *temporary* and has no permanent existence. The same street corner or bargain basement may have a crowd the next day, but the membership will be different. If the same membership turns up day after day, you have something other than a simple crowd. (*c*) There are *no tests for membership* in the crowd, although a minimum common cultural background helps. For instance, we do not expect a raw savage from the jungles to join a crowd watching a fire engine at work with the same alacrity as an American. He may be frightened by a phenomenon which is merely one of curious interest to the others, and he also is handicapped in establishing the rapport with other members which is necessary for crowd functioning. (*d*) The crowd is *unstable*. What excites it one moment may have no interest for it the next. As good police officers know, a crowd may be fairly easily broken up by the use of counterdistractions. A crowd watching a dog fight will break up if someone shouts that a fire is in progress around the corner. Police arresting crowd members on two sides of the crowd at once usually succeed in dividing attention and breaking up the group. (*e*) Psychologically the crowd is *irrational*. It is not motivated by considered thoughts or opinions, but rather by emotion and impulse. The individuals have a common simple interest, respond emotionally to the same stimulus or stimuli, and influence one another by expressions of curiosity, amusement, alarm, and the like. Rational response is delayed response. Rational activity is not exhibited until time has been taken to compare the factors in the situation and the possible modes of reaction. The crowd, being irrational in its responses, usually responds immediately and on the lowest intellectual or emotional level. The crowd therefore is extremely suggestible, ready to believe almost everything at the moment and to act in accordance with such beliefs. As Ross says, "It is safe to conclude that amorphous heterogeneous gatherings are morally and intellectually below the average of their members."² Consequently, individuals frequently exhibit behavior as members of crowds which they would consider unworthy of themselves when acting in other situations. This type of individual reaction is aided by the fact that individual members of crowds are anonymous—their names and personal identities are usually unknown to the other members, and in fact, an individual usually feels some embarrassment when meeting an acquaintance in a crowd. So long as he remains anonymous, and the crowd itself lacks social responsibility, he feels free to

² Ross E. A., *Social Psychology*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1908, p. 56.

"let himself go" and to indulge in either foolish or unmoral behavior with impunity. (f) Finally, the simple crowd *lacks leadership and internal organization.*

We have so far been speaking of simple crowds, the type of group described by some sociologists as passive crowds. The passive crowd is motivated by curiosity, amusement, or sympathy. There is, however, another type of simple crowd which is motivated almost entirely by fear. We may call this a *stampeding crowd*. Its typical action is withdrawal. Such a group may develop at a fire in a theater, when a street mob is attacked by soldiers, when a natural catastrophe such as a flood or earthquake visits a region, or at a disaster at sea. In many respects such a crowd is the most elemental form of group. The sense of belonging to a group is at its lowest level in the constituent individuals, whose principal concern is saving their own lives. Misery loves company, however, and frequently has no choice, so that the common reactions of fear toward the common stimulus produce a certain bond between the members and a minimum of unity.

Properly speaking, a crowd has *no special cultural patterns* of its own. If a crowd were stable or permanent enough to be able to train its members in special patterns of interaction it would by definition no longer be a crowd.

The simple crowd of the passive type is basic to the other types of temporary groups based on physical proximity, which usually grow out of the simple crowd.

2. Crowdlike behavior in secondary groups. The rapid spread of emotional responses is not confined to crowdlike groups with primary contact. Fashions, crazes, social movements, widespread revolutions, and social epidemics may travel through whole populations or large sections of them, partially, at least, by means of secondary contact. Frequently in such manifestations the stimuli are provided by secondary contacts, which are purveyed through a type of group which we call a "public." (See Chapter 12.) Locally, however, individuals, stimulated by these secondary contacts as members of a public, tend to come together into temporary groups in physical proximity and to interstimulate each other in the ways typical of these groups.

A good example of the rapid spread of mass hysteria through secondary contact is the epidemic of false fear which seized the radio listeners of this country on the evening of October 30, 1938. Occurring a short time after the great European war crisis of September, 1938, the radio dramatization of a mythical attack upon New York City by men from Mars found the

populace extremely suggestible, as indicated in the press dispatches of that day.³

3. The mob. A mob is essentially a crowd in positive action usually motivated by anger or joy. Almost any crowd may become a mob under certain conditions. We ordinarily think of mobs as destructive and ugly-tempered, but a mob may also be motivated by friendly emotions and may take amicable action, as when a mob swoops down from the football stadium to carry the victorious team through the streets on their shoulders. The mob, though otherwise like the crowd, differs from it in the following particulars: (a) It has a *leader* who serves the purpose of focusing the mob's attentions upon certain objectives and who urges the members to action. The leader may appear spontaneously from the crowd or he may be a professional mob leader, "rabble-rouser," agitator, revivalist, or the like. At all events he must be capable of at least giving an appearance of sharing the experiences of the mob members, and he must be able to phrase his suggestions in terms which strike common emotional chords in his hearers. Furthermore, an appearance of vitality and of readiness to carry out his own suggestions, to set an example for action, are useful traits in a leader. It is no mere coincidence that Communist speakers are required to come from the working class or, if not, to familiarize themselves with working class conditions. They must be able to speak the worker's language. Nor do political stump speakers appear in rural districts in battered cars, overalls, and patched jackets for the sheer pleasure of masquerading. All prospective leaders of mobs know that they must approximate in appearance, speech, and manner their followers or at least create an illusion that their backgrounds are not foreign to those of the mob members. Also the mob leader must have a keen sense of the dramatic. A sense of humor, a fiery emotional way of speaking, a flair for expressive gestures, a knack for concise phrase are all helpful. A leader therefore (1) builds up emotional tensions by defining for his followers the causes of their unrest, (2) recommends a line of action which will release these tensions, and (3) makes at least a pretense of justifying such action.⁴

The mob is (b) *more emotional* than the simple crowd. The members of the simple crowd are usually motivated by the elemental emotions such as curiosity, amusement, or mild sympathy. The members of a mob, how-

³ E.g., "Radio Show Sends Panic Over Nation" (Associated Press), *Ohio State Journal*, Columbus, Ohio, October 31, 1938, pp. 1 and 5; also Cantril, Hadley, *The Invasion from Mars, A Study in the Psychology of Panic*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940.

⁴ Sutherland, Robert L., and Woodward, Julian L., *Introductory Sociology*, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1937, p. 308.

ever, are restless, they feel a vague uneasiness and want to do something about it. Once this has been outlined for them by the leader, the mob is raised to a state of high emotional excitement. The anonymity and lack of responsibility characteristic of simple crowds removes inhibitions which are usually present in other social groups. By means of rapid exchange of stimuli, owing to the close physical proximity of the members to each other,



The mob

A mob has a leader who focuses attention on certain objectives and whose removal is attempted by police endeavoring to control or disperse the mob, as in this picture. (Photo from Acme Newspictures, Inc.)

the emotional tensions and releases spread through the mob like fire through a pile of gunpowder, and the crowd bursts into action like an explosion.

(c) The use of symbols is important in mob situations. A flag, a slogan, or an individual may serve. The symbol tends to focus the attention of the members and to dramatize their emotions. Many an unfortunate Negro in the South has served as the luckless symbol of the mob's usually repressed hatred of Negroes in general. Many a forgotten football player has discovered after his playing days are over that he was merely a symbol of mass admiration. How often has the word "red" been used to awaken mobs

of vigilantes to action against some harmless liberal! The members of the mob identify the symbol with some vaguely felt emotion which they have never succeeded in expressing, regardless of whether the symbol applies to the situation at hand or not.

Mob action is most often identified in the minds of Northerners, at least, with the lynching of Negroes in the South. In the sixty years from 1882 to 1944, 4,708 lynchings took place in the United States, not all of them in the South by any means. About 75,000 persons took part in the twenty-eight lynchings during the single year of 1933. Of the tens of thousands of lynchers and spectators of lynchings between 1882 and 1933 only forty-nine were indicted, and only four have been sentenced. Lynchings during the years of 1936 to 1944 showed an abrupt decline. In 1944 only two lynchings were recorded, both of them of Negroes.⁵

The mob, like the simple crowd, is without internal organization and stability. Its object achieved, it dissolves into its constituent individuals who speedily endeavor to rejoin the more permanent groups with which they are publicly identified.

Notice that the contagion of emotion which spreads by stimulus and response mechanisms through a mob is frequently as easily transmitted to the official guardians of peace and order detailed to handle the mob. Brutal clubbings and shootings by police at riots, although rationalized as self-defense, are frequently no more than mob behavior by uniformed officers of the law. Well-trained and disciplined police know that the surest ways to break up a mob with the least damage to all concerned are (*a*) to remove the leader, (*b*) to substitute for the leader someone else who can recall the mob members to the realities of orderly behavior, and (*c*) to create harmless secondary diversions about the periphery of the mob, thus diverting its collective attention. Of course, there are occasions when police officers are justified in using firearms and other means of self-protection, but these are significantly less numerous for well-disciplined forces.

4. The herd. A third type of temporary social group which owes its existence to the close physical proximity of the members is the herd. By this term we mean to designate a crowd which has a leader, but no strong emotional motivation. The leader directs or leads the individuals who follow his orders or example more or less unquestioning. Herds exhibiting overt

⁵ Work, Monroe N., *Lynching Whites and Negroes, 1882-1933*, quoted in Sutherland and Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 294; Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching*, p. 44. In 1945 there was one, but in 1946 there were six, all Negroes. Guzman, Jessie P. (Ed.), *The Negro Year Book*, The Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., 1947, p. 302.

behavior are familiar to anyone who has seen a group of tourists or sight-seers being led about by a guide. A group of boys at the circus collected by the straw boss to carry stakes and to water the elephants is a herd. There is usually a good deal of milling about and waste motion in such groups. The individuals are conscious of being part of a group and a certain amount of social interaction takes place, most of it incidental, however, to the directions of the leader and to the objective at hand.

5. **The audience.** The audience is a crowd in which interstimulation between the individuals of the group is reduced to a minimum. The members are aware of the presence of others and are somewhat stimulated by their example of attention and applause, but the principal interaction is between the individuals of the audience and the performer on the stage. In theater audiences, particularly, the performance is usually constructed with a view to causing the members of the audience to project their emotions and thoughts into the situation created on the stage or screen. This in itself diverts attention from the stimuli which might be received from fellow members of the audience. Furthermore, a certain ritual usually governs the behavior of audience members, often aided by material devices, such as chairs, balconies, and so on, which separate the individual members and groups within the audience. The audience is the one group of the crowd type which is governed by cultural patterns of behavior commonly practiced by its members.

Audiences at speeches and athletic contests especially, but also all audiences occasionally, have a tendency to veer toward mob behavior, as when the pop bottles start to fly at the umpire during a baseball game, when the rotten eggs and old vegetables are thrown toward the stage, or when heckling and booing greet a speaker. As a general rule, however, the audience is stabler in its interests and more regular in its behavior than other crowd groups.

We have described the outstanding types of temporary groups based on physical proximity. There are, however, frequent borderline cases which do not fit neatly into any one of the above categories, but of which the reader who understands the principal types should be able to recognize the outstanding characteristics. Because of their temporary nature, groups of this type do not form part of the social organization in any culture. No culture provides training specifically for true crowd behavior. Except for audiences, ritualized behavior is unknown to these groups, nor can institutions be organized around them. The principal feature of all such groups is primary contact made possible by all the members being together. The emotionalism characterizing the behavior of these groups is largely due to

the lack of cultural patterning. As in the case of all human behavior, when the individual enters a situation for whose stimuli he has not been trained, he must either think things out for himself or fall back on emotional responses. In temporary groups based on physical proximity, he does the latter. Turn now to the permanent groups.

II. Permanent groups

1. Local groups. The local group is a collection of families and unattached males and females habitually living together. It is a group found in all societies from the most primitive to the most modern. Upon groups of this type are built most of the political institutions in all societies, although in modern America they are losing some of their importance as functional social units. The members of the local group are held together by their common attachment to the surroundings in which the group lives and to the problems which they are required to face together. When removed from these surroundings and from the group, the individual frequently has a feeling of nostalgia or homesickness. "Oh, to be in England now that April's here." He is habituated to these surroundings.

Firth, describing the attachment of the New Zealand Maoris to their native land, says:

The chanting of a lament to one's home and lands just before death was not an uncommon custom. . . . Sometimes after a battle a captive asked permission to sing such a song, and the uplifted weapon was stayed a moment while the last farewell was uttered. It happened on occasions that a prisoner, when about to be slain, asked to be conducted first to the border of his tribal lands that he might look upon them once again before death. . . . Or he might ask that he should be allowed to drink of the waters of some streams which flowed through the borders of his home. . . . Courteous compliance with what seems to us a somewhat singular request gives evidence of the recognition which was accorded even by an enemy to the sentimental attachment of a person to his lands.⁶

2. The community. We shall speak of all types of local permanent groups, based primarily upon physical proximity, as communities. The following characteristics are common to all types: (1) The community is limited in physical space, with fairly definite spatial boundaries recognized by the members as well as by outsiders. (2) The physical contiguity of the members of the community is an outstanding feature. Although the members

⁶ Firth, Raymond, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, Routledge, London, 1929, pp. 361-364.

may not be in constant primary contact with each other, they are, generally speaking, in closer physical contact with each other than with the members of any other community. (3) The members share the basic essentials of social existence.⁷ (4) The patterns of social behavior which are current in the community are determined by the common geographical surroundings and by the physical proximity of the individuals. Let us consider the different varieties of communities.

a. *The Band.* The most elemental community is the band. We use this term to designate those local groups which are partially or entirely nomadic. They are found among peoples who depend upon gathering-hunting-fishing techniques and also among certain peoples whose economic patterns are based primarily upon pastoralism. Among gatherers-hunters-fishers the possible size of such groups is restricted by ecological factors. The ultimate size depends upon the amount of food and raw materials which can be extracted from the environment with the cultural techniques at the disposal of the group. Under particularly adverse conditions groups with a poorly developed culture spend most of their time divided into scattered families, the whole group coming together at some designated camping spot or headquarters only occasionally. "The number travelling together in Australia depends in great measure upon the period of the year, and the description of food that may be in season. If there is any particular variety more abundant than another, or procurable only in certain localities, the whole tribe [band] generally congregate to partake of it. Should this not be the case they are probably scattered over their district in detached groups or separate families."⁸ The Fuegians were dispersed along the shore, where food was more abundant, in small parties numbering between twenty and forty souls.⁹ The Veddas lived in pairs and only occasionally assembled in greater numbers.¹⁰ When several families live constantly together, the group may also be small. The Andaman Islanders, according to one authority, were divided into small local bands ranging in size from ten to three hundred individuals, but averaging between thirty and fifty.¹¹ The aboriginal Tasmanians led a nomadic life in groups ranging in size from ten to thirty individuals. In Queensland the Australian natives lived

⁷ MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937, pp. 8, 9.

⁸ Eyre, E. J., *Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound 1840-41*, London, 1845.

⁹ Krzywicki, Ludwik, *Primitive Society and Its Vital Statistics*, The Macmillan Co., London, 1934, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

in bands of twenty to twenty-five persons, roaming within a territory of twenty to thirty square miles.¹² Nomadic or seminomadic bands range in size all the way from these small units to so-called "hordes" such as those found among the Bedouins of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. "When the Shamar tribe is on the move, with its 30,000 sheep and 50,000 camels, its camp forms a line of tents seven miles long, occupied by 20,000 grown men and their families. The move to the south begins in autumn, and the winter is passed in Nejd. They carry everything they need with them."¹³

Among hunters it is the general rule for the group to establish some sort of permanent camp or headquarters, or a series of such establishments arranged on a circuit, from which the surrounding terrain is exploited for food and raw materials. There are few climates in which some sort of shelter is not desirable, and the labor involved is usually more than men like to perform every day. Furthermore, an established headquarters provides a place where the sick, infirm, women, and children can be left while the able-bodied individuals carry on the quest for food. Among most of these hunting peoples the territory of the group is definitely delimited, even though the group may move about it on an annual circuit, and the members stand ready to defend it against trespass by outsiders. In some tribes the land of the band is further subdivided into territories held by families,¹⁴ or by individuals, as among the Ojibwa.¹⁵

A common practice is to remain at one camp until the surrounding region, which can be hunted by a man going out and returning to camp in one day, is hunted out. Then the camp is moved to another location within the band's territory. The pattern of residence and social activity varies somewhat, depending upon whether the principal game is migratory or nonmigratory. In the former case the yearly circuit of moves is usually more regular. The size and pattern of the group depends to a certain extent, also, upon the character of the game, whether it is drove animals, such as bison, which can best be hunted by fairly large groups of men, or whether it is more or less solitary animals which a single man can take more conveniently. It is frequent to find a permanent pattern of spatial

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³ Thurnwald, Richard, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, Oxford University Press, London, 1932, p. 23.

¹⁴ Speck, F. G., "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley," *Canada Geological Survey, Museum Bulletin, Anthropological Series*, No. 8, 1915, pp. 1-30. "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *American Anthropologist*, No. 17, 1915, pp. 289-305.

¹⁵ Landes, Ruth, "The Ojibwa of Canada," *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, Margaret Mead, editor, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, pp. 87-126.

organization in these nomadic hunting bands. Each family or household has a regular place in the camp layout and sets up its dwelling in that position, regardless of where the band may be. Thus the Andaman Islanders live in small bands averaging about thirty individuals, which move about through a territory on a sort of circuit. The dwellings are simple open-fronted sheds arranged on an elliptical plan. In addition to the huts occupied by family groups, a bachelors' hut is provided for unmarried youths, always located to the right of the main entrance of the camp. Each family normally occupies a hut so many places away from that of the headman, whose dwelling is also a fixed point.¹⁶ Among the nomadic tribes of the Plains the camp circle of tipis usually had an established form which was duplicated whenever the band set up a new camp.

Among pastoralists the movements of the band usually follow a regular yearly circuit determined by the location of summer and winter pasturages, as in the case of the Bedouins. The constituent families of the band may live together during all of the year, or only part of the year, and separate into family units, each with its own flocks and herds when this is necessary for securing pasturage, as in the case of the Kirgiz.¹⁷

Among both hunters and pastoralists domestication of the horse or other fleet animals tends to add to the size of the band, because it enables each man to exploit a larger territory from a single encampment and also increases the ease of moving.

Band life affords practical advantages over solitary life in the protection which the strength of numbers gives and in the coöperation which is often necessary in carrying out economic functions.

In modern America, the band, as we have defined it, is not an integral part of our social organization. The few nomadic social groups which are present, such as gypsies and groups of nomadic harvest workers and fruit-pickers, come as close to being bands as anything we know here. These groups, however, do not have exclusive possession of the territories in which they live. The gypsy group is typically a blood-relationship group, rather than a locality group. The migrating colonies of agricultural workers' families—as found, for instance, in California—are usually temporary in character. The interests which give them whatever cohesion they have are predominantly economic rather than ecological. The fact that band groups are rare in American society is due to the fact that the cultural techniques—hunting-fishing-gathering and pastoralism—which predispose to this type of

¹⁶ Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd ed., The University Press, Cambridge, Eng., 1933.

¹⁷ Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, pp. 215-216.

grouping are relatively unimportant in our culture, which is organized around plough agriculture as the basic food-producing complex.

b. *The Village.* A regular and abundant supply of food from whatever source tends to produce settled life. One type of group which grows up in settled conditions of existence is the village, a small permanent collection of people with their homes and other objects of cultural equipment. Outside of America perhaps the great majority of all persons live in such communities. Even among primitive peoples the settled village is common. The only prerequisite is the ability to produce sufficient food to relieve the group of the necessity of nomadism. In aboriginal California the acorns from the many oak trees of the Central Valley produced sufficient regular food so that settled village life was enjoyed by many Indian tribes. On the Northwest Coast of British Columbia a regular supply of salmon and other sea foods permitted the establishment of permanent villages around the mouths of the rivers and along the seashore. Preliterate peoples practicing agriculture are usually settled in villages, although the latter do not invariably have the permanency of villages in our own country. For instance, horticultural tribes in most parts of the tropics are forced to move their villages every few years because the leaching of the soil by the heavy rains, combined with the lack of fertilizer and ignorance of crop rotation, exhausts the soil.

Four types of villages may be distinguished within the framework of the several Euro-American cultures.

(1) *The farming village.* This type of village is composed of farmers and their families whose arable land lies outside the village. The workers go out to work upon the land during the day, returning to sleep in the village at night. In New England this pattern was copied from England, with residences clustered about the "common." Church, school, and town hall stood in the center, with barns and outbuildings of the farmers on the home lot with the house. The tillable lands adjoined the village, often extending back in rather narrow strips. Political, religious, and social life, as well as economic affairs, were centered directly in the village common.¹⁸ In French Canada a similar type of farming village borrowed from France is found. Somewhat the same type of organization was carried into Utah by the Mormons, although the open "common" in the center of the village did not appear as a regular feature. At the present time the majority of Utah farmers live in such rural villages, going out to their neighboring

¹⁸ MacLear, Anne B., *Early New England Towns*, Columbia University Studies in Economics, History and Public Law, New York, 1908. Kolb and Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1946, Ch. 14.

fields to work during the day.¹⁹ In the South the plantation was in effect a farming village community, having been derived in part from the English manor. After the Civil War tenants and share croppers took the place of slaves in the economy of the community, but both the social life and the economic life of the area were organized around the plantation. School, commissary, cottages for workers, store, and church were, and in some regions still are, part of the plantation center. Elsewhere in America the tendency of farmers was to live in open-country neighborhoods, each on his own farm and separated from his neighbors by considerable distance. We shall discuss this type of locality group in a later section.

In Europe the farming village is still the predominant type of agricultural local unit. A typical Swiss *commune* studied by Terpenning—the farming village of Russin, near Geneva—had, at the time of his study, a population of 280, about sixty families. The majority were farming families including farm laborers, but included also were four schoolteachers, a doctor, one barber, one beauty-shop operator, three café keepers, one carpenter and mason, one grocer, and one constable. The combined land holdings of the village were about 300 hectares (741 acres). Seven different coöperative organizations helped to supply the outside economic needs of the village. Disputes were usually settled by the mayor without reference to outside courts, and great pride was taken in the school and other community activities. This farming village is a good example of what a closely knit, coöperative, primary community can be, even in modern society.²⁰ Other examples of the farming village, which we have no space to describe in detail, are the English *parish*, the German *dorf*, the French *commune*, the Italian *commune*, the Danish *sogn*, and the Russian *mir*.²¹ Each of these farming village communities differs somewhat culturally, but most authorities are agreed that such a type of organization affords the greatest opportunity for farmers to develop healthy social life. Living together in villages, farmers are not oppressed by the loneliness and isolation which afflict the isolated country family.

(2) *The rural nonfarm village.* The second type of village familiar in this country and Canada is the rural nonfarm village. This is the type

¹⁹ See Nelson, Lowry, *The Mormon Village*, Brigham Young University Studies, No. 3, Provo, Utah, 1930.

²⁰ Terpenning, Walter A., *Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1931, Ch. 5.

²¹ See *ibid.*, for descriptions; also for insight into the social anthropology of the Irish farming village, see Arensberg, Conrad, *The Irish Countryman*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937; for realistic description under the guise of fiction, of an Italian farming village under Fascism, see Silone, Ignazio, *Bread and Wine*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1937.

most often encountered in the United States. It is composed of persons whose income is derived indirectly from the land and from the process of agriculture, but whose interests are primarily in "business" activities. Retired farmers, bankers, transportation workers, and merchants serving farmers make up the bulk of the population of this type of American village. Some ten million people lived in 13,288 such villages in the United States in 1940, in addition to about forty-eight million who lived in the open country.²² In most parts of the United States these villages have grown up at transportation centers, such as river forks or crossroads, have been deliberately "planted" along the right of way by railroads, or have been laid out by speculators or politicians hoping that the new village would become the county seat or some other center of political influence. There has been an increasing tendency to incorporate these villages, thus making them politically separate from the surrounding country, but many remain legally unincorporated. Certain social institutions have become associated with the rural nonfarm village, such as school, library, hospital, theater, park, and newspaper. Such a village is the center of much of the economic and social life of the surrounding farms, but, owing to the fact that the village inhabitants pay for the upkeep of most of the institutions and are engaged in "business activities," the village as a unit tends to be socially distinct from the surrounding open-country neighborhoods. Each village, of course, is a part of a large rural community which includes the surrounding farm families who transact business at the village, but it is also a unit in itself.

Kolb and Brunner have indicated several types of American villages, institutions serving rural communities.²³ (a) *The single, simple service type.* This type is usually the center of an open-country area and provides comparatively simple services, such as school, church, general store, Grange hall, or repair shop. Usually it has a population of less than 250. (b) *The limited, simple service type.* Ranging in population from 200 to 500, it provides less than the standard "six-service standard"—economic, educational, religious, social, communication and professional services. (c) *The semi-complete, intermediate type.* Varying in population from 400 to 1200, this is the type occurring most frequently in the middle western states. It stands between the last mentioned and the following types. Frequently it also is lacking in providing some of the six types of services. But its trade area is relatively large and its trade agencies may draw as much as three-fourths of their business from the surrounding farms. (d) *The complete,*

²² Kolb and Brunner, *op., cit.*, p. 259; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: population, Vol. I, "Number of Inhabitants,"* Washington, 1942, Table 10.

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 301, 302.

partially specialized type. With a population varying from 1,200 to 5,000, its service agencies provide the common needs and also frequently take on specialized features, such as manufacturing. Together with the surrounding country it often constitutes a self-sufficient functional unit. (e) *The urban, highly specialized type.* This type is represented by the larger town and the city. These do not cater to the general needs of a rural population, as does the small town, but provide quality, variety, and opportunity for wide and discriminate selection. They offer specialized services.

(3) *The industrial village.* Although frequently ignored in discussing village life, the industrial village is a type of local group in the United States in which about four million persons lived in 1929. It is estimated that there are between 3,500 and 4,000 industrial villages in this country, and that about one in four villages classified by the census is of this description.²⁴ These local groups are composed of persons devoted chiefly to the manufacture of textiles, to mining, lumbering, or production of some specialty such as cosmetics, musical instruments, paper, stoves. The population tends to be younger than that in the rural nonfarm villages, and there are proportionately fewer females and fewer widows. Contact with the surrounding country tends to be meager, because of isolation, as with lumbering and mining villages, or because of independent interests. Farmers play practically no part in the social life; they do not usually attend the churches, nor do their children attend the schools. Life is more mechanized and is scheduled "by the whistle." Industry tends to dominate the social life and is paternalistic, a feature not found in types previously discussed. In the South where textile mills have been set up in former rural nonfarm villages, a considerable gulf exists between the old population and the new workers.²⁵ The bulk of the heads of families in industrial villages are wage earners, neither business men nor farmers.²⁶

(4) *The suburban village.* A fourth type of village is the suburb of the large city. This is typically a comparatively small community located within fifty miles of a large city. It is definitely a local type of grouping, so far as concerns social interaction between the members, since they usually choose to live in a suburb largely because of the advantages which it affords as a place—fresh air, light, little smoke, more trees and grass, and so on. Economically, of course, the suburb is dependent upon the larger center.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 279.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 282.

²⁶ See also Blumenthal, A., *Small Town Stuff*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1930; Brunner, E. de S., *Industrial Village Churches*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1930; Rhyne, J. J., *Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1930. For fictionized insight into South textile towns, see Caldwell, Erskine, *God's Little Acre*, Viking Press, New York, 1938.

Typically the income is derived from the city, and a large share of the expenditures are made there. The heads of families, except for a few distributors of foods and services, typically commute to work in the city. The people who live in suburbs are usually fairly well to do; the very poor cannot afford this type of life because of the cost of property and of transportation to and from the larger center. Furthermore, suburbs usually tend to show a good deal of economic homogeneity, the very rich living in one suburb, the better paid executives in another, the white-collar workers of middle income in still another.

Socially the life of the suburb tends to be dominated by women, because the men are away most of the day during the week. We might speak of this type of social group as a "matriarchal bedroom village"; the husbands, coming home at night to sleep, have comparatively little contact with their children, or with other residents of the village. Consequently there is a tendency for these groups to be relatively loosely integrated. Contacts between the men are comparatively sporadic, and their common interests in the locality are often secondary to diverse interests which they have in business and social life in the large city.

Taking them as a whole, villages are characterized by a predominance of primary contacts between their inhabitants. Suburbs are exceptions so far as the men are concerned, but in the farming, agricultural, and industrial villages almost everyone knows everyone else and has an interest in other people's affairs. Gossip is the news organ, and the personal pressure of public opinion is inescapable. The individual who wishes to "lead his own life," who wishes to escape from the conventions or who resents the interference of other persons in his daily life usually finds these inclinations incompatible with village life. The folkways and the mores are rigidly upheld, and strict conformity is expected on pain of having the deviant's social life made extremely unpleasant. Hence, rebels find their only escape in moving to larger cities where primary contacts and personalized social control are weaker.

c. *The open-country neighborhood.* The open-country neighborhood is a form of community more or less unique to American rural regions, particularly of the western part of the United States and Canada. It consists of a number of farm families, each living on its own farm and separated from the neighbors by some distance. The neighborhood is usually demarcated by topographical or transportation and communication features. For instance, the group will consist of the farm families living within a valley, or along one side of a stream in a region relatively free of forest, or along a line of springs; or it may consist of all those located along a certain

road, or those served by a single "party-line" telephone or by a country church.

The open-country neighborhood is partly the product of the frontier when each family went out to fend for itself in the wilderness and partly the product of the government land policy which gave free land to those who would settle on it and improve it. In the early days many such neighborhoods were established by kinsmen or by immigrant groups from Europe. They were bound together by ties of blood relationship, common background in Europe, common education, common social and religious culture. If adjoining settlements were made by those of different cultural background, group lines were drawn a little tighter. The country-neighborhood social organization usually went on independent of and prior to the village which sprang up to render certain special services to the neighborhood. Studies have shown that even under modern conditions of good roads, automobiles, better telephone and radio facilities, the country neighborhood tends to persist.²⁷ Frequently the center of the open-country neighborhood is a small hamlet, a collection of a few houses perhaps at a crossroads, around a church, a school, or a general store.

The open-country neighborhood is a primary group. The frequency and intensity of contacts, however, are somewhat less than in the village, owing to the physical space which separates the members. Nevertheless, evening gatherings of a social nature, church attendance, and listening in on party-line conversations tend to preserve the intimacy of the contacts. There is a general tendency for neighborhoods to have distinctive names which identify them and their inhabitants to other persons. Such names as Pine Bluff, Pumpkin Hollow, Ridge Road, Sun Prairie, Pine Ridge, and the like are familiar to most readers who have spent any time in rural America. During the last twenty years, however, cultural changes have tended to lessen the primacy of the country neighborhood. Good roads have led to consolidation of school districts, church parishes, and small hamlet trade areas, and the neighborhoods built around such institutions tend to give way. The greater ease of reaching the villages and larger centers by automobile has also led the neighborhood residents to identify themselves more and more with these centers rather than with the neighborhood. Americanization of the original immigrants and their descendants, decline in religious factionalism, and better modes of communication have reduced the social isolation of the neighborhood and stimulated the crossing of the old lines of exclusiveness.

It is doubtful, however, that this type of local grouping, even though its

²⁷ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, Chap. 12.

functions may decline still further, will entirely disappear so long as farmers live in the open country.²⁸

d. *Towns and cities.* These types of communities are distinguished from those previously discussed by their size and social characteristics derived therefrom. The United States census since 1920 has arbitrarily classified all communities above 2,500 population as *urban*. From the sociological point of view a local group may be classified as a town when its size becomes so great that opportunity for regular primary contact between the inhabitants becomes relatively difficult. In the town and city the social contacts between the majority of the inhabitants of the whole population are of the secondary type, and the community is subdivided into smaller social groups which provide opportunity for the face-to-face relations. Thus it is impossible for most people on the West Side to keep personally in touch with those of the East Side; the contacts are maintained through newspapers, political officers, and so on. The West-siders may be grouped into neighborhoods in which face-to-face relations are maintained or they may be organized into primary groups centered around common interests, regardless of place of residence. Thus a town or city dweller may find his opportunity for primary contacts in a lodge or a golf club or a luncheon club composed of members who come from all over town. The fact that primary contacts cannot pervade the whole group gives rise to a certain loss of integration and cohesiveness in towns and cities as compared with smaller locality groups. The folkways and mores cannot be so easily enforced by personal pressure, and variations in culture are much more pronounced. There is also typically a more pronounced difference in economic levels in modern towns and cities than in bands, villages, and open-country neighborhoods.

The distinction between town and city is frequently far from clear, either legally or sociologically, and will be generally ignored here. In England a town is a collection of homesteads which has a regular market, but which is not large enough to have a bishop or to be called a city. In some states of this country a distinction is made in the articles of incorporation between cities and towns, but these distinctions are not uniform for the country as a whole. The difference, generally speaking, is one of size.

As compared with smaller communities, towns and cities—urban communities—show much greater economic specialization and more pronounced social stratification. Division of labor along many specialized lines usually increases with the size of the community. A village, for example, may have

²⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 228, 229; Terpenning, *Village and Open Country Neighborhoods*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1931, Ch. 4.

one physician, a general practitioner. But in larger communities we expect to find not only general practitioners, but also ophthalmologists, pediatricians, obstetricians, gynecologists, diagnosticians, etc. While in the smaller communities the inhabitants are roughly on the same social level, the inhabitants of the urban communities tend to separate into stratified groups on the basis of wealth and associated social pretensions.



City lights

The "Great White Ways" of Broadway and Forty-Second Street, New York City, by night. (Photo by Acme.)

Distinctly urban communities began to develop in later neolithic times in most parts of the inhabited world. Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Crete had each several urban centers by the end of the fifth millennium B.C. And in the succeeding four thousand years many large cities grew up in the Mediterranean region, some of them probably possessing more than a million inhabitants. During the fourth millennium B.C. cities had grown up in the Indus Valley, as evidenced by the recent excavations at Mohindjodaro and Harappa. Other urban centers of considerable antiquity in the Far East are Annau, in Turkestan, and the towns and cities along the bend of the Yellow River in China, all going back to neolithic times. In the

Western Hemisphere, the Mayas of Yucatan and the lowland regions of Guatemala and Honduras had developed urban life at least by the beginning of the Christian Era, and before the discovery of America by Columbus, large cities had grown up in the highlands of Peru and of Mexico. In the United States, the highest prehistoric development of the local social group was in the Southwest where the Pueblo Indians by the twelfth century A.D. had developed village life on a large scale. Such centers as Pueblo Bonito probably housed five thousand or more people in large apartment houses, although evidence is lacking for the specialization and stratification which seem always to accompany true urban life.

Urban life, therefore, is not necessarily dependent upon machine technology, although the development of the factory system, with its concomitant requirement of large labor forces, has unquestionably contributed to the rapid rise of urban centers in modern society. The *sine qua non* of urban development is a cultural configuration able to produce sufficient means of subsistence or of luxury so that a portion of the population may devote itself to other pursuits and may be supported in large urban groups by the food-producing efforts of others.

Cities may be classified according to their predominant functions as follows: (1) defense cities, (2) commercial or trade centers, (3) industrial or production centers, (4) political capitals, (5) religious centers, (6) educational centers, (7) health or recreation resorts, and (8) diversified cities.²⁹ In the United States, Quantico, Virginia, may be called a defense city; New York is primarily a trade and commercial center, although the purest examples of this type are found in other countries, for example, Para, Brazil, or Samarkand, Turkestan; Newark, New Jersey, is an industrial city; Salt Lake City, Utah, is primarily a religious center; Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Princeton, New Jersey, are identified with educational institutions; and Palm Beach, Florida, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, are chiefly health and recreation centers.

In large modern American cities there is sometimes an ecological pattern which may be thought of as a series of concentric zones. In the center of the city is (1) the central business zone or district where the large business establishments, hotels, and political offices are located. The second zone is called (2) the transition zone. Here are the cheap rooming houses populated for the most part by unattached men of low income, the ghettos, Little Italies, other neighborhoods of foreign groups, and unskilled workers'

²⁹ Compare Gist, Noel P., and Halbert, L. A., *Urban Society*, 2nd ed., Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1941, pp. 15-25; Muntz, Earl E., *Urban Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1938, p. 8.

families in general. The buildings in this region are usually falling into decay because the owners are holding them for a rise in prices which should come when the central business or industrial zone expands into this area. The third zone is the area of (3) workingmen's homes. This area is populated largely by second-generation immigrants and by workers of the skilled type whose economic status permits them to enjoy better living conditions than are to be found in the transition zone. Outside the third zone lies the (4) zone of middle-class dwellers. Here are many professional people, white-collar workers, and so on. Scattered through this area are expensive apartment houses and residential hotels catering to a clientele with money and social prestige. The majority of the homes, however, tend to be flats and moderate-priced apartments occupied by families, or kitchenette apartments and "studios" occupied by unattached men and women of moderate income. Finally, on the periphery of the city is the (5) commutation zone, where are located the suburban villages. Peculiarities of topography and transportation break up the regularity of this pattern in many cities so that it is seldom exhibited in the complete or regular form here sketched.

Generally speaking, urban social life is characterized by emphasis upon money economy (social values are measured in terms of money), by mechanization of contacts, by increased social distance between individuals and groups, by considerable mobility both spatially and socially, by social stratification, by economic specialization, by a tendency to professionalize occupations, by emphasis upon time and speed, by general rapidity in changing fashions and rituals, and by freedom for the individual in his social life.

As power agriculture comes to be better developed and fewer workers are needed on the farms for the production of food, urban life tends to become the predominant mode of existence for the American people. Whereas in 1790 only 3.3 per cent of the population lived in places of 8,000 or more population, by 1930 nearly half (49.1 per cent) of the population lived in such urban centers.³⁰ In the United States in 1940, 56.5 per cent of the population lived in places of 2,500 or more population, many of these, of course, being villages, as compared with 56.2 per cent in 1930. In the decade of the 1930's the trend toward urbanization of the population slowed down considerably as compared with the decade of the 1920's. The increase in absolute numbers of urban dwellers was 7.9 per cent during the 1930's as compared with an increase of 27.3 per cent during the 1920's. On the other hand the rural population increased 6.4 per cent

³⁰ Davie, M. R., *Problems of City Life*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, p. 4.

during the 1930's as compared with only 4.4 per cent during the 1920's. This change may reflect the difficulty of finding employment in cities during the depression and also the decline in immigration, for the later immigrants usually went to the cities to live.³¹ Probably because of production for war from 1941 to 1946 the disparity between rural and urban population became even more pronounced. Nevertheless, the United States is still predominantly urban, and this tendency is noticeable also in other industrialized countries of Western culture. England in 1931 was 80 per cent urban; France in 1926, 49.1 per cent; Germany in 1926, 64.4 per cent, and Sweden, 33.2 per cent in 1931.³²

e. *The Metropolis.* A local group unique to modern society is the metropolis or metropolitan area. This is composed of a central large city together with a number of satellite cities and suburban villages all dependent upon the larger center economically, socially, and culturally, although they may be independent politically. The largest metropolitan group in the world is the New York metropolitan area with 267 incorporated places having a total population of 11,690,520 in 1940. Among these places are twenty-seven satellite cities, each with a population of 25,000 or more. The Chicago metropolitan area includes 114 incorporated places in addition to the central city. The United States Bureau of the Census defined the metropolitan district in 1932 to include "in addition to the central city or cities, all adjacent and contiguous divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile, and also, as a rule, those civil divisions of less density that are directly contiguous to the central cities, or are entirely or nearly surrounded by minor civil divisions that have the required density."³³ On this basis the census defined the borders of ninety-six metropolitan districts as they existed in 1930, each with an aggregate population of 100,000 or over.

III. Territorial Groups

In addition to those social groups which are based upon the common habitation of a single locality, there are other types of groups based upon less intimate physical proximity, whose interests, however, center about the fact that they occupy a common territory. These territorial groups, as a

³¹ See Gist and Halbert, *op. cit.*, Chs. 2 and 3 for discussion of factors involved in growth and decline of urbanization.

³² U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *16th Census Press Releases*, Series P-3, No. 7, January 18, 1941.

³³ *Metropolitan Areas*, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1932, pp. 5-6.

rule, are composed of individuals organized into smaller local groups. We ignore for the time being those purely political subdivisions, such as wards, townships, counties, and so on, which are not knit together by social interaction or by common culture. Such groups are matters of political convenience and will be touched upon in our discussion of political institutions. We are interested here in functioning social groups, as previously defined, which are based upon common territory serving as the focus of their common interests.

1. **The tribe.** We mentioned in discussing the band that its size is dependent upon facilities for communication and consequently upon the zone about its settlement that can be conveniently exploited. When the band increases much beyond this point, it will split, if new territory is available for it. A group of bands formed by fission come to recognize themselves as a larger unit which anthropologists call a *tribe*. Not only bands but also villages and towns may form a tribe. Frequently no formal organization of the tribe exists. But *any collection of preliterate local groups which occupies a common general territory, speaks a common language, and practices a common culture, is a tribe.* The territorial aspect is important because, if one local group is cut off geographically from the others, the contacts necessary for maintaining common speech and culture will be severed. The feeling of unity which characterizes the members of a tribe and the distinctions they draw between themselves and nonmembers are important to the social functioning of the group. A mere aggregation of local groups within a given territory is, of course, not a tribe, if the psychological factors are missing. It is common for certain tribal rituals or unformalized "get-togethers" to be held periodically so that the members may meet and renew individual contacts and reestablish the feelings of unity upon which the existence of the tribe depends. Although many preliterate tribes get along perfectly well with no other attempts at organization than these, the development of centralized religious, political, and military organizations tends to bind the group together even more effectively. The real tests, however, are the psychological factors and the reciprocal patterns of behavior which characterize tribesmen. Marriages usually take place within the tribe, and strangers are expelled from the tribal territory.

2. **The region.** Another type of ecological community is the region. Often a region is bounded by geographic barriers; sometimes it is delimited by its natural resources and its style of economic organization. Its people are interested in many of the same things, economic and cultural. Economically it may be characterized by a certain predominant type of industry

or product. When that is the case it may be called a *belt* or *country* as the "corn belt," the "cotton belt," the "fruit belt," the "copper country," the "iron range," or "dairyland." Religiously it may be dubbed "the Bible belt." Racially it may be known as "the black belt." All such designations are only popular terms to indicate the characteristic which most forcibly strikes the popular imagination. Most regions are marked by a number of distinguishing characteristics, some of them physical, some economic, and some cultural in nature. Their other characteristics may be common to the whole society, or even to the human race. Wirth has pointed out that there is a high degree of conformity between the geographic, economic, and cultural contours of a region.³⁴ Sociologically, the term means a group of human beings living in a distinctive physical environment providing certain peculiar natural resources, which environment historically has shut them off from close contact with other groups and has allowed the inhabitants to develop a culture determined sometimes by the resources but often by the culture brought to the region by the first settlers. The physical characteristics of a region, determining to a considerable degree the economic activities and through them the occupations, distribution of the population, and class distinctions based upon occupation and wealth, thus indirectly have an influence upon the culture. But one must beware of trying to explain the whole of the peculiar culture of a region by reliance upon the environmental factors. The differences between the methods of farming in the same region employed by the Pennsylvania Dutch and the Yankees from New England show that the patterns of farming brought by each of these two cultural groups had an important influence upon even the methods of making a living. That the cultural influence of the original settlers is of great weight is shown by comparisons within a given region.

However determined, there is little doubt that not only in this country but also in others there are decided differences between the cultures of various geographic regions. The culture of the South in many respects is different from that of the Southwest, of New England, of the Middle West, of the Northwest, and of the Plains. These differences are not merely what Turner meant by "sectionalism," but lie beneath and explain the political sectionalism emphasized by him. They relate to attitudes, systems of value, habits, customs and institutions, the fundamental sociological features of society. Although much remains to be done to determine exactly the nature of the regional differences and how they arose, it is becoming clear

³⁴ Wirth, Louis, "The Prospect of Regional Research in Relation to Social Planning," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 29, 1935, p. 108; "In Search of the Regional Balance of America," *Social Forces*, Vol. 23, March, 1945, whole issue.

that these regional differences in cultural configuration have great significance in political life, in welfare administration, in education, in the administration of civil and criminal law, in health work—in short, in the whole range of social coöperation within the United States as a political and social unit. The Gallup and *Fortune* polls on many subjects show the widely different attitudes with respect to political and social programs in the various regions of the country. The difficulties experienced by the New Deal in administering the Social Security Act brought sharply into focus regional attitudes. And while improved means of transportation and communication tend to the diffusion of common ideas and attitudes throughout the whole country, the tough resistance of the cultural configuration of the various regions testifies to the social reality of these groupings.

Moreover, it is probable that the growing ease of communication has brought to consciousness that the people of a region have a culture distinguished in some particulars from that of other regions. This regional social consciousness is raising questions as to the value of the old political divisions—townships, counties, and states—convenient in the old days of slow and limited transportation and of difficult communication. The Federal government recognized the importance of these regional differences in the establishment of regional units of administration in the Federal Reserve Banks, and in the supervision of the Social Security aids, the Federal Housing Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and many other of the government's activities. Likewise private organizations have seen the value of regional organization. Large business concerns have regional offices. Welfare workers and teachers have regional as well as national meetings. These organizations are regional not only because of the greater ease of getting together and for economy but also because the peculiar problems of the region can better be discussed by those who are intimately acquainted with those problems.³⁵

Regionalism is a term which has long been used in Europe. However, its meaning there has not been quite the same as that of the recent discussions of the subject in this country. There the movement was concerned chiefly with political administration and represented a reaction against the tendency to centralize the administration of the whole state from the capital.

³⁵ Ogburn, William F., "Regions," *Social Forces*, Vol. 15, 1936, pp. 6-11; Hertzler, J. O., "Some Sociological Aspects of American Regionalism," *Social Forces*, Vol. 18, 1939, pp. 17-29; "Some Notes on the Psychology of Regionalism," *Social Forces*, Vol. 18, 1940, pp. 331-337; Gettys, Warner E., "Human Ecology and Social Theory," *Social Forces*, Vol. 18, 1940, pp. 469-476; MacLachlan, John, "Distinctive Cultures in the Southeast; Their Possibilities for Regional Research," *Social Forces*, Vol. 18, 1939, pp. 210-215; Odum, H. W., *Southern Regions of the United States*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1936.

However, there, as here, it was rooted in the recognition of basic economic, ethnic, and cultural differences between different regions of a country. The study of the different regions of France was stimulated by the geographer, Vidal de la Blache, who had an interest somewhat the same as that of American geographers and human ecologists. How much influence the European scholars had on the development of interest among American scholars it is difficult to say. The earliest interest in the subject of human ecology in this country was shown by Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago.³⁶ And in recent years regional studies have been most intensively prosecuted by the Department of Sociology of the University of North Carolina under Howard W. Odum and his colleagues.

3. **The state.** From the sociological point of view the state as a social grouping based on territory is merely a more stabilized-and formalized type of tribe. As a political institution it will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. Socially, a state differs from a tribe, generally speaking, in its lesser homogeneity. The state includes within its territorial borders members who are not only differentiated on the basis of locality, but also those differentiated by some variations in culture, dialect, economic specialization, and so on. The state is always provided with a more or less formal governmental machinery. The members, nevertheless, in spite of their relative differentiation, are bound together by their occupation of a common territory and common interests arising therefrom. In times of crisis, such as a war, the ethnocentrism of the group may rise to fever pitch, and the common interests will supersede all others. In everyday life during times of peace, however, the members of the state are more concerned with immediate affairs arising out of different interests. Patriotism is dormant; the common interests are secondary to the interests of the smaller groups within the state.

The American union, for example, is a large modern state. Included within it are numerous Indian tribes, many white local groups, immigrant groups from foreign countries, groups whose interests center around occupations and economic and cultural interests, racial groups and so on. During World Wars I and II and during the depression in 1932 there were moments when almost all other local interests were subordinated to the requirements of the national emergency, and with few exceptions all persons became intensely active in the affairs of the state as a whole. But under normal conditions, while the state maintains a solid front toward other states, the individuals tend to become primarily concerned in their separate

³⁶ See Hintze, Hedwig, "Regionalism," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 13, 1935.

interests. Fascism and Nazism endeavor to eliminate these internal differentiations in the population of the state and to restore the modern state socially to the relative homogeneity of the tribe. Theorists and champions of democracy hold, with more reason it seems, that absolute unity is incompatible with the large populations and territories of the modern state, and that a reasonable amount of differentiation is conducive to progress and to healthy development of both the individual and the community as a whole. After all, individuals do not exist for the state. It is merely a form of social grouping which, like others, is justified as a convenience for the individual and the species. Nevertheless, in modern society with its cultural improvements in transportation and communication, there is a tendency for the population of the state to become psychologically more homogeneous. The common interests of the citizens can be more frequently and easily recalled to their minds by the modern methods of communication than under earlier conditions. Contacts between individuals in different parts of the country can be maintained in comparative intensity by means of telephone, mail service, automobile, train, and airplane travel. Perhaps in the future we shall see the modern state becoming a more and more intimate territorial group socially. And eventually it is conceivable that the whole world may become a single territorial unit, although this prospect does not seem visible for several lifetimes to come.

Locality, as we have endeavored to indicate in this chapter, is an important factor in the development and function of social groups. The physical proximity which is characteristic of individuals in a common locality or territory fosters social contacts and gives rise to the structural and functional characteristics of such groups.

Summary outline

GROUPS BASED PRIMARILY ON PHYSICAL PROXIMITY

I. Temporary groups

1. The crowd
2. Crowdlike behavior in secondary groups
3. The mob
4. The herd
5. The audience

II. Permanent groups

1. Local groups
2. The community
 - a. *The band*

- b. The village*
 - (1) the farming village
 - (2) the rural non-farm village
 - (3) the industrial village
 - (4) the suburban village
- c. The open-country neighborhood*
- d. Towns and cities*
- e. The metropolis*

III. Territorial groups

1. The tribe
2. The region
3. The state

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Exercises

1. Compare the meaning of plant and animal ecology with its meaning as used by sociologists. (See some of the references in footnote 1.)
2. Is an aggregation at a football game a crowd? At a fair? At a lecture? at a lynching? At a concert? Why?
3. What are the differences between a crowd and a mob?
4. Can individuals train themselves to immunity to mob contagion? If so, how?
5. How would you classify the aggregation of individuals waiting at the line in Oklahoma the night before the opening at midnight of the free lands to be possessed by the first one who staked out his claim to a quarter-section? How after they were settled upon the land?
6. What are the main differences between the various classes of villages discussed in the text?
7. Study a series of villages within reach, and classify them according to the scheme in the text.
8. What are the chief differences between open-country neighborhoods, villages, cities, and metropolitan areas?
9. What effects did the physical differences between the South and the North in the United States have in producing a different culture in the two regions?
10. Does regionalism help to explain the differences in popular vote for Roosevelt and Willkie in the presidential election of 1940? Explain.
11. Did regionalism have anything to do with the different attitudes of the people in the various regions of the United States toward war in 1940?

chapter I 2 Groups based primarily on cultural interests

In the last three chapters we considered the role of interests growing out of blood relationship, out of locality or physical proximity, and out of bodily characteristics in the formation of social groups. In Chapters 6 and 7 we considered the nature and function of culture in human societies. In this chapter we are concerned with groups which develop from interests which are predominantly cultural.¹

Most of these "cultural" interests may be analyzed down to one or more physiological or environmental bases. They are involved with "acquired drives" which, as we suggested in Chapter 4, may be as powerful in habit formation as innate primary drives. Culture is a datum given in social experience, a reality to which human beings respond, and for social beings it has meanings and values just as have the urges arising from the physiological make-up of the individual and the impact of the external world upon his organism. Hence interests clustering about cultural elements tend to integrate individuals into groups. This cultural element in group formation is not the only explanation, but complements the others previously discussed.

For example, economic interests are those which are concerned with the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, and in the last analysis may be said to be based upon drives toward self-preservation. However, the definition of "wealth" is a cultural matter and varies widely from one society to another. Even food itself, as we have seen, is defined culturally. A society may starve to death rather than consume a diet which another society, owing to the cultural training of its members, considers quite satisfactory. The need of food is universal, but it does not automatically and universally lead to the formation of social groups in which it is the dominating motive. Food may be produced individually or incidentally to the general activities of a local or kinship group. It is when the culture has defined food and wealth in a way to give them a certain social significance

¹ Some sociologists speak of groups formed on this basis simply as "interest groups."

and value that interests arise which we may term "economic" and which may serve as the bases for group formation. The interest groups, therefore, as we shall consider them, are based upon interests, values, and meanings which arise in cultural configurations and which may bring individuals together into functioning group life.

Blood relationship, physical proximity, and bodily characteristics, as we have seen, are compelling factors which throw people together and predispose them to social contact and group formation. The resultant associations are patterned culturally, but the cultural behavior is more or less an adaptation to a situation which fundamentally is noncultural. With groups based on cultural interest, on the other hand, the interests *may* be pre-cultural, but the majority of them and their significance from the point of view of group formation are the results of cultural training and stimuli. Societies vary in their emphases upon this or that segment of human experience and in the cultural definition they give. In the following discussion, therefore, it should be remembered that some cultures do not lay enough stress upon the general type of interest which we are discussing for it to become the rallying point of a group of people. We shall discuss principally those interest groups which are found in our own culture and society. There are some societies which have no political groups, others which have no religious groups, and still others which have no economic groups in the strict meaning of these terms. Political, religious, and economic functions may be carried on by groups constituted primarily upon some other basis or by the society acting as a "committee of the whole." It is obvious that groups discussed in the preceding three chapters often come to embody interests of the cultural type and that a certain overlapping may therefore exist. We shall come back to this point in discussing social organization.

Let us examine the interest-group publications in a single American city, Columbus, Ohio. This city had a population of slightly over 306,087 in 1940 and is the seat of the capital of Ohio and the Ohio State University. Because it is a political and educational center some of the interest groups represented are not confined to the community. On the other hand, we must take account of the fact that a group must be stably organized and fairly well supplied with funds to maintain a publication, and that numerous less wealthy groups existing within the Columbus community are therefore not represented here. Excluding a Negro newspaper, which of course represents a group based primarily on bodily characteristics, several neighborhood weeklies which represent locality interests, and the large daily papers which represent the local interests of the whole community, we find the

following publications representing cultural interests of the type to which we refer in this chapter.

Bulletin of the American Ceramic Society

Catholic Columbian

Chemical Abstracts

Columbus Today (organ of the Chamber of Commerce)

Conference Bulletin (organ of National Conference of Social Work)

Design (devoted to art education)

Educator (teacher's magazine)

Fur-Fish-Game

Grocers' Association News

Hunter-Trader-Trapper

Journal of Dairy Science

Journal of Higher Education

Journal of the American Ceramic Society

Mutual Review (for insurance agents)

Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly

Ohio Banker

Ohio Bar Association Journal

Ohio Farm Bureau News

Ohio Jewish Chronicle

Ohio Journal of Science

Ohio Mason (lodge magazine)

Ohio Public Works (for contractors)

Ohio Schools (for school administrators and teachers)

Ohio State Engineer

Ohio State Medical Journal

Ohio State Lantern (daily student paper)

Ohio Telephone News (for independent telephone companies)

Sample Case (for commercial travelers)

In addition, several foreign-language papers and several high school and college publications are listed.²

Classification of cultural interests leading to group formation

We may begin our examination of cultural-interest groups by a classification of those cultural interests which in modern America, at least, are most conducive to group formation.

Interests³

Groups

1. Congeniality (depends upon personality, culturally defined, Clubs
- Friendship groups

² *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*, N. W. Ayer and Sons, Philadelphia, 1937.

³ While our analysis differs somewhat from his, we acknowledge a debt to MacIver's suggestive book, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rhinehart, New York, 1937, Ch. 18 and *passim*.

Interests	Groups
and social and cultural background)	"Purely social" groups, etc.
2. Economic interests	Corporations, partnerships Professional societies Associations of commerce Labor unions, etc.
3. Technological interests	Crafts Some athletic associations and teams Technological research societies and groups
4. Religious interests	Churches Sects, etc.
5. Aesthetic interests	"Schools" of painting, sculpture, literature, and so on Bands, orchestras, choirs, etc. Literary clubs, etc.
6. Intellectual interests (science, philosophy, the intellectual aspects of the humanities, etc.)	Learned societies Research groups
7. Educational interests	Schools Universities Study groups, etc.
8. Political interests	Political parties Taxpayers' associations, etc.
9. Recreational interests	Philatelists' societies Yacht clubs Bridge clubs Some sport teams and clubs, etc.
10. Ameliorative interests	Charity societies Community unions, etc.

The above classification of interests is admittedly a general approximation and is of importance primarily for pedagogical purposes. The specific interests which give rise to group formation in any particular society can usually be described in broad classificatory terms, such as those above, only in a preliminary manner, and can be thoroughly understood only when described in terms specific to the culture, taking into account its total orientation, its values, emphases, and functional necessities. For example, a hobby group organized in our society for the study and making of model airplanes may actually be motivated primarily by intellectual interest, although something of congeniality, technological bent, and recreational interest may be

involved in the group formation and continuance. From the point of view of broad classifications, then, such a group would be placed in the intellectual interest category, by virtue of the dominating common interest of the members. On the other hand, we are aware of the fact that interest in model airplanes is a feature of a specific cultural configuration, that this interest rates a certain degree of value in the culture, and that groups organized around this interest have functional relations with the total social system which are not completely duplicated in any other society. The ten classes of interest outlined above, therefore, must be regarded as general categories to which groups based upon specific cultural interests may be assigned on the basis of their predominating general fields of attention and activity.

Congeniality. A matter which interests normal individuals almost everywhere is "getting together" with other persons they "like" whom they can "get along with," and "feel at home with." We usually have our best times with other persons who are congenial with us, with whom we can let down our guard and "be ourselves." Blood kinship, physical proximity, and bodily characteristics may all serve as bases for this personal congeniality, and many groups formed around these factors fulfill this need. But in addition many groups grow up which are not founded on any of these factors, but seem to be based "purely on congeniality." Almost everyone knows of, if he does not actually belong to, some group of "pals and buddies" which includes individuals of varying physiques, of both sexes, from different localities, and totally unrelated in the kinship sense. They do things together and go places together for no other reason than that they like each other's company. If asked to tell what they have in common, the members of such a friendship group can usually offer nothing more than that they "all like the same things in much the same way." There is no specialization of interest in such a group. The members may have other specialized interests and belong to other groups, but so far as the friendship group itself is concerned, the principal interest is in the congeniality of the persons involved. Such informal friendship groups may become more formalized as social clubs of one sort or another, usually devoted to leisure-time activities, in which case there is usually an observable tendency for the group to become "exclusive," either through the development of secrecy and ritual or by setting up financial or other barriers against outsiders.

In primitive societies and others in which transportation and communication have been poorly developed, the majority of friendship groups may be expected within the local group. But even under such conditions groups based upon pure congeniality, regardless of other factors, are not unknown.

Among the Barama Caribs in British Guiana one of the authors had occasion to observe the presence of friendship groups composed of individuals from different localities, in some cases separated by several days' traveling.⁴ The Lynds remarked in their study of a typical middle-western American city that although living next door and in the same neighborhood still plays an important part in the formation of friendships among the laboring class, it is less controlling among the business class than a generation ago.⁵

Congeniality as an interest around which groups are formed must usually be referred to personality factors. The phenomena of personality are not completely understood, but most qualified authorities agree that the individual personality is the product of the interplay of heredity, acquired organic traits, and learned habits and tastes. Many "likings" which spring up between individuals are undoubtedly due primarily to inherent factors, such as endocrine balance, which cause behavior evoking mutually pleasant responses, regardless of anything else. Travelers occasionally meet individuals in foreign countries with whom they develop a rapport even without mutual linguistic understanding. But such contacts, if they are to ripen into group interaction of other than the most temporary sort, usually require also a certain similarity between the social and culturally shaped personalities of the individuals involved. In order to continue those mutually agreeable stimuli and responses which make for congeniality, a common ground of culture and experience is necessary. Cultural conditioning, therefore, plays a large part in the development of the individual personality and consequently in the formation of congenial groups. A culture, as we earlier pointed out, tends to define an ideal personality type. Groups based on congeniality are usually composed of individuals whose personalities, taken as a whole, would be placed on the same level of a scale leading toward this ideal type. Our cultural background affects to a considerable extent our notions of what is congenial in other groups.

Economic groups. Groups based upon economic interests are so numerous in American society that we can do no more than to suggest their range here.⁶

⁴ Gillin, John, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Vol. 14, 1936, pp. 135-136.

⁵ Lynd, Robert S., and Helen M., *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1929, p. 273.

⁶ We assume that the reader is familiar with the basic concepts of economics and therefore shall not attempt to define and describe the subject matter of that science, a task which, if adequately performed, would require at least the remainder of this volume. Definitions and descriptions can be found in any modern encyclopedia under "Economics" or a similar heading; dozens of satisfactory elementary books in this subject

terms of the amount of effort required to produce it, the amount of time involved, the sentiment which is attached to it, the social benefits derived from it, and so on.

2. In Western culture not only economic values, but all values, tend to be measured in monetary terms. Religious, aesthetic, and intellectual accomplishments come to be rated in terms of monetary units. Thus there is a tendency in our culture for economic aspects to be expanded into fields of activity which, strictly speaking, are not primarily concerned with economic goods, as commonly defined in our culture.

3. Private ownership of wealth and of potential wealth is perhaps the most fundamental pattern in our economic system. There are four elements necessary for the creation of wealth and which therefore have potential value: natural resources, labor, scarcity of goods and their ability to satisfy human desires. Under modern conditions capital is necessary for the production of wealth, so that labor may have the tools with which to work. Natural resources and capital predominantly are normally owned and controlled privately and for profit in our culture. In Anglo-Saxon culture this does not mean that they are not required to be used for the benefit of the society; law and court decisions have determined that public welfare is superior to private profit. But within the restrictions set by the law, private property may be used according to the desires of the owner or owners, whose opinion within broad limits is final.⁷ The system of private ownership has tended to place the individuals who own the capital and natural resources on one side and the men who furnish the labor of their bodies and brains on the other side, frequently in opposition to each other. Whereas the fundamental interests of both capitalists and labor are actually in the production of wealth, interests clash on the distribution.

4. Private profit measured in monetary terms is viewed as the most desirable reward for economic activity in our culture. Observe, however, that in certain other cultures economic activities are motivated, not by private profit, but by rewards in terms of personal pleasure and satisfaction, of social approbation, of religious sanctions, and so on. Profits of a material sort are totally unknown in most primitive cultures.

5. An open market is a characteristic feature of modern capitalistic economics. Prices are determined by the bargaining process in competition with others. The prices (values in terms of money) not only of goods but also of labor are established by bargaining. Since it is possible for one man to control a considerable portion of capital, while another who has only his

⁷ Ely, R. T., *Property and Contract in Their Relation to the Distribution of Wealth*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914, 2 vols.

labor is definitely limited in his bargaining resources, laborers have felt that the bargaining system works to their disadvantage. Actually, both capitalists and laborers have formed into groups—corporations are groups of capitalists and their hired managers and technicians, labor unions are groups of laborers—in order to strengthen their respective bargaining abilities.

6. All aspects of economic activity have tended to become highly involved with technology. The invention and use of power-driven machinery have had several significant results. (a) They have created a group of technicians specially trained in the problems of designing and planning the machinery. (b) The use of machinery has in turn increased the power of the society to produce economic goods in large quantities and in standardized forms and qualities, but it has not been so successful in distributing so as to increase the power of the society to consume these goods. (c) Machine production has required a large, concentrated labor force to operate the machines used in mass production. (d) The cost of equipping plants with modern machinery has been so great as to require huge amounts of capital, with the result that, except for a few concerns such as the Ford Motor Company, most of the large producing and distributing businesses have had to raise the capital from investors. The owner of the factory no longer is on the job at the plant every day, because there are frequently several thousand owners (stockholders). Management has tended to be divorced from ownership.

During the last thirty years the increasing need of ever larger amounts of capital for the operation of mammoth industries has made the industries more and more dependent upon a few giant banks, trust companies, and insurance companies of the country, which are the only organizations, aside from the government, able to provide funds in such considerable amounts. Borrowing from these institutions, businesses have naturally tended to come under their control. The result is, as has been shown in various studies, and in at least one United States Senate investigation, that a few directors of a few banks and other large financial institutions have been able to establish effective control over many of the largest businesses in the country, involving the funds of hundreds of thousands of investors and the labor of millions of workers. This phase is called *finance capitalism*.⁸

Without going into further details regarding the modern capitalistic economic system we begin to see some of the lines of interest along which economic groups grow up in our society.

First, we have three large groups of individuals: (a) capitalists who

⁸ See *Reports of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee*, H. Res. 84 and Sen. Res. 56, 73rd Congress, First Session, Pt. 2, pp. 905 ff.; Corey, Lewis, *The House of Morgan*, Watt, New York, 1930; Barnes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Ch. 21.

own productive capital from which they derive profit through the labor of others and (b) workers who own only consumption goods which are bought with the proceeds of the labor which they sell to the capitalists. The members of the first class are concerned with the protection of their privately owned property and the derivation of a profit from the economic activities in which it is involved. The members of the worker class are concerned with the conditions under which they work and with deriving what they consider to be a fair share of the value which is added to the natural re-



By permission of *The New Yorker*

"Sometimes I ask myself, 'Where will it ever end?'"

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT?

IS THIS AN ECONOMIC GROUP OF THE FUTURE?

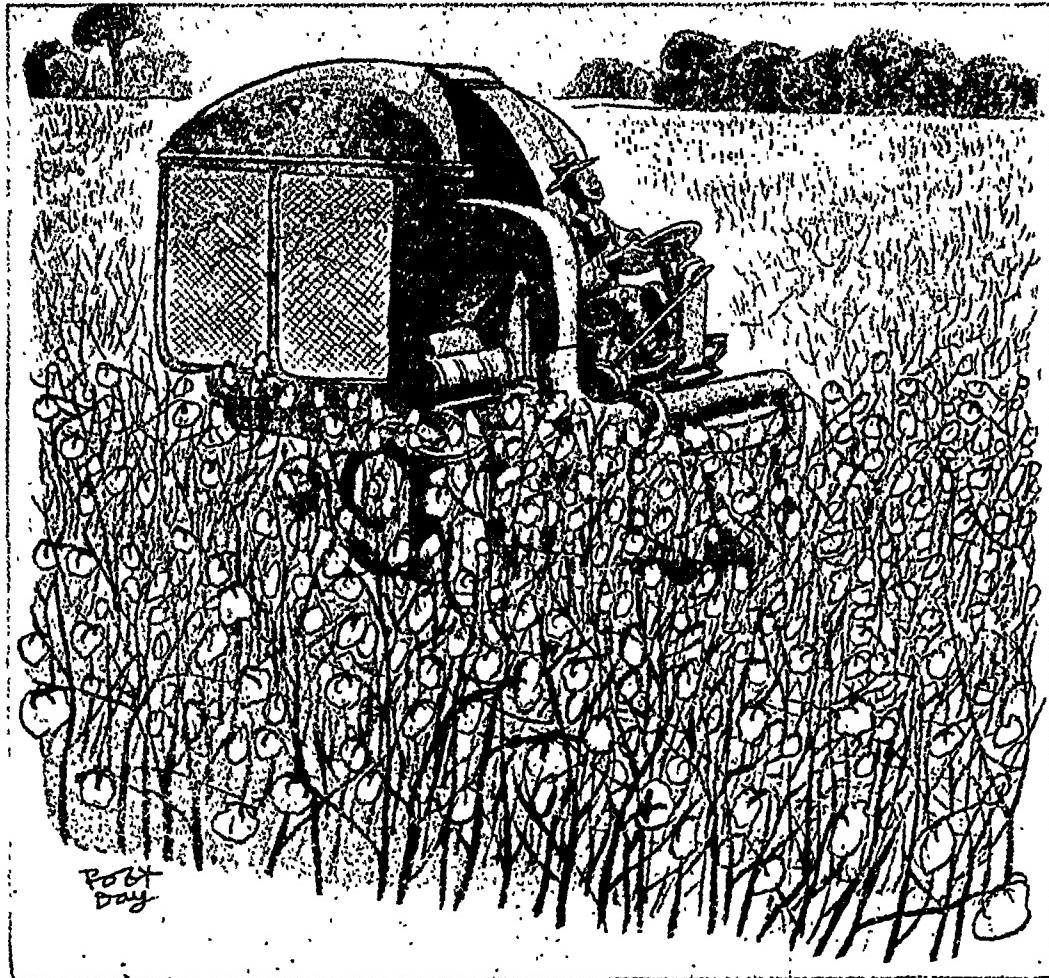
sources or the capital by their labor. Groups formed around these interests are a familiar aspect of modern society. On the capitalistic side we have corporations and other groups of investors such as partnerships, as well as Better Business Bureaus, trade associations, Chambers of Commerce, manufacturers' associations, and so on. On the wage and salary earners' side are the various labor unions and workers' bargaining organizations. Included under this head are professional organizations primarily concerned with the economic well-being of their members, such as the American Association of University Professors, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Newspaper Guild, and so on. (c) A third and very large group is also to be recognized, namely, those who work for wages or salaries and who also own stocks or bonds, bought with their savings, or with the borrowed savings of others.

Second, we have another division into two large groups: (a) those who are engaged in producing and distributing economic goods for profit—business people, and (b) those who must buy these goods—consumers. The interest of the first group is to obtain as high prices, or at least as much profit, as possible from their activities. The interests of the second group center around obtaining the economic goods for as low a price as possible. On the business side we have numerous groups engaged in "promotion" of sales and good will—advertising clubs, boosters' clubs, prosperity clubs, etc. On the consumers' side are organizations such as Consumers' Research, the League of Women Shoppers, the Coöoperative League of U.S.A., and the like.

A third grouping is composed of the technicians and specialists, such as engineers, chemists, research men, personnel experts, management experts, and so on, whose task it is to improve and maintain the technical and managerial operations of business. These individuals are usually not capitalists, at least during a large part of their careers. Their contribution to economic processes consists of skill and knowledge, and they are therefore to be classified with the workers. However, in American society, they frequently identify themselves with the capitalistic classes rather than with the more unskilled workers. Their position is more or less intermediate. Such groups as arise in this class are usually along lines of specialties, such as societies of industrial engineers, associations of personnel managers, and the like, rather than along clearly cut economic lines.

Income status groups. Every society which recognizes classes has groups which are formed on the basis of the ranking of individuals according to the system of values which the society cherishes. Some of these have been discussed in previous chapters, e.g., the classes or castes based on blood

relationship. Since in our society the possession of property has a high value, the property or the income one enjoys has a bearing upon one's status. Hence, among us we have *income* groups. These classes based on income pervade all modern society. They are usually socially distinguishable by differences in standards of living. While the precise lines between one class and another in terms of income are never very clearly drawn and vary considerably from community to community, almost everywhere the following classes would probably be recognized in effect, if not by name: (a) The *indigent* are those who have no income or insufficient income to meet their necessities. (b) the *very poor* are those whose income is sufficient



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*"Oh, by an' by, by an' by,
I'm goin' to lay down dis heavy load. . . ."*

THEN WHAT?

merely to maintain subsistence on a very low standard of living usually insufficient to maintain "health and decency." No surplus is available for saving or for luxuries. (c) The *poor* are those with income sufficient to maintain subsistence on a definitely low standard of living with a very little surplus or a very few luxuries. (d) The *lower middle class* has a slightly higher standard of living and more luxuries or savings, but is definitely limited. (e) The *middle class* is made up of those whose income is sufficient to maintain life with most of the ordinary comforts and to permit some modest savings or luxuries. Few college professors rise above this class. (f) The *upper middle class* is composed of persons with sufficient income to permit a good many luxuries and considerable savings and all the comforts of life, but without sufficient funds to permit large-scale investment or ostentatious squandering. (g) The *rich* are those whose incomes permit luxurious living and large-scale investment or squandering. (h) The *very rich* have incomes so large that no practical limit exists for their expenditures. This class is seldom found in small communities.

Because of the tendency to translate all values into monetary terms, differences of income tend to set up important differences in behavior and social interests which divide the groups. It is well known that these social classes based upon income are very unequal in size, taking the country as a whole. A study by the National Resources Committee in 1935-36 based on data secured from approximately 300,000 families gave a picture of incomes in that period when the country was still suffering from the depression. From this sample checked against two other studies made at about the same time, it was indicated that there were about 29,000,000 families and about 10,000,000 single individuals in the United States. Of these nearly one-third (32 per cent) had incomes of less than \$750, nearly half (47 per cent), less than \$1,000, and more than two-thirds (69 per cent) less than \$1,500. Only about 2 per cent had incomes of \$5,000 and over, and less than 1 per cent \$10,000 and over.⁹

This picture should be supplemented by one from the prosperous war years. No strictly comparable data are available. But a report issued March 2, 1948 by the U.S. Bureau of the Census indicates that in 1945 the money income of these various classes had greatly increased, although we know that prices of consumers' goods had likewise increased. However, the estimates of this report based upon samples were that in 1945 about two-fifths (40.6 per cent) of the families and individuals reporting had incomes of less than \$2,000, over half (53.0 per cent) of less than \$3,000, over a tenth

⁹ National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, Washington, 1938.

(11.9 per cent) of \$5,000 and over, and but 1.3 per cent of \$10,000 and over.¹⁰

Also there is available the income tax returns for 1944. In that year the taxable income was distributed in the following classes.

<i>Classes of Taxable Income</i>	<i>Number of Persons Reporting</i>
Above \$500,000	283
\$50,000 to \$500,000	36,890
\$5,000 to \$50,000	2,430,381
\$3,000 to \$5,000	9,735,670
Under \$1,000 to \$3,000	30,151,244
Total making taxable returns	42,854,468

There were in addition 4,757,027 persons that year who made nontaxable returns.¹⁰

It is clear from these data that the income status groups in the United States have widely different incomes. In a country where classes and castes (except those of color) are not based upon criteria of a sort found in older societies, and where success is measured in terms of money, it is chiefly income status that has the effect of dividing the population of the United States into prestige categories.

Technological groups. Interest in technical problems serves as the basis for a large number of groups in our society. By *technology* we mean manipulation, doing things—overt behavior of a specialized sort—in distinction to thinking about things or solving abstruse problems, which we place under the head of intellectual interests. In discussing culture, we pointed out that certain groups of culture traits and complexes may be regarded as “specialties” for the reason that they are not practiced by the whole population. Technological patterns form a portion of these specialties. The number of technological specialties in modern culture is very large in comparison with the situation in most other cultures. Technological groups are extremely numerous. They may range from a group of jockeys whose common interests lie in their skill at handling horses to the expert pottery-benders of an archaeological museum or groups of expert surgeons, artists, writers, teachers, inventors, engineers, lawyers, and various types of administrators.

Religious groups. There seems to be a general tendency for man to believe in a supernatural, however defined, as distinguished from the mun-

¹⁰ *Current Population Reports: Consumer Income*, Bureau of the Census, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, Series p-60, No. 2, Table 1, p. 11; *The World Almanac, 1948*, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1948, p. 89.

dane aspect of experience, and to act on those beliefs. Each culture phrases these beliefs in certain forms and provides appropriate patterns of behavior. Whether a specific religion excites the individual's interest because it promises him benefits now and in the hereafter, or because it has a program for social betterment, religion focuses the attention of large numbers and draws them together into groups. Strictly religious groups, therefore, are those whose members are drawn together by their common interests which they believe will be served by religious beliefs and practices. In 1947 there were 253,762 churches and synagogues in the United States distributed among 256 denominations with a total membership of 73,673,182. Of these members 57,717,107 were over thirteen years of age. This showed an increase over the situation in 1941, as presented in a report by Benson Y. Landis, Associate Secretary of the Department and Research of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.¹¹ Reports were received from 250 religious bodies having 244,319 local churches. These had a total membership in 1941 of 64,501,594, of which 52,405,659 were over thirteen years of age. Although 250 denominations reported, 97.4 per cent of the members belonged to 52, each having a membership of over 500,000.

In addition, there are a number of national groups organized on an inter-denominational basis, among them such as the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity, the International Association for the Promotion of Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the American Bible Society. Age groups with religious interests are familiar, such as the Christian Endeavor Societies, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, and the like.

Aesthetic groups. Aesthetic interests are those concerned with the creation and appreciation of beauty. However one defines beauty, aesthetic concepts and feelings are largely a product of cultural training. Witness the fact that the bearers of each culture possess certain aesthetic ideals which may be widely at variance with analogous ideals in other cultures. The average American musician, for example, finds difficulty in appreciating Chinese music when he first hears it, and few regular enthusiasts for Siamese posture dancing, other than as a novelty, are to be found in this country. *The American Art Annual*¹² says that the American Federation of Arts has

¹¹ *The World Almanac, 1948*, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1948, p. 573; *Yearbook of American Churches*, 1941 edition, Yearbook of American Churches Press, New York, 1941.

¹² Published by the American Federation of Arts, Washington, 1936, p. 28.

300,000 members in the United States organized into numerous local groups. Fifty-six other national organizations are listed, most of them with numerous local chapters. In addition 432 pages are given over to listing local art museums, local associations, and other art organizations by states. Readers interested in the organized music groups of the country are referred to the *Music Year Book* which devotes several hundred pages to listing national and local orchestras, choirs, and music clubs. Group literary interests are well represented by the familiar local literary societies, and such national groups as the Poetry Society, the book clubs, and so on. Unorganized publics or secondary groups interested in literature are served by the publishers of literary works and by such periodicals as the *Saturday Review of Literature*, *The Bookman*, *Writer's Yearbook*, and the like. The dance and the drama are represented by appropriate national and local groups. Among practicing artists and their followers "schools" of art and "trends" usually give rise to groups, organized or unorganized—Cubists, Romanticists, Surrealists, and so on.

Intellectual groups. Individuals whose common interests are primarily in science, philosophy, and in the solving or cogitating of abstruse problems are grouped into many organizations in the United States. One has only to mention such groups as the National Academy of Sciences, American Anthropological Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Economic Association, American Sociological Society, and American Society of Naturalists, to call to mind scores of similar groups. The 1937 standard handbook of these societies¹³ lists 930 such groups in the United States and Canada, ranging alphabetically from the Academy of Medicine of Cincinnati through the American Gladiolus Society and the Institute of Shortening Manufacturers (a research organization) to the Zoölogical Society of Philadelphia. Most of these groups issue publications which are also read by other persons not formally affiliated with the groups, but who must be considered peripheral members of the interest groups involved.

Educational groups. In simpler cultures the educational interests of individuals may be served through groups primarily founded on other bases, such as the family, local group, and so on. But in modern society the vast amount of information which must be absorbed by the young before they can become adequately functioning members of the society has led to the growth of groups whose primary interests are educational. In 1940 there were 26,759,099 pupils between the ages of five and twenty-four enrolled

¹³ *Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin of the National Research Council, No. 101, Washington, 1937.

in the public schools of the United States, taught by 875,477 teachers at a total expenditure of \$2,844,048,927.¹⁴ In 1936 there were 2,638,775 pupils enrolled in private and parochial schools.¹⁵ In 1934 there were about 27,000 public high schools enrolling 5,669,156 pupils, and 3,327 private high schools or preparatory schools. In 1944, 2,001,136 pupils were enrolled in vocational schools throughout the country.¹⁶ Schoolroom and campus groups include not only large sections of the population during the process of education, but carry on into later life in the form of alumni associations and other informal groups. Formal education not only gives rise to groups formed among pupils but also to those formed among the teachers and others whose common interests are in education. The parent-teacher organizations had an aggregate membership of about 3,054,950 in 1945,¹⁷ and numerous groups of pedagogues and administrators, such as the American Council on Education, the National Education Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Modern Language Association, and so on, claimed thousands of members.

Political groups. Interests associated in one way or another with government serve as powerful group-formers. Political parties are perhaps the most familiar groups of this type. Groups interested primarily in civic affairs must also be included under this head, such as the American Civic Association, the American Municipal Association, the Governmental Research Association, the League of Women Voters, the American Planning and Civic Association. Public finance and taxation form the rallying points of other groups such as the American Taxpayers' League, the National Highway Users' Conference, the Tax Policy League, etc. Governmental officers also tend to be grouped together for the benefit of their common interests in such organizations as the International City Managers' Association, the Society of Municipal Engineers, the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, the United States Conference of Mayors, the United States Conference of Governors, and the like. During the past twenty years America has also seen an unsavory blossoming of subrosa groups of the gang and racket type whose primary interests have been in the dishonest manipulation of politicians for the benefit of the members.

Recreational groups. The decrease in the length of the average working day and the provision of vacations and longer weekends have been responsible in part for a growth in recreational groups in this country. By recrea-

¹⁴ *World Almanac* 1946, p. 580; see also U. S. Census, *Population*, Vol. IV, Part I, Summary, Table XI.

¹⁵ *World Almanac* 1938, p. 381.

¹⁶ *World Almanac* 1946, p. 579.

¹⁷ *Social Work Yearbook*, 1945, p. 561.

tional groups we do not mean those organizations of individuals, such as theater owners' associations, whose primary interests lie in making profits through commercial reaction. Such groups are primarily economic in nature. The true recreational groups are composed of individuals who have a common interest in certain forms of play and relaxation. The test lies in the dominant interest. Thus a group of people who habitually go to the theater together primarily for amusement is a recreation group, whereas another group of people who go because of their common interest in dramatic art as a form of beauty would be considered an aesthetic group. Recreational groups in the United States range all the way from informal bridge parties, coteries of poolroom habitués, and the backyard horseshoe-pitching gatherings, to such organizations as the National Circus Fans' Association and the stable and powerful Amateur Athletic Union.

Groups interested in recreation fall into two general categories: (*a*) those whose members participate together in the program of the group, (*b*) those whose members are passive onlookers at recreational spectacles which have a common interest for them. Generally speaking, the participant groups are more strongly organized, because of the closer interaction which takes place between the members. Few football fans' associations, even when they have been organized at all, enjoy the close cohesion and interaction of the football team itself. Many spectator groups exist only as *publics*, scattered groups the members of which interact only on the secondary level, whereas the participant recreational group usually involves regular primary interaction at least part of the time.

Ameliorative groups. Many persons are possessed by an interest in making the world a better place in which to live. They are not consciously concerned about themselves, but about the welfare of others. It is on the whole fortunate that they organize into groups for the purpose of bringing better order into an often confused society. The interests of such groups vary widely, and their behavior ranges from militant reform to casual charity. In Western societies there has been a tradition for religious groups to absorb some of these interests, largely because of the Christian emphasis upon the Golden Rule and evangelical teaching. The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Jewish Conference of Social Work are examples. Nevertheless, numerous secular groups also are formed around ameliorative interests. In the United States the National Conference of Social Work and some fifty affiliated organizations may be cited as outstanding examples. Among some of the lesser known groups of this type we may mention the Anti-profanity League (home office, Ware, Massachusetts), and the Non-Smokers' Protection League (office, 101 West 72 Street, New

York City). The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the American Humane Society are interested primarily in the welfare of animals.

The Social Work Yearbook, 1945, lists 70 Federal government groups and 403 national private or voluntary organizations. In addition there are many more state and private organizations. Charity organizations, social workers organizations, societies for the care of the aged, and hundreds of other groups devoted to the relief of suffering and the bettering of human conditions fall under this head.

Publics. There is one type of secondary group which deserves special mention in connection with cultural interests. That is the *public*.

A public is composed of a group of people, usually not all of them in primary contact, who are sufficiently interested in a common question to form some sort of opinion about it. Such a group is seldom organized nor does it usually have a name. Whether or not there is such a thing as "the public" apart from the members of the society participating in the "universals" of the culture, is an unsolved question among social scientists, but without question there are a large number of specialized publics in American society. The newspaper-reading public is the group of people who read newspapers and have common interests through that circumstance. They may also belong to other-interest groups. For example, the newspaper public may be divided between Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, but nevertheless have a common interest in newspapers. The admirers of Robert Taylor constitute a public; so do the readers of Sinclair Lewis, the listeners to Jack Benny, the followers of the Gumps. Interaction in such a group is often very slight except at times of crisis, but the reality of the group and its common interests cannot be denied. Publics are in many ways analogous in the field of cultural-interest groups to crowds in the field of proximity groups. Both are anonymous, unorganized, without tests for membership, tend to be temporary, and depend upon a focused interest. Publics, however, while they may be temporary, as many a forgotten movie idol has discovered, may again be relatively permanent.

General remarks on cultural-interest groups

An understanding of groups of this type always depends upon a grasp of the characteristics of the cultural configuration of the society. Culture provides certain interests which lead to group formation, but since cultures differ, cultural interests also differ. Yet such interests serve as the foci for groups in all societies. The closest parallels to those discussed above will be

found in those societies whose culture most closely resembles our own. As we examine societies with more exotic cultures, we find cultural-interest groups appearing which are more and more unfamiliar to us; also some of the cultural interests which form the bases for groups in our culture serve no such function in other cultures. For example, ameliorative interests seem to be absent from Dobuan culture, which is intensely individualistic and pervaded with attitudes of suspicion.¹⁸ Technological groups outside the family did not exist among the Pueblo artisans until recently at least, although the making and decorating of fine pottery wares by hand was perhaps the most highly developed art and craft. Each potter carried on his work more or less independently.¹⁹

It should also be noted that group interests are by no means always simple. Several types of interest may be combined in the formation of the group, with none dominant. We spoke of the Young Men's Christian Association some pages back. At least five types of factors are present in this particular group: age, sex, religion, education, and recreation. So it is with many groups found in our society. On the other hand, there is no dearth of groups whose membership is determined almost entirely by one factor alone. It is safe to assume, for instance, that the membership of the American Anthropological Association is held together solely by a common interest in anthropological science.

Observe also that cultural-interest groups may be informally constituted, or may exhibit all stages of formal organizations. In order to be specific the majority of our examples have been more formally organized groups whose existence can be proved by published references. The reader should not overlook the existence of numerous more informal cultural groupings observable in American society.

The reader who has kept in mind our general remarks on groups in Chapter 8 is aware that those based primarily on cultural interests are no exceptions to the rule that social groups may be either primary or secondary. Face-to-face contact may characterize the relations of the individual members, or they may have to rely upon second-hand contacts. In a culture provided with ample facilities for communication there is opportunity for the groups based upon cultural interests to expand into secondary groups on a very large scale. Contact among the members of the Republican Party, for example, is maintained through printed publications, letters, radio; and the group may include a score of million persons located all over the country.

¹⁸ Fortune, Reo, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1932.

¹⁹ Bunzel, Ruth, *The Pueblo Potter*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929.

Participation in cultural groups. Long ago a European student of early American society was struck with the facility with which the inhabitants of the United States, even in the early history of the country, formed associations. In the third decade of the nineteenth century de Tocqueville wrote, "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. . . . Wherever, at the head of some new undertaking you see government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association."²⁰ That characteristic of the people of this country has not faded with the passing of years and the increasing complexity of society. We are members, not only of natural (family) and legal groups (state, city, etc.), but are "jiners" of all kinds of informal and formal associations and societies.

Individuals vary as to (1) the number of groups in which they participate and as to (2) the intensity of their participation. Some belong to many organizations, formal and informal; others to but few. Some are very active in lodge, bridge club, athletic club, church, community organization, political group, labor union, or business association; others take very little part—they merely belong. The extent of membership in groups may or may not be a measure of participation in the objects of these groups. It may indicate a wide variety of interests by the individual, or it may mean that in joining a large number of groups the individual is pursuing one interest—his political, business, or social advancement. On the other hand, an individual's activity in a group usually suggests that either the group is congenial or that he is very much interested in the purposes of the organization, or both. Activity is a sign of social participation.²¹

Readings

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²⁰ de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by Henry Reeve, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1876; Vol. I, p. 242. Original in French published in four volumes in Paris, 1835-1840.

²¹ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 766-769; Young, Kimball, *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., New York, 1934, pp. 16, 84-92, 460-464.

310 *Groups based primarily on cultural interests*

—, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937, Ch. 13.

Park, Robert E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, Ch. 3.

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Exercises

1. Name some groups which have been formed about cultural interests.
2. Classify on the basis of the interests named in the table in the text the following groups: a "bull session" of students, a national meeting of the American Prison Association, a hiking club, a tea, a college fraternity or sorority, a meeting of the United States Congress, a meeting of the American Sociological Society, a meeting of the American Bankers Association, a local trade union.
3. Identify the economic group into which each of the following falls: a bank, a coöperative gas station, a credit union, a grocery store owned and operated by an individual or a partnership, a chain of grocery stores, the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the American Federation of Labor or Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
4. How does a status group differ from a group based upon economic interests or one based on technological interests?
5. May an individual be a member of more than one group in a society? Explain.
6. How do cultural-interest groups differ in general from the groups based on blood, physical characteristics, proximity, etc.?
7. Assuming that the Japanese and Chinese are more closely related racially than either of them with the whites, explain the conflict between Japan and China.
8. What are the chief obstacles to wide participation by individuals in a large variety of culture groups?
9. Is participation by individuals of the various subgroups in groups based upon bodily characteristics the same as in those based upon cultural interests? Why?
10. In what respects is a public similar to other cultural groups? Dissimilar?

part 4 Social institutions

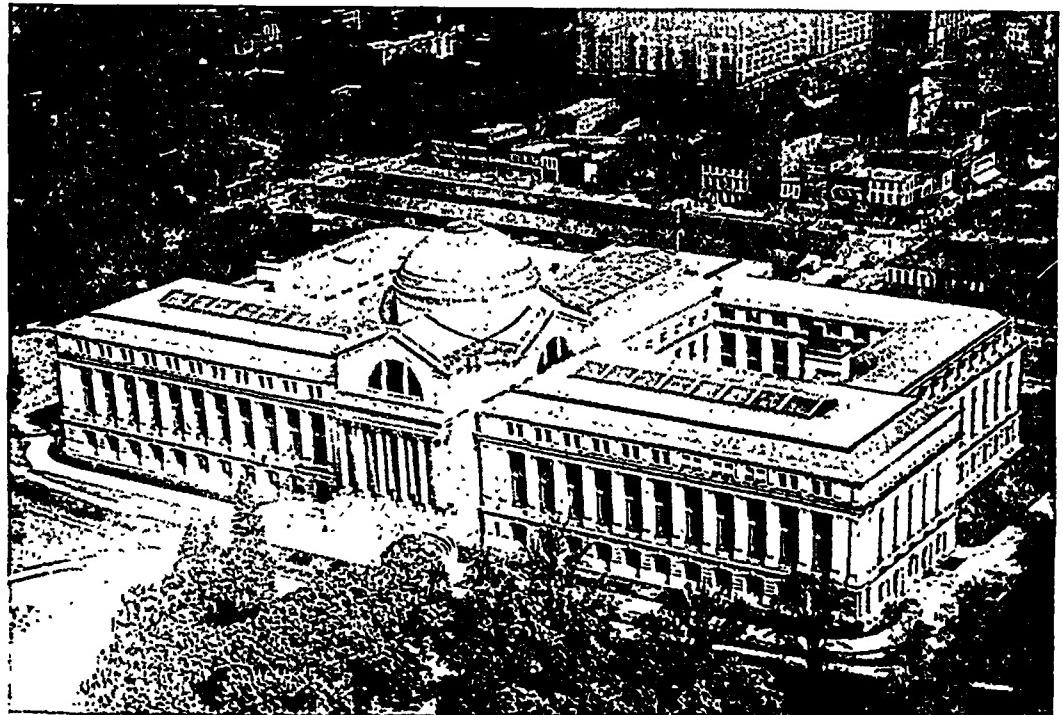
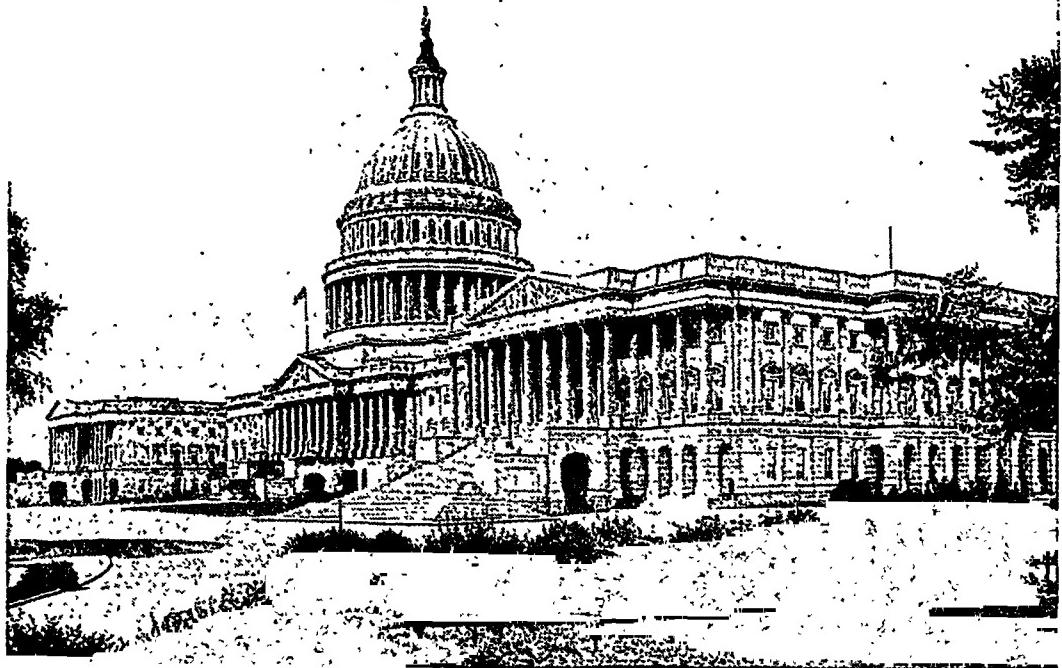
chapter I 3 General features of social institutions

Groups are important for the study of society, but they are only the visible aggregate of human beings. They form the necessary clustering of people in interaction with each other. Out of the interactions grow crystallized ways of acting adapted to the survival and perpetuation of the group. These ways of behaving we call institutions. Out of the interaction, strivings, and aspirations of group life grow social institutions, those relatively permanent, organized, and structuralized systems of behavior, attitudes, purposes, material objects, symbols, and ideals which give direction to much of social life. And woven into the fabric of institutions we find many of the cultural patterns which have been discussed in previous chapters.

What is an institution? The idiom of everyday speech permits one to say that an institution is built for the blind or that a criminal may be sent to a correctional institution. The dictionary provides us with two generalized definitions: "1. That which is instituted or established; an established order, principle, law, or usage; a system of laws or of polity, especially as an element of organized society or of civilization." This is the preferred definition of the dictionary, indicating its general acceptance in the English language, and, cast into somewhat more specific sociological terms, forms the basis of the concept of institution as we shall use it. Again, "2. A corporate body or establishment instituted and organized for public use, or the building occupied by such a corporate body; as the Smithsonian Institution," is the second dictionary definition and is not inconsistent with the basic sociological concept.¹

Summer said, "An institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure." He added, "The structure is a framework, or apparatus, or perhaps only a number of functionaries set to cooperate in pre-

¹ *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1925, p. 1273; See Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1929, Ch. 1, for a collection of variegated definitions; also Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1932, p. 156 ff.



Buildings symbolize national institutions

Above, the National Capitol in Washington, the center of the political institutions. Below, the United States National Museum, symbolizing the institution of scientific inquiry in our culture. (Photos from Brown Bros.)

scribed ways at a certain conjuncture. The structure holds the concept and furnishes instrumentalities for bringing it into the world of facts and action in a way to serve the interests of men in society." Then he points out that institutions begin in folkways, become customs, and develop into mores by having attached to them a philosophy of welfare. They are then made more definite and specific with respect to the rules, prescribed acts, and the apparatus to be used. By the last procedure they are furnished a structure, and the institution is complete.² In his discussion Sumner implies that an institution has a degree of permanence. It should be added that it also is integrated with the other institutions of the society.

Let us state a definition of an *institution* in terms of the cultural concept. A social institution is a functional configuration of culture patterns (including actions, ideas, attitudes, and cultural equipment) which possesses a certain permanence and which is intended to satisfy felt social needs.³

Characteristics of institutions.⁴ We may summarize the significant general features of social institutions as follows:

1. An institution is an organization of conceptual and behavior patterns and is manifested through social activity and its material products. Thus it may be regarded as a "cluster of social usages"⁵ and as composed of customs, folkways, mores, and trait complexes organized, consciously or unconsciously, into a functioning unit. Some cultural elements come to be organized into institutions, others do not; yet the institution, once established, tends to unify its component elements and also to adjust itself as a unit to the total cultural system of its society. As Wiese and Becker put it, the institution tends to support the total system. In short, the institution functions as a unit in the cultural system viewed as a whole.

2. A relative degree of permanence is characteristic of all institutions. Systems of beliefs and modes of action are not institutionalized until they have become generally accepted over a considerable period of time. Thus in our society monogamous marriage and private property for a long time have

² Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1906, pp. 53, 54.

³ See Chapin, F. S., *Cultural Change*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1928, p. 48, and Hamilton, W. H., "Institution," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, Vol. 8, p. 84. For a slightly different statement of the matter see Wiese and Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932; p. 402. See also MacIver, R. M., *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937, pp. 14-16.

⁴ See Chapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50, and *Contemporary American Institutions*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935, Ch. 2; MacIver, *op. cit.*; Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-407; Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1936, Ch. 10; Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1906, pp. 53-54; Parsons, Talcott, *The Structure of Social Action*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, p. 407.

⁵ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

been widely accepted. This means that the individuals participating in the institutional patterns engage in more than fleeting interaction and that they receive considerable training. Institutions may endure for centuries, e.g., the Roman Catholic Church, or they may become extinct, as did the institution of medieval feudalism. But in any case they show a certain relative permanence and rigidity, both in terms of individual human experience and in terms of the social systems of which they are parts.

3. A third feature of an institution is one or more fairly well defined objective or objectives. The objectives are not necessarily the same thing as the "functions" of the institution, if the whole cultural system be considered. The objective of the Hitler youth movement in its early history may have been stated as the improvement of the physique of the young people of Germany; one of its most important functions, however turned out to be to improve the social and doctrinal solidarity of the totalitarian state. We do not wish to put too fine a point on this distinction here, but the objective of the institution is the end toward which the participants are consciously working; it is what they think their behavior is all about. The social function, on the other hand—the role of the institution in the total social and cultural system of the society—may be unknown to everyone and may be recognized often only after experience shows that it actually performs a function different from its intended objective. For example, the institution of slavery was supposed to furnish cheap labor, but as it worked out, it became very expensive. Or the institution of laissez-faire individualism in economics had as its objective efficient production because of each individual's interest in securing his own profit, but in practice it functioned to destroy the liberty of most individuals to profit by giving free sway to the cunning and powerful, resulting in monopoly.

It must be emphasized that from the present point of view an institution is always described in terms of the cultural system in which it functions. Thus, when one speaks of the "institution of marriage among the Zulus," the features implied in the phrase "among the Zulus" are of the utmost importance for the understanding of the institution. Although certain institutions may be organized around universal human "wants" or "needs," care should be taken not to confuse the "needs" with the institutions themselves.⁶

4. *Cultural objects of utilitarian value (cultural equipment)* which are used to accomplish the purposes of the institution are usually involved—buildings, tools, machinery, furniture, and the like. Their forms and uses

⁶ Panunzio, Constantine, *Major Social Institutions*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1939, p. 20.

become institutionalized. We shape our saws so that they cut as we push them from us; the Japanese shape theirs so that cut when they pull them. The mirrors in the United States have various shapes but are used to view oneself or to decorate a room, but in a Japanese Shinto temple they serve as the symbol of the Sun God. A weapon in our culture is shaped strictly in accordance with our ideas of efficiency, with few decorations, and those are dictated by aesthetic considerations, but the weapons of the primitive who believed in animism—that nature is possessed by benevolent or malevolent forces—are decorated with symbols which are supposed to insure the help of these occult powers in the effective use of the weapon.

On the other hand, sometimes the economic mode of life dictates the form of the institution. For example, when Israel ceased to be nomadic, desert people and settled down as a farming society in Palestine, the form of worship of the ancestral god changed.

5. Symbols are a characteristic feature of institutions. They may be either material or nonmaterial in form. Often no clear distinction is made in institutionalized material traits between the utilitarian and the symbolic aspects, and a single material element may play both a utilitarian and a symbolic institutional role. Thus it is that a bank, for example, so often carries a representation of the bank building on the letterhead as a symbol of the institution and that bank architecture in this country usually strives toward the solid and the impressive, symbolic of the solidity and impressiveness of the institution, even though mere utility does not demand this treatment. On the other hand, material objects with no utility other than symbolization may also be associated with institutions, for example, fraternity badges, party buttons, and trimmings on uniforms. Finally, nonmaterial traits may serve as symbols, for example, the clenched-fist salute of the Communist Party, or a slogan.

6. An institution has a fairly definite oral or written tradition which contains a formulation of the purposes, attitudes, and behavior of the individuals participating. This serves as a set of specifications for the institution. The tradition also attempts to bring together into a coherent form the attitudes, patterns of behavior, symbolism, and utilitarian objects. There is an observable tendency for the tradition to become increasingly rigid and to take the form of ritual.

In order to make these attributes of institution clearer, we adapt Chapin's chart.⁷ The chart is, of course, intended to be merely suggestive, and does not represent a thorough analysis.

⁷ Chapin, *Cultural Change*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1928, p. 49.

<i>Institutional elements</i>	<i>Institutions</i>			
	FAMILY	STATE	CHURCH	INDUSTRY
1. Stated objectives and purposes	Procreation, social status, etc.	Protection of rights, providing jobs, security, etc.	Establishment of good relations with supernatural	Providing income, etc.
2. Behavior patterns, including attitudes	Love, affection, devotion, loyalty, parental respect, etc.	Devotion, loyalty, respect, obedience, etc.	Reverence, awe, fear, etc.	Fair play, thrift, workmanship, etc.
3. Symbolic traits	Wedding ring, crest, coat of arms, heirlooms, etc.	Flag, seal, emblem, anthem, uniforms, etc.	Cross, ikon, idol, shrine, altar, hymn, etc.	Trade-mark, design, advertising emblem, etc.
4. Utilitarian traits	House furnishings, house, etc.	Public buildings, public works, police equipment, etc.	Temple, pews, baptistry, etc.	Stores, factories, ships, railroads, machinery, etc.
5. Oral or written tradition	Marriage license, genealogy, etc.	Constitution, treaties, laws, history, etc.	Bible, catechism, etc.	Contracts, franchises, articles of incorporation, etc.

Many of the elements of an institution may be observed in action and, in fact, can be measured⁸ with considerable success, but in the last analysis the reality of the institution exists in men's minds and is objectified in their behavior and the products of their behavior. All the elements and prerequisites of an institution may be present—e.g., a group, attitudes of awe, a cross, a building, and a sacred book—but, lacking psychological integration, the elements may not fuse functionally to produce institutional behavior. A good example of this sort of thing may be observed in certain younger colleges unsuccessfully attempting a rapid development of "traditions" in imitation of the older established universities. The elements of institutionalized behavior are provided, but the functional integration sometimes escapes the best planners. Likewise institutions may be decreed by rulers or imposed by conquerors, but it is notorious that long-continued and severe use of

⁸ Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*.

force is necessary to produce even a semblance of institutional stability. Witness the difficulties of the collectivized farm institution in Soviet Russia. Form and function are therefore inseparably interdependent in institutions as in other cultural phenomena. Institutions function only through well-established connections and interactions between individuals.

Types of institutions. These large clusters of cultural elements which we term institutions may be classified in several ways.

1. Sumner distinguished *crescive institutions* such as property, marriage, and religion, which grow up, as it were, unconsciously out of the mores, and *enacted institutions*, such as credit institutions, business institutions, and educational institutions, which are consciously organized for definite purposes. The former he called "the most primary institutions." The latter, while ultimately the result of rational invention and intention, according to Sumner, are rooted in usages current in a society. As the result of reflection upon experience with such usages, they are systematized and regulated, and thus are transformed into positive institutions "defined by law and sanctioned by the force of the state." The latter are seldom found strong and prosperous.⁹ This classification must be supplemented by others.

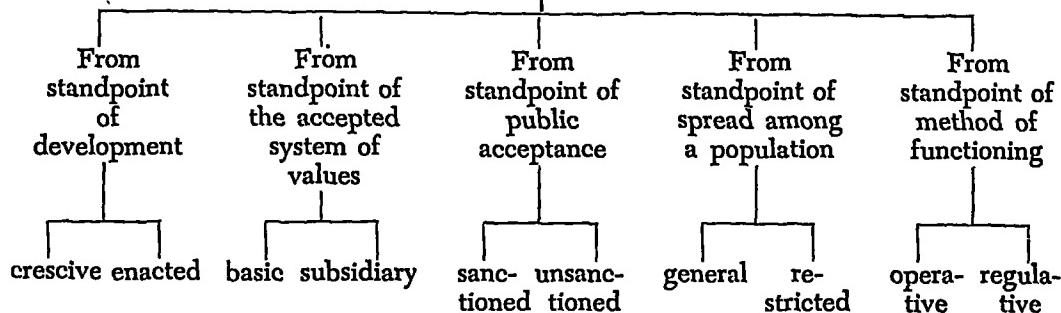
2. There are *basic institutions* as contrasted with *subsidiary institutions*. The basic institutions are those which are regarded as being necessary for the maintenance of social order in a given society.¹⁰ In our society the family, private property, the church, the school, and the state are regarded as basic institutions. The subsidiary institutions are complexes of the type which are not regarded as quite so necessary for the maintenance of social order. Among ourselves, for example, recreational ideals and activities, although institutionalized, belong in this class. The character of an institution as basic or subsidiary depends upon the total configuration of the culture of which it is a part. What is basic in one culture may be subsidiary in another. Under the later Roman Empire the circus would probably have been regarded as a basic institution. Strictly speaking, of course, institutions in different cultural configurations can be regarded only as analogous, never as alike. The circus in Rome, for instance, was a set of behavior patterns differing widely from the circus in modern America.

3. Institutions may be regarded as approved' or *socially sanctioned institutions* and *unsanctioned institutions*. Business is a socially sanctioned institution in modern America; the racket is an unsanctioned institution.

The majority, perhaps, of all institutions in any successfully functioning society are sanctioned. But in large societies there are always traits and com-

⁹ Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ See Ballard, *Social Institutions*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, pp. 10 ff.

Institution

plexes of behavior which deviate from the sanctioned norm. Rackets of various kinds as they have grown up in large cities possess all the characteristics of institutions, although they are often illegal and unsanctioned. Sumner was of the opinion that institutions "are produced out of the mores,"¹¹ which are usages sanctioned by a group and believed to be essential for its welfare. With respect to unsanctioned institutions we must distinguish between the mores current among the majority members of a society, and those particular mores, such as "thieves' honor," which hold only for a restricted and unsanctioned group.

4. Institutions may also be differentiated with respect to their *generality* or *restriction* in the society in which they are found. Reverting to the terms in which culture was analyzed in Chapter 7, we may say that the culture elements involved in general institutions are usually "universals," while those involved in restricted institutions are usually "specialties." The Federal government in the United States, for example, may be regarded from one point of view as a general institution; a state government as a restricted institution;¹² religion as a general institution; Protestantism as a restricted institution.

5. Finally, without exhausting the list of types, we should mention *operative* and *regulative* institutions. The former are those of which the main function is the organization of patterns whose practice is actively necessary for the attainment of the objective: the institution of industrialism, for example. Regulative institutions, on the other hand, are organized for the control of customs and other types of behavior which are not themselves parts of the regulative institution itself: the legal institution is an example.¹³

Functions of institutions. All cultural behavior to some extent is re-

¹¹ Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹² See Chapin's "nucleated" and "diffused-symbolic" institutions, *Contemporary American Institutions*, p. 13.

¹³ See Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd ed., D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1938, p. 687. Also Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

sponse to important stimuli—human needs, requirements of society, environmental conditions, and so on. This is as true of an institution as of simple traits and complexes. But the institution differs from some cultural complexes (or as Wiese and Becker call them, "plurality patterns") in that it has a definite function in the society. It has certain advantages over other organizations of culture by reason of its definite purpose.

1. The institution simplifies action for the individual. An institution organizes many aspects of behavior into a unified pattern, thus making more or less automatic very complex and sometimes long-continued segments of social behavior. The participant in an institution is accustomed to pass from one complicated set of behavior traits to another toward a recognized goal. The uncertainty which might result from shifting from one isolated complex of reactions to another tends to be lessened in institutional behavior. One of the most highly integrated institutions in modern culture is the military establishment. Composed of thousands of culture traits and complexes, it is nevertheless an integrated whole which normally functions with machinelike smoothness even in times of crisis. The participants—soldiers—learn to pass in orderly fashion from one type of behavior to another without hesitation toward the objective of eliminating enemy opposition. The military institution is thus a large block of behavior reactions which function as a unit. Not all institutions have the efficiency of armies, nor do armies always perform according to the ideal pattern, but every institution tends to link together many segments of cultural behavior into an integrated unity. The completion of one phase of activity serves as a stimulus for the already known next phase. The institution develops individual habits and makes easy automatic action. The combination of many different types of culture patterns—attitudes and implicit reactions, overt activities, material and symbolic traits, and a unified tradition or ritual—tends to provide a host of stimuli all impinging upon the individual through different receptors, and thus to integrate his ideals and activities. Thus each institution unifies one great area of human relationship in a society.

2. The institution also provides a means of social control. If the various institutions of a society form a fairly unified and harmonious whole, as in some static societies like those of China or India before Western civilization had touched them, the individual's life is ordered with a minimum of stress by the institutional structure. The family fits in nicely with the economic institutions. Religion and the other institutions of that society are harmonious; they do not clash with each other; and the individual feels no stresses and strains due to institutional inconsistencies. From the earliest day of his existence to his death the pattern of behavior is set for the

individual, and satisfies fairly well his basic needs. Hence only the radical individual deviate experiences distress. Others are pressed into conformity with the general order of life provided by the institutions of that society.

However, that is an ideal picture which is seldom found in reality in many societies, for some changes are always occurring which disturb the equilibrium between the various institutions. In a changing society, whatever harmony has been established is marred by changes in one or more of the institutions. Economic changes occur, or new ideas arise which conflict with the old traditions, or contact with other peoples introduces strange institutions which are more agreeable to some individuals. Thus institutional disharmony results. The gang develops its own institutions at variance with those of the major part of society; irreligion, or a new religion, becomes popular with a part of the population; or new economic ideals and practices are introduced because they are more efficient, and these do not harmonize with other societal institutions. Then force is employed to secure conformity, and social control becomes formal and physical rather than informal and spiritual.¹⁴

Modes of life at variance with the larger society's institutions may grow up in segments of a society's population and have for those segments the values and force of an institution. The members of a race or nationality or group, living within the confines of a larger society, have ways of acting, thinking, and feeling peculiar to their own group and at variance with those of the majority of people in the larger population unit. Often these cultural elements become institutionalized. Witness the blood feuds of the Mafia or our Appalachian mountaineers, the gangs of our cities or of Italy, the foreign colonies in the United States, the criminal tribes of India, and the tongs of the Chinese. In all these groups the institutionalized patterns of behavior control the members of such groups in spite of the pressures exerted by those of the larger society. Thus, whether the institution be that of a unified society or that of a minority group, it is an agency of social control and functions in shaping the activities and ideals of the individual in conformity with the purposes of the society or of the smaller group.¹⁵

3. *Institutions provide a role and status for individuals.* Some people serve in groups devoted to public welfare. Others find a place in business, in the professions, in public service, or in the home. Some shine in sports, others in literature or art. Some occupy positions of command, others of subordination. Institutions to a degree provide for the individual the oppor-

¹⁴ For further development of this matter see Chapters 20-25, and 28.

¹⁵ See Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-407.

tunity for the development of his peculiar characteristics and determine his role and status.

However, institutions are not always so well-integrated with each other that certain individuals always find in the specific institutional configuration of a society a satisfactory role and status. Hence the same individual is sometimes found playing inconsistent roles and occupying contradictory statuses. For example, the same man may be the president of a family-welfare society and also of a corporation which grinds the faces of its employees; the president of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children and the employer of child laborers; an active member of a law-and-order society and at the same time a milker of the public treasury; a member of an athletic club and also a drinking club; a deacon of his church and the owner of pestilential tenements. But the successful maintenance of simultaneous membership-in-groups with conflicting institutional patterns requires a certain compartmentalizing of the individual's life. Such conduct is a clear indication that the various institutions of a society are not in harmony. One does not act the same way all the time, but changes his behavior to fit the pattern current for the group in which he happens to be at a particular time. He plays a role in each, a role which may be different in one from that in another. The intensity of his participation may vary from one to another and thus lessen the inconsistency of his behavior. Such cosmopolitanism, however, does not strengthen the institutional structure of a society and indicates the decay of one or more of a society's institutions. The stronger the institution and the more harmonious the various institutions of a society, the clearer is the individual's role and the more firmly established his status. The institution, because of its tendency to permanency and because of the complexity of its patterns, thus serves as a convenient means of identifying its participants.

4. But there is another side to this matter. The institution sometimes thwarts the individual personality. What part does the institution play in the frustration of the fundamental wishes of the individual? Individuals create the institutions, but the latter are the joint product of many individuals, not of one generation, but usually of many. The individual passes away; the institution remains, changing, perhaps, but immortal in relation to the individual's short life. He experiences it from his birth, even as he experiences the trees, sunrise and sunset, heat and cold, storm and sunshine. There it is, as real as anything in his world, making itself felt every moment of his existence. This "permanency" explains social control and the ease with which the individual may assume a role provided for him in the institutional configuration and find a status within the situation defined for

him. But what if that configuration does not satisfy his fundamental desires?

How often an institutionalized social order has crushed the prophet! Socrates had to drink the hemlock; Mohammed was persecuted and had to flee to his mountain cave; Amos was chased away from the shrine at Bethel back to his home in Judah (Amos, 7: 10-13); Savonarola at Florence and Servetus at Geneva perished at the stake. And nameless thousands of "mute, inglorious Miltos" have had their lyres broken by a rigidly institutionalized society.

However, that does not always happen. Galileo recants and yet whispers to himself as he leaves the office of the Holy Inquisition, "But the earth does move." Luther flees to the Wartburg, until the quarrel among the Electors draws attention to other issues. The Tories in the American colonies do not all flee to Nova Scotia; some become less outspoken and take their places as "moderates" among the "revolutionaries." Some German sympathizers in the United States during World War I bought Liberty Bonds, but secretly held to their pro-German position until after the storm of patriotism under Palmer quieted down. The process of contravention provides a way out (see Chapter 25).

Also, what Ross calls "ethical dualism" provides escape for some. In our society verbal assent to an institution often is accepted at face value. Who has not seen the loudly professing Christian whose conduct does not precisely square with his words, or the politician whose promises on the stump do not accord with his actions in the legislature after he is elected, or the pacifist in peaceful times who turns patriot when war is in the air, or the "militarist" by word who seeks exemption when the draft calls him or his son? Rationalization has saved many a man from the pain of acknowledging his inconsistency. If the institution is none too rigid, such methods provide a way of escape for the individual.

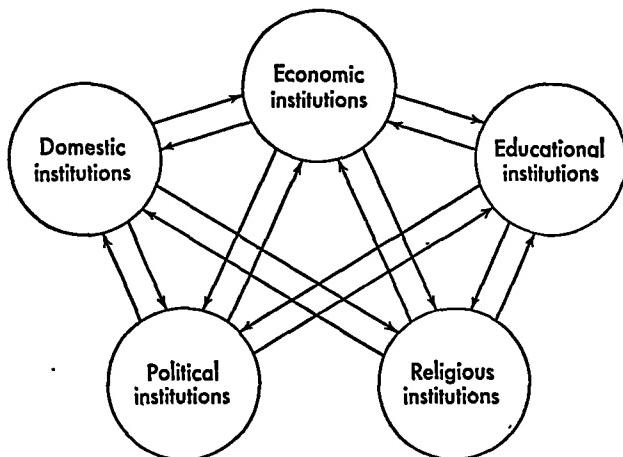
If the institution, say, the family, is relatively inflexible, sublimation may enable the frustrated individual to find a substitute for the satisfaction of his desires. The woman who does not marry often finds satisfaction for her maternal yearnings in doting on the babies of others—e.g., the Dionne Quintuplets—or in caring for nieces and nephews, or for an adopted child, or in some form of social work. Thus other institutions sometimes provide an alternative means of satisfaction.

5. The institution may stimulate certain individuals to react against it and formulate new patterns of behavior. This is especially true when the institution is decadent, or when the whole institutional setup is in disharmony. The individual feels the disharmony between the various institutions. He seeks some way out of the impasse. He must devise some way whereby

his urges may be more fully satisfied. Hence, the institution functions in such cases to stimulate the individual to "break new roads to freedom." Are such persons biological deviates, or are they different from their fellows only in their social experiences? We do not yet know. But we do know that the institution sometimes provides the stimulus which starts a revolt against the established order. If enough others feel the same dissatisfaction, they will follow the courageous leader, and thus modification of the institution will be brought about.

6. Institutions function as harmonizing agencies in the total cultural configuration. They seem to have a tendency, probably owing to the demand of the individuals composing the society for unity in the total institutional setup, to adjust to each other. Institutions are not independent, but are related to each other in a cultural system or configuration. Most of the institutions in the system tend to support one another and the configuration as a whole. Thus courtship supports marriage which in turn supports the family, all three institutions being mutually interdependent. Or our particular family institution ties in with other institutions characteristic of a pastoral or agricultural economy. It has all the marks of being made in the

Interrelationships of Institutions



Each institution in a society affects every other: changes in one inevitably bring about stresses in the others and result in alterations.

country. The patterns of one institution are linked with those of another, and the underlying groups of an institution, as we have seen, tend to interlock in membership and function with other institutional groups. Thus the whole cultural and social system tends to be bound together, from the static point of view, rather like the stones in an arch, although a socio-

cultural system is much more fluid and shifting than a masonry arch. Institutions make for social stability. They operate through long-established habits, customs, and traditions learned early in life by each member of society and therefore require little hard thinking on the part of the constituent individuals of a group to adjust to them.

7. On the other hand, institutions just by reason of their rigidity due to age-long customs and traditions are difficult to change. They often stand in the way of progress. It takes vast changes in one segment of organized social life (e.g., the economic or the religious) to disrupt the smoothly working relationship between the institutions of one segment and those of another (e.g., the family and morals). As we shall see in the chapter on social change, the toughness of an institution often explains the stresses experienced by individuals during a period when alteration occurs in some of the institutionalized aspects of society. Hence the stabilizing function of institutions interferes with an easy and happy adjustment between different social institutions in a time of fundamental changes. But this resistance to change in some institutions guarantees that even under the impact of new conditions the values embodied in any institution need not be discarded with the change in institutional form.

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Exercises

1. What is the difference between a social institution and a social organization? Illustrate.
2. What is meant by the statement in the text that "the institution functions as a unit in the cultural system viewed as a whole"?
3. Classify as to whether the following are associations, organizations or institutions: (a) banking, (b) a bank building, (c) the bank's personnel and equipment, (d) religion, (e) a church, (f) the morning service of a church, (g) the membership of a church, (h) the officers of a church, (i) capital punishment for crime, (j) the United States Social Security Board, (k) the United Nations, (l) a family, (m) the laws and customs regulating family life.
4. Classify the following institutions according to the types discussed in the text: (a) the domestic institutions in the United States; (b) the feudalism of western Europe; (c) organized, public recreation in the United States; (d) vigilantism in the United States; (e) contracts in business relationships in the United States; (f) hooliganism in the United States; (g) higgling the price in China; (h) voodooism in Haiti, in the United States; (i) religious education of children in the churches of Russia, of Spain; (j) public education in the United States; (k) Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism; (l) religion.
5. Illustrate by an example how religion (a) simplifies action for the individual, (b) provides social control, (c) provides the individual with role and status, (d) sometimes thwarts the individual personality.
6. Cite an example to show how the thwarting of an individual personality by domestic institutions may be solved by rationalization.
7. Cite an institution in our culture which stands in the way of progress.

chapter I 4 Domestic institutions: courtship and marriage

In Chapter 9 we discussed the family as a group and analyzed its various forms. Here we are interested not alone in the family as a group but in the system of institutionalized relationships that lead to the formation of a family, that are associated with family life, and hold the family group together. Since domestic institutions by reason of their important social functions are included in what Sumner called the primary social institutions, their nature, functions, relationship to other institutions, and the changes which affect them must be considered. There are two preliminary phases to the establishment of a family—courtship and marriage.

Courtship

The problem of selecting a mate and persuading him or her to marry one is closely connected with marriage and tends to be institutionalized in many cultures. Although it is characteristic of our culture that we at once think more of the "persuading" than of the "selecting" aspects of courtship, the latter cannot be ignored, nor are they in most courtship institutions.

Tabued and preferential mating. In each culture there are certain groups and statuses from which an individual of a given social status is encouraged and others from which he is forbidden to choose a mate. These choices and prohibitions are usually institutionalized as a part of the whole courtship complex.

Tabued mating is sometimes phrased in kinship terms and regarded as incest. Courting and marrying members of the immediate family have been universally prohibited, with the exception of a few royal houses, such as the Incas of Peru, the Hawaiian dynastic and the Egyptian Ptolemaic royal families, which permitted brother-sister marriage as a means of

keeping the line "pure." In cultures using a classificatory system of kinship terminology all classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" are usually prohibited from marriage. The prohibition may extend to other relatives as well. Tribes organized on the sib basis usually, although not invariably,¹ prohibit courtship and marriage between sib members. In general, prohibitions of amatory and matrimonial behavior between real or ascribed kinsmen may be termed *kinship exogamy*. In our own culture such behavior is prohibited between all lineal relatives, between brothers and sisters; and usually between first cousins, although the latter sometimes marry. Another type of prohibition is *local exogamy*, forbidding individuals of the same local group to court or marry one another. *Local endogamy* is as frequent, if not more so, among isolated people; it prohibits marriage *outside* the local group. Endogamy and exogamy may be applied to almost all other types of social groups which include both sexes, in one society or another. Although not institutionally tabued among ourselves, as among the Hindus of India, marriage into a group higher or lower than one's own on the social scale is unusual. Interracial marriages are prohibited in all southern states.

Preferential mating is in one sense the obverse of the tabued—you must choose from those groups and social categories from which you are not forbidden to choose. A few additional types of preferential mating, however, may be mentioned. The *sororate* and *levirate* have already been mentioned in Chapter 9. *Cross-cousin* mating takes the form of custom and attitude, requiring an individual to choose his mate from among his cross-cousins (children of mother's sisters or of father's brothers) if at all possible; unknown to us, this custom is widely practiced among primitive peoples.

In addition to a preference for certain socially recognized statuses or categories, preference for individual qualities in a mate may be institutionalized. Appearance, health, knowledge and training, wealth, willingness to work, general personality, aptitude in work, sexual attractiveness, fertility and so on, may be rated culturally and sought for according to the patterns of the society.

Cultural variability in courtship patterns. Courtship by force is not unknown. It may take the forms either of suitors fighting among themselves for a woman, or "cave-man stuff"—capturing or carrying off the woman after overpowering her.² When institutionalized, displays of force on the part of suitors are usually to be regarded as tests of their fitness as husbands. Contests, trials of endurance, displays of skill and strength may be

¹ Bateson, Gregory, *Naven*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1936, p. 92.

² Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, The Allerton Book Co., New York, 1922, Chs. 13, 21.

regarded as necessary preludes to the winning of a wife, especially in cultures living close to nature. Even among the simpler societies the use of the *arts* of music and dancing are fairly common in courtship institutions because of their influence upon the emotions. Among the Caribs of the Barama in British Guiana, a young man upon reaching adolescence spends several years going to drinking sprees and visiting various settlements where he has the opportunity to meet marriageable girls. Dancing, singing, instrumental playing, joking, and often sexual intimacy, characterize his activities. The affairs are merely temporary, however, and are not taken seriously by either sex. They correspond, except for the sexual component, to promiscuous "dating" among ourselves. Eventually the young man comes to see more and more of a certain girl and convinces himself that he wishes to settle down and marry her. He then approaches her father, and if satisfactory to the latter, the suitor moves into his future father-in-law's house. He enjoys the favors of the girl, but is not yet regarded as married. The girl's father requires that the suitor cut a field and plant it with cassava and other crops, that he build a house in the settlement, and while these activities are going on, that he keep the family of his future bride supplied with game. These are feats which require assiduous application for at least six months and are regarded not only as necessary preparations for the establishment of a household but also as tests of the suitor's fitness as a husband and of the seriousness of his intentions.³

Sexual relations as a part of courtship are not uncommon among many peoples and are often regarded as a necessary part of the process of adjustment between the two individuals. Among certain tribes of East Africa and elsewhere, marriage does not take place until the woman has borne a child, this test of her fertility being regarded as an important prelude to marriage. On the other hand, premarital pregnancy is regarded as disgraceful in many cultures, just as in our own. Although it is known that primitive means of birth control and abortion⁴ are used in some cases, some recent evidence suggests what may be a more far-reaching explanation. Investigations among both mammals and certain aborigines have shown that there seems to be a sterility period in the female which succeeds the first menstruation.⁵

Turning now to modern America, let us examine the outstanding charac-

³ Gillin, John, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Vol. 14, pp. 72-76.

⁴ Aptekar, Herbert, *Anjea: Infanticide, Abortion, Contraception in Savage Society*, Godwin, New York, 1931.

⁵ Montagu, M. F. Ashley, *Coming Into Being Among the Australian Aborigines*, Routledge, London, 1937, pp. 242-253; "Infertility of the Unmarried in Primitive Societies," *Oceania*, Vol. 8, 1937, pp. 15-26.

teristics of the courtship institution so far as they can be distinguished here. In many cultures (e.g., China) courtship, if it may be so called, does not at all involve two individuals who are eventually to be married, but rather consists of a series of negotiations between two families, two sibs, or two other social groups which, according to the culture pattern, are regarded as more intimately concerned than are the two youths. In our own complex, rapidly changing, and highly differentiated society, however, there are functional reasons why the individuals immediately concerned should take more personalized roles in the institution.

Objectives of American courtship. The objectives of the institution may be summarized as follows: (1) *Selection*—the prospective partners are able to appraise each other as to attractiveness, health, social position, economic status, and so on. (2) *Accommodation*—the courtship patterns are intended to serve as an apprenticeship for the two parties in the business of getting along with each other. (3) *Maturation*—courtship is intended to impress upon both parties a growing sense of responsibility and to stimulate them to accept social responsibility gladly. (4) *Sexual stimulation*—the period of courtship is supposed to stimulate the two individuals toward biological union. Coyness and pursuit, sex intimacy and experimentation, all arouse emotional tensions which theoretically will be released in the biological union of marriage. It cannot be denied, however, that sexual stimulation is regarded by many couples as the only objective of courtship behavior, especially the type of relationship such as "dating," which is regarded purely as amusement or thrill rather than a prelude to marriage.⁶

Attitudes and behavior. 1. *Patterns providing for the meeting of the two sexes socially* vary somewhat in different social classes, but we may mention the following: (a) interest groups of all kinds open to unmarried persons of both sexes, such as literary clubs, churches, scientific clubs, professional societies, etc.; (b) conventionalized parties, dinners, dances, etc.; (c) public amusement places such as taxi dance halls, amusement parks, municipal parks, etc.; (d) out-and-out "pick-ups," where contact is made directly rather than through the medium of introduction by others. There are various weaknesses in the institutionalized patterns for meeting of sexes in our culture. Particularly for educated women in urban centers, opportunities for meeting men of their own class are often very inadequate.

⁶ See Carpenter, Niles, "Courtship Practices and Contemporary Social Change in America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 160, March, 1932, pp. 38-44; Waller, Willard, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, p. 734. See also Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, W. B., and Martin, Clyde E., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1948.

2. *Patterns of choice* also vary, but we may mention the following more or less institutionalized criteria of attractiveness in order of general importance, remembering that some individuals and some classes would shuffle the order about and perhaps add other criteria: (a) sexual development, often euphemized as "beauty" or "handsomeness," but meaning essentially a well-developed body; (b) emotional development, somewhat a matter of personal choice, but to a large extent culturally patterned in the sense that young men are conditioned to look for a sense of humor, delicacy, and so on in their sweethearts, while girls are likewise conditioned to expect certain standard qualities in men; (c) economic and social status, since there is a general tendency, particularly on the part of women, to choose men of higher status than their own; ⁷ (d) intellectual development, which perhaps plays a relatively small conscious part in courtship patterns in modern America, but cannot be ignored.

3. *Patterns of interaction.* The formal succession of events in rigidly conventionalized order, which characterized the courtship institution of the Victorian era, has largely passed out of use in modern America. In spite of much flux in the present patterns, we may describe the generalized scheme in order as follows: (a) Meeting. (b) Verbal interaction in form of "line." This is really a joking relationship, more or less formalized for the purpose of concealing any real feelings, but intended to arouse interest in the other party. In some cases the "line" is used to try to convince the other party of the seriousness of feelings which one does not feel, but in modern practice it is seldom so regarded and seldom successful. (c) "Dating." The man is expected to take the aggressive role in arranging future meetings; he furnishes the money for entertainment in the form of rides, movies, dances, and the like; and expects reciprocation in the form of caresses and "necking" or "petting." Seclusion and privacy are expected during some part of the date. The woman has the right to refuse invitations to dates and usually tries to create an impression of competition for her time, thus increasing her desirability and status; in the early stages, the woman responds to the man's advances with ritualized coyness. (d) Presentation of gifts by the man. Formerly the giving of gifts took a rigidly conventionalized form of books, candy, or flowers which were regarded as highly symbolic of true feelings and intentions. Nowadays gift-giving is much more informal and less symbolic; acceptance of gifts is regarded unfavorably in some circles as "gold-digging." (e) Revelation of true feel-

⁷ Popenoe, Paul, "Mate Selection," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 735-743.

ings. This often comes about through the mechanism of the "lover's quarrel," but in any case usually involves a lessening use of the "wise-cracking" expressions and the "line" which characterized the joking relationship during the early part of the affair. (f) Steady dating. During this period neither party is expected to have dates with others. Actual sexual intercourse, although not institutionalized, takes place during this stage in a minority of cases. (g) Proposal of marriage, usually informally phrased nowadays, accompanied by public announcement and the presentation to girl of something symbolical of engagement, such as engagement ring or fraternity pin, by the man. In some circles permission of the girl's parents is required for this step. At all stages the courtship can, of course, be broken off by means of certain conventionalized patterns, which seldom include actual verbalization of dislike or desire to break, but usually take the form of indirect rebuffs.

Utilitarian traits. Traits of cultural equipment used in courtship are many and diverse. Motion pictures, dance floors, dance bands, and "collegiate clothes" all come under this head. Perhaps the most important object of cultural equipment in its effects upon modern courtship patterns is the automobile, which has removed the scene of courtship from the family parlor to the seclusion of the roadside. The increased seclusion and privacy afforded by the automobile have had much to do with the patterns of interaction in courtship.

Symbolic traits. Material traits having symbolic meaning in courtship are less well standardized now than a generation ago. The engagement ring still remains in use, although not invariably. Gifts of various types, including fraternity pins, have some symbolic value. Soft lights, flowers, cupids, and various art motifs are still associated in varying degrees with courtship.

Tradition and ritual. Aside from books of etiquette, the traditions and rituals of courtship available to the man on the street are usually in the form of love songs, movies, and literature. In fact, a large part of the fiction in books, the "slick-paper" magazines, and other popular periodicals, deals with the conventions of courtship, retelling again and again the old story and emphasizing the current pattern.⁸

We have endeavored up to this point to depict courtship as a contemporary institution, refraining from emphasizing judgments as to its functional adjustment to contemporary culture. Many inadequacies in the institution as it exists at present can hardly be ignored, however. For an

⁸ For a full analysis of courtship, see Waller, Willard, *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation*, Cordon Co., New York, 1938, pp. 173-304.

institution, a primary objective of which is to provide a sound selection of mates and a workable prelude to marriage, it can be said to fail signally so long as more than one marriage in six ends in divorce.

There can be little doubt that the majority of the behavior and attitudes of the courtship institution are developed around the idea of romantic love. No one would deny that love is a wonderful thing, but in our culture at least it is a decidedly mystical phenomenon. One is not expected to know how or why this wonderful feeling seizes control of him, but he is conditioned to regard it as having transcendent power—"love conquers all." Few societies have endeavored to found their domestic institutions solely upon this emotion, and the majority of human societies, while recognizing its existence, make no attempt to institutionalize it in courtship and marriage. The troubadours of the thirteenth century, who were largely responsible for introducing this noble sentiment into European courtship mores, maintained at one time that it was impossible for it to flourish between two partners to a marriage.⁹ Few modern students would pass so harsh a verdict upon romance, for ample evidence of its power in marriage and the family does exist, but sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists—at the risk of being kill-joys—cannot overlook the dictum, both of common sense and science, that love is blind and fickle and is a poor substitute for other qualities necessary for social adjustment between the two sexes. It is one element in domestic institutions—and a highly desirable one—but until the culture lays more institutional emphasis upon such other elements of successful adjustment as economic, psychological, and personal factors, we may expect some maladjustment in the domestic institutions.

Marriage

Marriage is a socially approved way of establishing a family of procreation. Everywhere, as an institution, it involves certain reciprocal rights and duties. The particular pattern of rights and duties distinguishes the marriage institution in one society from that in another. Usually there is some clearly acknowledged social ritual in recognition of the social significance. That ritual may vary from eating out of the same dish to the elaborate ceremonies in a church wedding in our country. The general types of family functions and individual rules have been discussed in Chapter 9.

Marriage, we repeat, is the institution concerned with the reciprocal

⁹ de Rougemont, Denis, *Love in the Western World*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1940.

social relations and cultural behavior of a man and a woman who publicly signify their union for the implied purpose, among other possible objectives, of founding a family of procreation. Marriage institutions are thus intimately connected with family institutions and family-groups, for we have seen that the immediate family is universal in human societies, even though other types of families may coexist with it. Marriage, however, is not synonymous with family; rather it is one of the domestic, or family, institutions. For example, the relations between the children of an American family are not, strictly speaking, a part of the American marriage institution. Likewise, although the marital institution is coördinated with it, the avunculate of the Trobriand consanguine family (discussed in Chapter 9) is not a part of the Trobriand marital institution; the institutionalized interaction between the children and their mother's brother in that society is obviously not marriage.

Although the core of the marriage institution is everywhere the relationship between a man and a woman, the institution may be so organized that one or both spouses may enter into two or more such relationships simultaneously. This is the case in the so-called plural forms of marriage permitted in certain societies. Furthermore, the marriage institution may involve certain institutionalized behavior on the part of the kin of the spouses and of other individuals in the society. For example, a husband in our society is expected to protect his wife from all insults delivered by nonrelatives.

The actual cultural components of the marriage institution, as is the case with all institutions, vary in detail from one society to another, and to some degree also among subgroups and classes in our own society. To a large extent such variation in details is correlated with differences in the objectives of marriage institutions and to the emphases which are laid upon the several objectives.

Some objectives of marriage institutions. A certain channelization of sex activity between husband and wife is a universal feature of marriage, but such activity is by no means always institutionalized in terms of absolute fidelity on the part of the spouses. Among the Ila of South Africa, for instance, exists the custom of *lukambo* whereby a wife takes an official lover with the consent of her husband after the two men have completed a series of institutionalized negotiations involving economic exchange and other obligations.¹⁰ Formal wife-lending of one sort or another occurs with fair frequency in the marriage institutions of primitive peoples. At

¹⁰ Brelsford, V., "Lukambo: A Description of the Baila Custom," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 63, 1933, pp. 433-438.

the other extreme lies the absolute exclusion of wives from any social relations whatever with men other than their husbands, found in some Mohammedan societies.

Founding a family of procreation is also a universal objective of marriage institutions and therefore stress is usually laid upon physical procreation by the partners to the marriage. However, the emphasis upon the husband's biological paternity of the children varies. Furthermore, in most societies adoption is institutionalized under certain circumstances.

Economic coöperation is a common objective of marriage institutions. Everywhere the partners to a marriage agree to a certain division of labor, and the marriage may also involve property considerations. The cultural behavior involved, however, differs widely. In one group the wife's duties may make her a household drudge, in another her importance may be that of an additional field hand, and in a third her chief economic contribution may be embroidering ornamental knick-knacks for the house. Likewise the husband's economic relations with his wife show considerable variety of pattern from one society to another. Control of the purse is not a universal male privilege.

Emotional and/or intellectual interstimulation of the partners is often one of the objectives of the marriage institution, although this may often be a relatively minor objective, as was the case with the gentlemen of ancient Athens who "naturally" were expected to seek interesting and cultured female companionship among professional female entertainers. In modern Japan the *geisha* fulfill much the same functions.

A prominent objective in some marriage institutions is *linkage of the kin or status groups to which the spouses belong* and a specific regularization of their social relations. Such an objective was often dominant in the marriages of European royalty whereby family, religious and political alliances were strengthened and maintained. It is a rare marriage institution which does not involve some reciprocal social behavior between the families of the partners, although coöperation may not be the end in view. In the island of Dobu in Melanesia, for example, a sort of institutionalized enmity exists between the two groups of kin.

All of these and other more specialized objectives are combined in many marriage institutions. The emphasis given to one or other of the purposes of marriage may vary and with it the institutionalized behavior. In a society which puts a premium upon the economic purposes, relatively less attention may be paid to sexual relations between the partners, and so on.

The forms of marriage. Certain writers, like McLennan and Spencer, tried to show that marriage evolved through several stages from promis-

cuity to monogamy. No such regular order of development can be asserted in the light of the knowledge of the peoples of the earth provided by the ethnologists. We cannot speak of unrestrained promiscuity as a form of marriage because it is by nature a purely temporary relationship without social recognition or institutionalization. In no society is it recognized as a substitute for marriage.

If promiscuity is discarded as a form of marriage, there are four possibilities as to the numbers which may enter into the marriage institution in one group. First, there is monogamy, the marriage of one man to one woman. This type of marriage arrangement is the most prevalent in all societies, even in those permitting other forms. Second in frequency is polygyny, which is the marriage of one man to two or more women. Third is polyandry, the marriage of one woman to two or more men. Found in socially recognized form only in a few cultures, such as that of the Todas of southern India, the northern Tibetan tribes, certain East African tribes (e.g., the Bahima), occasionally the Eskimo, the Nevada Shoshoneans, the Chukchee, and a few others, polyandry suffers from the disability, among others, of limiting the birth rate, but offers the advantage of necessitating little division of property between generations. Especially is this advantage apparent in the case of the Todas and the agricultural Tibetans, in both of which tribes polyandry is often of the fraternal type, i.e., the joint husbands are brothers. Fourth in the possible forms of marriage is group marriage. Extremely rare in any socially sanctioned form; group marriage may occur as an alternative in a few cultures, such as the Chukchee where "second or third cousins, or even unrelated men desirous of cementing a firm bond of friendship, will form a group exercising marital rights over all the wives of the men concerned."¹¹

Other features of the institution

Certain other features of the marriage institutions should be mentioned. Some of these are universal; others are to be found only among certain peoples of the earth. Some seem to have a basis in the biological characteristics of man; others grow out of superstition; and still others appear to be accidental inventions which became established in the folkways.

Age. The age at which individuals are allowed to enter the married state is everywhere recognized. In almost all cultures participation in full marriage is restricted to those who have at least reached puberty. However, in some cultures, for example parts of Hindu India, child marriage is institution-

¹¹ Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, p. 51.

alized. The girl is formally married to her husband while still a child in order to avoid the possibility of her marrying anyone else when she grows older, although sexual relations are not expected until puberty. In modern America, the age of marriage varies, but as a general rule it is set at some years after puberty in recognition of the attitude of society that marriage requires not only sexual maturity but also some degree of mental maturity.

Social sanction. Marriage differs from casual liaisons between the sexes primarily in the *social recognition* which is accorded to it. In our culture the standard mechanisms for insuring this social recognition are publication of intentions and a regular ceremony. The other members of the society are thereby given notice that the two parties to the marriage are (1) recognized as having a legitimate right to fulfill its purpose; (2) are tabu as objects of romantic interest on the part of others; (3) are henceforward expected to coöperate in institutionalized behavior, e.g., the husband to "love, honor, and protect in sickness and in health," the wife to "love, honor and cherish." The religious ceremony not only gives notice of the new relationship to social contemporaries but also to the supernatural. Marriage may therefore be viewed as a contract between at least two individuals. In many cultures, the contract for practical purposes includes not only the bride and groom but also their respective families, particularly if property considerations and social status are important.¹²

Among the contractual obligations that may surround marriage are exchange of bride for bride between families, giving a bride in exchange for service by the bridegroom,¹³ giving a bride in exchange for a bride price presented to the girl's family by the groom, exchange of economic goods between the two families, the presenting of a dowry to the husband along with the bride, the giving of a gift by the groom directly to the bride, etc. The contract may include provision regarding the names of the prospective children, the obligation of husband and wife or of one of their families to provide and maintain a given social position for the married couple and their children, to provide certain religious training for the children, and so on. It should be understood that all marriage obligations are not explicit in the contract. But among all peoples there is a fairly definite understanding, either formalized or informal, which both parties are supposed to know when entering the married state and to which they thereby agree at least by implication.

Positive aspects of marriage rites. The most general social object of marriage ceremonies, however, is to give publicity to the union. For this

¹² Westermarck, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Chs. 21-23.

¹³ See story of Jacob, *Genesis*, 29.

reason witnesses are commonly required. Publicity among some peoples has been given even to sexual consummation by the requirement that witnesses be present in the marriage chamber. Certain tests of the virginity of the bride have been required as a part of the ceremony (Deut., 17:20 and 22:15). A feast, party, or other gathering is a common feature of marriage ceremonies as a mechanism for providing publicity. The marriage rites also serve the purpose of *strengthening the marriage tie* by impressing upon the bride and groom the solemnity of their undertaking. For this purpose various symbolisms are used in different cultures, for example, the joining of hands, tying together of the couple, the use of a ring, the exchange of clothing such as handkerchief or belt, drinking together, and the mixing of each other's blood. A third purpose of the ceremony in some cultures may be to *facilitate the consummation of the marriage* through suggestive or magical symbolism. For example, in some cultures eggs or glass and earthenware vessels are broken at weddings, and red color is used for decorations, all perhaps symbolic of defloration. Still another aspect of the wedding ceremony among some peoples may be provision for *making the wife fruitful or insuring male offspring*. Symbolic of this purpose is the use of small children in the ceremonies as flower girls and ring-bearers and the like; the throwing of some kind of cereal (e.g., rice) or fruit on the bride. Or the bride may be equipped with a bundle in imitation of a baby on her back. Or she may be required to ride on a stallion that she may have male offspring. Empty dishes, trays, and tables may be avoided as suggestive of sterility. Ceremonies are also intended in some cases to *facilitate the delivery of the young wife*. She may have to leave the laces of her shoes untied during the ceremony or to avoid all constrictions in her costume.

Some marriage rites are supposed to *influence the external appearance or behavior of the children*. In Estonia, for instance, it is said that if the bride wears no chains or bells, she will have quiet children. Other ceremonies may be performed to *make the couple prosperous*. In Morocco dates are eaten to make them wealthy. Rites may also be included intended to *make the couple happy*, such as the use of honey and other sweet things. Parts of the ceremony may also be symbolic of the willingness of the bride or groom to *occupy the expected social position* in the family together with duties pertaining thereto. For instance, among the Caribs of Guiana, the groom goes on a ceremonial hunting expedition on the day of his marriage, while the bride prepares food and drink in the new house, both actions symbolic of the duties which they will perform after the ceremony is over. Among some Slavonic peoples the groom gently beats the bride during the

ceremony to signify that he is "boss." Various symbols of the power of the wife may also be used.

Sumner's observation should be noted in this connection. Though many such customs come to be rationalized after curiosity has raised questions as to their purposes, often customs originate accidentally and without purpose. They continue as folkways simply because they have been long associated with marriage.

Negative aspects of marriage rites. In addition to the rites which are intended to produce positive benefits for the young couple, the ceremony may include patterns intended to protect them from various evils and disasters. Shooting of guns and noise-making at weddings in some cultures are intended to frighten away evil spirits, as well as the burning of incense, bathing and washing, and painting or decorating the bride and groom to make them unrecognizable to evil spirits. Disguises are worn by the bride and groom among some peoples to escape recognition by evil spirits, and effigies may be used in place of the real persons. The attendants, such as bridesmaids and groomsmen, in certain cultures are thought of as protecting the bride and groom either from supernatural or natural enemies and dangers. The practices of the bride wearing a veil and walking on a carpet or some other ground covering serve also as protection. The custom of throwing old shoes after the happy couple has been variously interpreted as a ceremonial means of clearing the air of evil influences and as a reminder of the necessity of avoiding the evil influences of the ground. Various food tabus are also imposed with the purpose of protecting the couple from danger.¹⁴

Larger social aspects. Finally marriage rites may symbolize the new relationship between the two families of orientation. Mock fights followed by reconciliation between the relatives of bride and groom, although interpreted sometimes as survival of marriage by capture, also serve as an expression of the independence of the two groups about to be united by a common interest. Giving the bride away by a member of her family symbolizes the interest of the latter in the transaction. Weeping by the bride's female relatives symbolizes their loss. Mingling together in feast or dance after the ceremony symbolizes the union between the two groups formed by the marriage link. Congratulations, charivaris, practical joking, and other patterns of behavior indicate the interest which the society as a whole, not necessarily kinsmen, take in the union.

The honeymoon. A regular part of the American marriage institution has been the honeymoon, a period of relative seclusion for the couple

¹⁴ For an extended discussion of marriage rites, see Westermarck, *op. cit.*, Chs. 24-26.

after the ceremony. This pattern has been an inadequate response to the need for the two individuals to adjust themselves to each other preparatory to permanent life together. In a marriage institution, such as our own, in which the mates are brought together by romantic love, some mechanism is required for a personality adjustment. A feature of our institution, which probably causes more of its malfunction than any other, is the fact that no other bases of attraction are officially stressed. The institution assumes that romantic love will continue to be the bond holding together the partners throughout life, an assumption which is factually untrue in the great majority of cases. The honeymoon is institutionalized merely as a means of romantic and sexual adjustment. The adjustment of personal idiosyncrasies, economic, social, artistic, and other differences between the parties to a marriage is left to chance. If one general improvement could be made on the modern institution of marriage, it would be the development of some socially recognized and accepted patterns whereby these adjustments would be culturally made. The object of marriage is generally phrased as happiness for the individuals through their life with each other. One improvement would be a cultural redefinition of "happiness." At present happiness is phrased in terms of romance and sex, and when the bloom begins to disappear from these aspects of the marriage, many individuals feel that their marriage has been a failure. This is due to the fact that they have been culturally conditioned to a falsehood. Apparently in very few cases does romance of the expected variety survive continued living together. Other sources of satisfaction, among them respect, esteem for the qualities of partner, and conjugal love usually take the place of romance in successful marriages. Without a more realistically defined objective, however, many couples have to find this out for themselves.

Ideal American marriage patterns. In our own society the following institutional features may be mentioned as practically universal, despite various local, class, and religious differences. The fact that these patterns are frequently honored in the breach does not alter the fact that they are agreed upon as the minimum ideal patterns which actual behavior is supposed to approximate.

1. Monogamy is the rule. The ideal pattern is lifelong monogamy, "until death do us part." Associated with this pattern is the obligation of sexual fidelity by both parties after marriage and the theoretical requirement of chastity before marriage.

2. Legal notice and registration of the marriage are required. In an increasing number of states this involves certification of the mental and physical health of the two parties. The wife takes the name of the husband

and thereby assumes his social status; the husband assumes the obligation of providing for her support. The wife undertakes to adjust herself to her husband's circumstances and by implication to care for his establishment and bear his children. In most cases she is allowed to keep property in her own name, but has a right to expect a certain share in his estate upon his death. One spouse is not required to testify against the other in a court of law except by the latter's consent. Various other legal rights and duties are involved. As far as society is officially concerned, however, marriage in America is a *contract between two individuals only*. As a general rule, neither party incurs legally recognized obligations toward the relatives or kinsmen of the other party. A certificate or license is provided to insure that the two parties have a right to marry under the law intended to protect society from the consequences of the marriage of defectives, close relatives, and undivorced individuals.

3. The married couple is expected to establish a home and, if possible, to have children.

So much for the formal aspects of the marriage institution in our society. Many folkways and mores, however, are also included. Wedding bells and rings serve as cultural symbols. The tradition extends far beyond the precepts laid down in the law books and Holy Scriptures. The patterns of behavior, extending all the way from modes of sexual intercourse to public behavior, are proliferated and standardized for various groups and classes in society. And, very important to the sociologist, the ideal patterns in modern America seem to be changing. Actual behavior tends to vary farther and farther away from the recognized standard, perhaps indicating that new standards will be recognized some time in the future.

Changing patterns. In regard to marital fidelity, Hamilton found that of 100 married men and 100 married women, 28 per cent of the men and 24 per cent of the women admitted that they had committed adultery. There was a direct correlation between fidelity and happiness in marriage.¹⁵ This study is, however, believed to have been made on a group which over-emphasized unconventional behavior and therefore is probably not representative of the country as a whole. Figures are no more than suggestive. The cultural tabu upon investigation of any aspects of sex behavior has meant that only small samples of attitudes and behavior have been collected. Several studies have been made of the amount of premarital sexual intimacy, of which we may mention the following. In Katherine B. Davis's study of 1,000 normal married women in about 1920, of respectable standing,

¹⁵ Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1929, pp. 77-83, 393-395.

superaverage education, and the average age of thirty-nine, 7.1 per cent admitted having had premarital relations; in another study of 1,064 unmarried women in about 1920, all college graduates of five years or more standing and of the average age of thirty-seven, 12.7 per cent admitted sex relations; and Hamilton's study of 100 married, urban, educated women in 1927 showed 35 per cent having had premarital experience. Hamilton found also that of 100 married, urban, educated men in 1927, 54 per cent had had premarital relations. Hughes showed that 27 per cent of twenty-six representative college undergraduates admitted such relations, and Peck and Wells made similar findings about 35 per cent of 100 college graduate men with a median age of twenty-three. In a second study of a similar group, 37 per cent admitted sexual experience.¹⁶

There is some evidence that the earlier figures represent to some extent the unsettled condition of the marriage institution and the new "freedom" following World War I. Only 22 per cent of a large sample of adults in the *Fortune* magazine survey in 1937 believed that "it was all right" for both parties to a marriage to have had previous sex experience; among college students the percentage was 38.¹⁷ As Newcomb says, "We are forced to one of the following conclusions regarding the repeated allegations of the sexual excesses of the 1920's, particularly by those of college age: either the allegations were considerably exaggerated, or there has been a considerable recession during the last decade toward pre-war standards."¹⁸ Most authorities agree that there is now less social compulsion in the younger set for young people to go as far as they dare, such as characterized the atmosphere during the 1920's. At the same time the attitudes of society in general seem to have softened somewhat in regard to these matters. "Sex is no longer news." This may be true, but a more recent study by Bromley and Britten does not sustain that view.

They found that of 1,210 college undergraduates (592 boys, 618 girls) studied by interview and questionnaire methods, there was an even higher premarital sex participation than in some earlier studies. Of the 618 girls approximately 75 per cent were virgins and 25 per cent nonvirgins. The virgins were subdivided into 12 per cent of the total group who were vir-

¹⁶ Hamilton, *op. cit.*; Davis, Katherine B., *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1929; Peck, M. W., and Wells, F. W., "On the Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 7, 1923, pp. 697-714; "Further Studies on the Psychosexuality of College Graduate Men," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 9, 1925, pp. 502-520; Folsom, J. K., *The Family*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1934, Ch. 13.

¹⁷ "Quarterly Survey," *Fortune Magazine*, April, 1937.

¹⁸ Newcomb, Theodore, "Recent Changes in Attitudes toward Sex and Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 659-677.

ginal because they wanted to be, 25 per cent who wished to wait for marriage, 37.5 per cent who were inexperienced but who theoretically approved of relations outside marriage, and 1.5 who were homosexually inclined. The 25 per cent of the total number of undergraduate girls who were not virgins were made up of the following categories: 11 per cent (of the total number) who were intimate only with boys with whom they were in love, 9 per cent who experimented "to find out what it is all about," 3.5 per cent who were promiscuous "sowers of wild oats," 0.5 per cent who were homosexually inclined, 0.5 who had had the experience unwillingly and were remorseful, and 0.5 who were married. The 470 boys returning questionnaires and the 122 who were interviewed, 592 in all, were divided as follows: 48 per cent were virgins including 4 per cent with homosexual tendencies; 52 per cent were nonvirgins. Of the latter, 21 per cent of the total group were "hot bloods," more or less promiscuous; 31 per cent were moderates, including 3 per cent who had practiced homosexual intercourse.¹⁹ As compared with 25 per cent in this study, only 7 per cent of Davis' 1,000 married women of the early 1920's confessed to premarital relations. Sixty-four per cent of the young women of the Bromley and Britten study approved of relations outside of marriage compared with 19 per cent in Davis's study.²⁰ One wonders whether such conditions have always existed, and only now are being discovered, or whether our young people are tossing aside the socially approved value of chastity. One cannot escape the question as to what effect premarital sexual looseness has upon marriage fidelity.

Another indication of the attitudes of the partners in marriage may be deduced from various studies made on the subject of birth control. Pearl estimated on the basis of his studies of 30,000 women who came to hospitals to bear children that 50 to 60 per cent of white married couples in cities east of the Mississippi and north of the southernmost tier of states practice contraception more or less regularly. Contraception reduced pregnancy rates in Pearl's group by about 20 to 30 per cent.²¹ Taussig suggests

¹⁹ Bromley, Dorothy Dunbar, and Britten, Florence Haxton, *Youth and Sex*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1938, p. 289. For a preliminary report of a study of 12,000 Americans by Professor Kinsey see Deutsch, Albert, "The Sex Habits of American Men," *Harper's Magazine*, Dec., 1947, 490. For the book on which this article was based see Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, W. B., and Martin, Clyde E., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1948.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. After this book was in press a report appeared on the sex patterns of some 12,000 American men. This showed a higher rate of illicit sex activity than has previously been reported, and also suggested a correlation between social status and preferred sex patterns. See Kinsey, Alfred C. et al, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1948.

²¹ Quoted in Stix, Regine K., M.D., "Research in Causes of Variations in Fertility: Medical Aspects," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, p. 573.

that 680,000 abortions per year is a conservative estimate for the United States,²² although no definite figures are available because most of the abortions produced are criminal offenses.

Without citing further figures we may conclude that there is a growing tendency for sexual activity to be desired in marriage for its own sake and an attitude that pregnancy and childbearing resulting from sex activity should be voluntarily controlled. This modification of the institution is more pronounced among the higher income groups than the lower. Other distributions of the marriage attitude toward intercourse and child-rearing are shown by the fact that the fertility rates are higher in rural populations than in urban; the white-collar clerical class has a lower fertility than classes below and above it, very high status groups have birth rates higher than the classes just below them. The higher the education of the married couple, the more, on the average, do they seem to practice birth control. Finally, there seems to be direct correlation between the emancipation of women and the use of birth control.²³

Still another measure of attitudes in marriage is to be found in the number of married women who work outside the home. According to the census figures, whereas only 5.6 per cent of all married women were gainfully employed in 1900, 11.7 per cent were so employed in 1930, and 15.15 per cent in 1940.²⁴

New Code of Marriage. Summing up, we may mention the following points as perhaps representative of the present patterns involved in the marriage institution in this country.

1. Attitudes and behavior

- a. Single standard: what is right for the man is right for the woman.
- b. Attitude of tolerance toward premarital sex activity, and to a lesser extent toward adultery, but majority refrain from either.
- c. Sex activity regarded as a value in itself, which can be separate from childbearing and rearing.
- d. Woman expected to participate with man outside the home as well as as in it in social activities; emphasis upon companionship.
- e. Woman's work outside the home tolerated or even expected, at least during early years of married life; woman no longer looked upon as

²² Taussig, Frederick J., *Abortion, Spontaneous and Induced*, Mosby, St. Louis, 1936, p. 26. Surgeon General Parran of the United States Public Health Service estimated 780,000 for 1938; only a trifle less than the number of live births (800,000).

²³ Cottrell, Leonard S., "Research in Causes of Variations in Fertility: Social Psychological Aspects," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 678-685.

²⁴ *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934, p. 715; *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Vol. III, The Labor Force, Part I, United States Summary, Table 9, Washington, 1943; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Characteristics by Age, Part I, p. 5, Table IX.

- household drudge only; reciprocally woman no longer invariably expects entire economic support from husband.
2. Symbolic traits
 - a. Costume differentiation of married from unmarried tending to disappear.
 - b. Importance attached to wedding ring declining. At least, if ring cannot be afforded, couples will often marry without it.
 - c. Twin beds symbolic of independence and equality of individuals in marriage.
 - d. Various symbolic traits of wedding ceremony such as cake, elaborate costume, flowers, etc., tending to be regarded as superfluous.
 - e. Tolerance for divorce.
 3. Utilitarian traits
 - a. Contraceptive apparatus increasingly used in marriage.
 - b. Dwelling becoming smaller and more compact. Laborsaving devices for housework tending to become regular part of equipment; apartment, kitchenette, folding beds, etc., not unusual for urban couples during early years of married life.
 - c. Increasing use of professional laundry, bakery, cleaners, etc., replacing equipment for work which was formerly performed by wife in home.
 4. Tradition and ritual
 - a. Decline in religious ritual and elaborate wedding ceremonies in general.
 - b. Liberalization of marriage laws in regard to property, divorce, and rights of woman; tightening of marriage laws regarding mental and physical fitness of bride and groom.
 - c. Substitution of informal honeymoon for ritualized honeymoon.
 - d. More liberal divorce laws.
 5. Objective of marriage still phrased as:
 - a. Romantic happiness, but tendency toward more realistic understanding of elements of successful living together (this tendency not very widespread, however).
 - b. Social objective still the formation of family of procreation.

Marriage rates. The "marriedness" of the American population has been increasing, at least up until 1930. In 1930, 60.5 per cent of the population fifteen years of age and older was married, compared with 44.3 per cent in 1890. In 1940 this had increased to 62 per cent. Allowing for the greater proportion of middle-aged in the population in 1940, the percentage was still a significant increase.²⁵ In 1935 the estimated number of marriages per year per 1,000 population was 10.41 or 43.25 marriages per year per 1,000 females between the ages of fifteen and forty-four,²⁶ showing a recovery

²⁵ Ogburn, W. F., and Tibbitts, Clark, in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934, p. 680.

²⁶ Stouffer, Samuel A., and Spencer, Lyle M., "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years,"

from a drop in the rates during the depression which reached its lowest point in 1932. During the depression there was a definite tendency to postpone marriage to later ages, with the result that it was estimated that to 1935, 805,000 marriages which would otherwise have taken place, were postponed because of the depression.

The later rates per 1,000 of the population as estimated by the census were as follows: 1937, 11.2; 1938, 10.2; 1939, 10.5; 1940, 11.9; 1941, 12.6; 1942, 13.1; 1943, 11.8. These variations were probably due in some cases to changes in the marriage laws in some states, and in 1942 and 1943 to the effect of the war. The influence of the war is suggested by the figures published by the Census Bureau for 1944 and the first four months of 1945. There was a decrease in the number of marriage licenses issued in cities of 100,000 or more from 1943 to 1944 of 8.7 per cent.²⁷ Similar variations occurred during World War I. When war broke out in each case there was an increase in marriages, followed by a decrease after the young men were absent from home. Similar variations in birth rates and divorce rates are to be seen in wartime.

Divorce. A feature of the marriage institution in most cultures is an institutionalized pattern for breaking up the relationship under certain conditions. Divorce on various legal grounds, varying from state to state, is the institutionalized method of ending the marriage relationship in our culture, while desertion is the informal method, the "poor man's divorce." Actually divorce is a method for rearranging the family institution as well as marriage. We have no space here to review the recent developments in divorce legislation in this country.²⁸ Among the more general legal grounds for divorce are infidelity, desertion, insanity, neglect and failure to provide, conviction of a felony. Incompatability, probably one of the most common immediate causes of divorce, is admitted as a legal ground in only one state, New Mexico.²⁹ Divorce by mutual consent is nowhere permitted legally in the United States. Divorce laws usually include provision also for care of the children, alimony, division of property, and other matters of mutual concern to the partners of the dissolved marriage. These divorce rules throw light on certain aspects of the marriage institution. By examining what is

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 188, November, 1936, pp. 56-69.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64; Census Bureau Release Series PM-3, No. 4 and Series PM-1, No. 2.

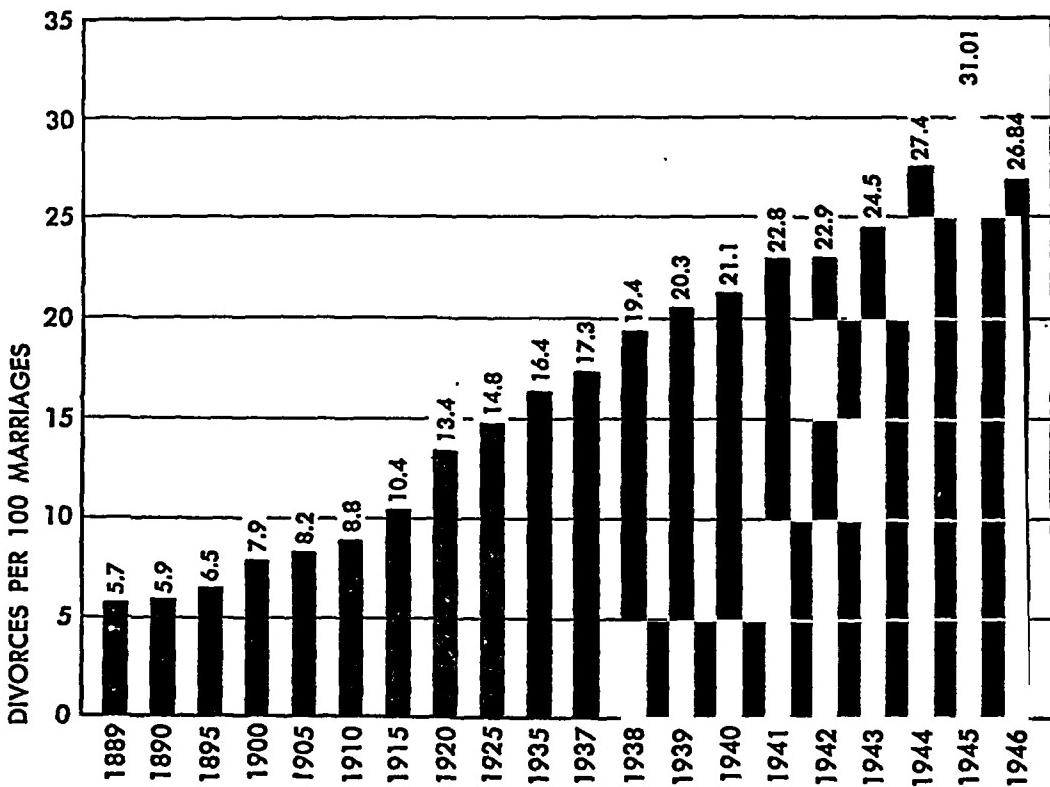
²⁸ See May, Geoffrey, and Blinn, Robert, "Legislative Trends in Family Law," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 696-705; Lichtenberger, J. P., "Divorce Legislation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 160, March, 1932, pp. 116-122.

²⁹ May and Blinn, *op. cit.*, p. 702.

regarded as grounds for divorce we see the formalized behavior which is expected in marriage.

Divorces have been increasing in various countries of the world since 1900. In 1930 there were in the United States 72 divorces per 10,000 married couples. In that year there was one divorce to every six marriages, the

DIVORCES IN THE UNITED STATES 1889-1946 PER 100 MARRIAGES



SOURCES: United States Census; Stouffer, Samuel A., and Spencer, L. M., "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 188, Nov., 1937, and for data from 16 states, 1938-1944, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., *Statistical Bulletin*, Jan., 1946, p. 10, and personal letter from Louis I. Dublin, Second Vice President and Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

highest divorce rate in the world. It must also be remembered that many unsuccessful marriages do not end in divorce for economic or religious reasons and the like.³⁰ After 1930, under the influence of the depression, the divorce rate began to drop and reached a low in 1932, the lowest rate since 1919. In 1934, however, owing presumably to better times, the divorce rate again increased until 1937 when an estimated 250,000 divorces were ob-

³⁰ Ogburn and Tibbitts, *op. cit.*, p. 693.

tained, an all-time record, both absolutely and relatively to size of population.³¹ In 1937 there were, it was estimated, 1.90 divorces per 100 population compared with 1.56 in 1930, 1.47 in 1931 (an average of 1.03 per year for the period 1912 to 1916), and 0.54 for the period 1887 to 1891.³² The number of divorces per 100 marriages during the year 1937 was 17.3, compared with 5.9 in 1890. A recent study of the marriage and divorce rates in their relation to each other made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, based on information from sixteen states, brings data down to 1944. The accompanying graph shows that World War II resulted in a rapid and greatly accelerated increase in the number of divorces per 100 marriages. It should be pointed out that any increase in the divorce rate may be correlated with an increase in the marriage rate, owing to the remarriage of divorced individuals.

It is not necessary to quote more figures to show that divorce has become a standardized part of the marriage institution in this culture. Once viewed as impossible or as flagrant violation of the institutional mores, it must now be considered as a possibility in all marriages and actually writes the institutionalized finis to 16 per cent of all marriages performed. Such a condition is regarded as undesirable sociologically in some ways because it institutionalizes a form of dissociation—promotes the disintegration of groups. Yet, divorce permits the correction of mistakes and in many cases permits a happy readjustment. Societies are not unknown which have successfully operated with institutionalized temporary, rather than permanent, monogamy. One wonders sometimes if what is now regarded as a necessary evil will sometime become the ideal pattern.

It is interesting to note that 62 per cent, nearly two-thirds of the divorces (as reported for 1930) occurred between couples having no children. Children seem to provide a common interest that holds married partners together even in the absence of other interests.

Annulments. Annulments are procedures legally separating couples whose marriage is assumed to have been void or voidable from the beginning. Mental defects, physical impediments, legal disabilities, fraud, duress, and so on, existing at the time of marriage, may be grounds for annulment. This is the only means of bringing a marriage relation to an end recognized by the Roman Catholic Church. The ratio of divorces to annulments runs about 42 or 43 to 1. Annulments tend to take place earlier in the life of a marriage than do divorces. In 1931 about 33 per cent of the annulments oc-

³¹ Stouffer and Spencer, *op. cit.*; see also *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. 9, No. 60, Washington, June 29, 1940, p. 829, Table 4.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

curred less than a year after the ceremony, and within five years 78.2 per cent of annulments had taken place, as contrasted with 36.3 per cent of divorces.³³

In this chapter we have described the chief characteristics of the domestic institutions common to all peoples and those peculiar to our own culture. In the next chapter we shall notice the result of changes in the other elements of our culture on the domestic institutions.

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Exercises

1. Illustrate preferential mating. Suggest reasons for the practice formerly current in our society of the suitor asking the father of a young lady for her hand in marriage.
2. What were the functions of the chaperon in courtship?
3. Do you believe that the chaperon should remain as a part of our institution of courtship? Give reasons.
4. Point out what are the criteria of attraction in the sex opposite your own. Make a list of those characteristics.
5. Analyze the function of "get-togethers," dances, parties, etc., and the activities which take place on those occasions as phases of the institution of courtship.
6. In what sense is it true that romantic love is an inadequate foundation on which to select a life partner and on which to establish a family?
7. Read some marriage ceremony and point out the significant symbolical features of that ceremony.
8. In your opinion what is the most important function of marriage?
9. At what age do you think people should get married?
10. What social function is served by the honeymoon?
11. In American society should a young married couple live with either of the in-laws? Why?
12. In your opinion does premarital experience operate for or against the general welfare?

chapter I 5 Domestic institutions: changing family patterns

Perhaps one of the most striking illustrations of the interrelation and interdependence of the various elements and institutions in a cultural configuration is to be found in the changes which have occurred during the last fifty years in the institution of the American family. In an earlier chapter under the head of blood-relationship groups we discussed the various types of family groups and attempted to familiarize the reader with the make-up of the typical American family as a social group. What, now, are the patterns that govern its behavior? These patterns have changed greatly during the past half-century, and these changes are more than accidentally connected with such changes in other aspects of American culture as urbanization, mechanization of industry and transportation, specialization of education, and the like.

Recent changes in the American family. Without attempting to make an exhaustive analysis and to include numerous local and class variations we may suggest some of the differences which exist between the modern American family institution and that of the nineteenth century in the following outline:

The Family Institution

Nineteenth Century

1. Objectives

- a. To produce children and to care for infants
- b. To approximate economic self-sufficiency, at least in a majority of consumption goods, through their production in the home
- c. To provide religious training

Contemporary

- a. To produce children—large part of infant care given to specialists
- b. Majority of consumption goods produced outside home
- c. Religious training largely outside home

*The Family Institution (Continued)***Nineteenth Century****Contemporary**

- d.* To provide large portion of child's secular education and training
- e.* To provide status and training for social roles for members, as group members
- f.* To provide social satisfactions for members—amusement, interaction of all sorts, etc.

2. Attitudes and behavior

- a.* Large number of children desirable and normal—children regarded as essential to functioning of family unit
- b.* Patriarchal authority — strict discipline
- c.* Work, particularly of women and children, confined to home
- d.* Religious instruction and activity in home—family participated in church as unit
- e.* Education in crafts and trades, some formal academic training
- f.* Pride in family as group and emphasis upon social roles, such as brother, sister, father, mother, etc.—identification of individual with family
- g.* Amusements, courting, and other social activities centered in home
- h.* Eating and sleeping almost invariably at home
- i.* Patronymic (members take father's family name)
- j.* Property inherited in family unless otherwise "willed"
- k.* "Puritanical" sex mores, little sex instruction

3. Utilitarian traits

- a.* Tendency toward large house; no plumbing, few conveniences

- d.* Child's secular training and education largely outside home
- e.* To provide status and training for social roles of members as individuals
- f.* Recreation and learned interactions occur outside home

- a.* Small number of children desirable and normal—children regarded as hampering individual activities
- b.* Democratic authority—individualism
- c.* More work outside home except house care and food preparation
- d.* Little religious activity or instruction—individual religious activity, if any
- e.* Almost all education outside home in specialized institutions
- f.* Emphasis upon individual roles in groups outside family—individual less identified in society with his family

- g.* Amusements, etc., tend to be engaged in outside home
- h.* Much eating and some sleeping outside home
- i.* Patronymic
- j.* Same
- k.* Increasingly liberal sex mores, more sex instruction

- a.* Small house or apartment; modern plumbing; modern conveniences

*The Family Institution (continued)***Nineteenth Century**

ences; equipment for economic activities such as baking, sewing, weaving, mechanical repairs, etc.

Contemporary

ences including laborsaving devices for housework, which enable women and children to work outside home or enjoy leisure—economic equipment otherwise absent

4. Symbolic traits

- a. Family parlor, symbol of family pride and affluence—family hearth (fireplace or kitchen stove symbol of family unity)
- b. Children's communal bedrooms and (sometimes) nursery
- c. Family Bible containing genealogy and family history
- d. Family photographs on walls and in parlor album

- a. Living room used individually, rather than by family as group

- b. Children's bedrooms tend to be separate, emphasizing individualism—nursery superseded by nursery schools, etc.

5. Tradition and ritual

- a. Family prayers
- b. Motto, coat-of-arms (relatively rare in America)
- c. Genealogy and family history
- d. Parental precepts, formalized address of children to parents

- a. Mothers' and fathers' days (trend toward commercialization)
- b. Relations between children and parents unritualized

Consider now some of the factors in American life which have contributed to the changes in the family institution and help to explain its present form.

Economic changes and their effects upon the family. As already observed, the family represents an early producing unit of society. In the definitely organized families of ancient times the product of the chase and the spontaneous products of the soil were brought to the homes to be held in common and to be distributed among the members of the household. Later, in the pastoral and agricultural economies, arose a family ownership of property. Lands, herds, and flocks belonged to the household, or expanded family. The house and all the more directly personal goods and chattels belonged to the small family group or else to the individual members of the group. In every instance the home became an economic center.

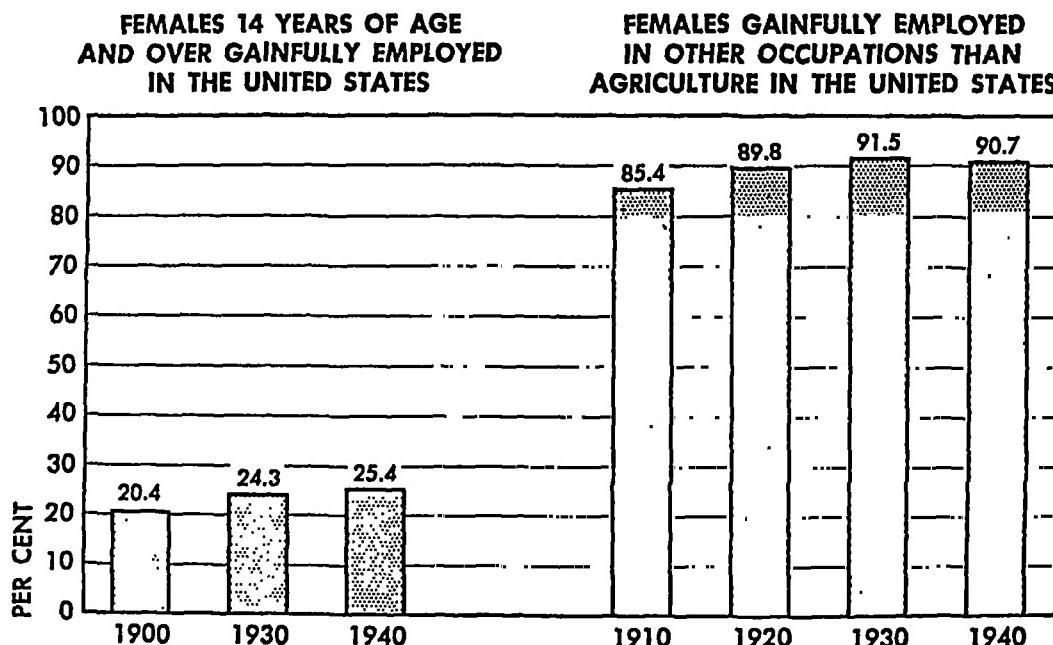
The economic unity of the family is well illustrated, too, in colonial times in America, when the weaving, spinning, and the making of garments were performed in the home and when, indeed, nearly all of the implements about the house and farm were of home manufacture. The early colonial family showed to a large extent the character of the primitive home before highly specialized division of labor and power manufacture had come into use. But even today there are many articles of wealth produced every year in American homes. This is seldom reckoned in the estimate of the wealth-producing power of the community, although the product of home manufacture amounts to millions of dollars a year, not to mention the fact that in our present factory system usually most, if not all, the adult members of the family are at work and share in the production of the family income. Although the income of a modern family generally flows through an individual who is the head of the family, others working faithfully in the preservation of that which is acquired and in its proper use, the family today is not so economically united as formerly.

The changes which have come into our economic life in the past fifty years have seriously affected family life. The increased earning capacity of women and the opportunities offered them to make their own living, by enabling them to be more independent, have impaired the old-time unity of the family group. Homes become places of domicile for individuals of the family, while each maintains his own share of the expenses and lives an independent economic life.

With the advent of factory life, however, and the consequent massing of laborers, the economic function of the home has become of steadily decreasing importance. Hence it has come to pass that millions of our women do their work outside the home. They spend their days in mill, office, and shop. Industry itself has well-nigh destroyed the economic basis of the home as a production unit. It has made the woman who has remained in the home more dependent economically. Her services are narrowed to the biological function of bearing children and the social function of rearing them. If she leaves the house in order to contribute to the support of the family (fulfilling again her primordial economic duty) under the new conditions, her functions as bearer and rearer of children are curtailed, in some cases eliminated.

The percentage of the female population fourteen years of age and over gainfully employed has increased from 20.4 per cent in 1900 to 24.3 per cent in 1930 and to 25.7 per cent in 1940. The proportion of these gainfully employed in other occupations than agriculture increased from 85.4 per cent in 1910 to 89.8 per cent in 1920 and to 91.5 per cent in 1930. In 1900, 18.4 per cent of the women bread earners were engaged in work which took them

out of their homes, and 18.8 per cent of all the women of the United States in that year were engaged in gainful occupations other than agriculture. In 1920 in the United States 22 per cent of the females ten years of age and over were in gainful occupations. In 1930 in manufactures and mechanical pursuits alone, 17.5 per cent of the wage earners of the United States were women over ten years of age, while of all persons over ten years of age engaged in gainful pursuits 22 per cent were women. In 1930 nearly one-eighth of the married women (11.7 per cent) were gainfully employed outside the home.¹



In 1940, of the females in the labor force fourteen years of age and over, 29.6 per cent had husbands and presumably homes to care for.²

Moreover, even as affecting the male members of the family, modern industry has had serious results upon the family and the home. Often it has taken the husband and father away so that he can no longer help to rear the family. He no longer is the important social factor in the family. Once he worked in his shop in the home. There his children played or, when old enough, worked with him. His presence was constantly a restraining and guiding influence. Now he works away from his home. Furthermore, the influence of the family and home upon the children has been much inter-

¹ Because of a change in the method of enumerating and analyzing the data in the 1940 census, like figures for the latter date are not available. See *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940*, Washington, 1943.

² *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Vol. III, Population: The Labor Force*. Washington, 1943, p. 26, Table 9.

ferred with by the change from the domestic to the factory system of industry. Once the children contributed to the support of the family by working with their parents. Now, if they share in the economic burdens of the family, they must leave its fostering care. The home, after age sixteen at latest, often becomes merely a boardinghouse. Illustrating the tendency of modern industry to take from the home the man as well as the woman is the fact that in 1940, over 79 per cent of the males fourteen years of age and over in the United States were engaged in occupations other than agriculture.³

On the other hand, fewer children are working outside the home now than fifty years ago. Whereas 18.1 per cent of all children between the ages of ten and fifteen were gainfully employed in 1890, the percentage has fallen to 4.7 per cent in 1930.⁴ What became of them? The school absorbed them. In the year 1938, 25,975,108 or more than 84 per cent of the 30,789,000 children of the country between the ages of five and seventeen were enrolled in public schools, thus removing them from the home.⁵ Another 7 per cent were attending private or parochial schools, a good number of which were boarding schools.

The extent to which economic activities have been taken out of the home is shown by several studies. In one sample study, it was shown that only one-fifth of the farmers' families, and only 1 per cent of the urban homes, depend solely upon homemade bread.⁶ Canning of fruits and vegetables is being increasingly done outside the home, even, apparently, during the depression when various community canning projects for indigent families were set up at social centers, school houses, etc. There seems to be a definite trend toward having laundry done outside the home, particularly in the case of urban families. The same is true of cleaning and dyeing, while the making of men's clothes outside the home was fairly well established in the early years of the century, and women's ready-made clothes became increasingly popular during the 1920's.

Recent figures are somewhat uncertain, owing to the unsettling influence of the depression. But there is no evidence yet available to indicate that the American tendency toward economic specialization has lessened to any appreciable extent or that the production of consumption goods is again being returned to the family. The amount of such goods bought during

³ *World Almanac, 1947*, The New York Herald-Tribune, New York, 1947, p. 776.

⁴ Hurlin, Ralph G., and Givens, Meredith B., "Shifting Occupational Patterns," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934, p. 277.

⁵ *World Almanac, 1941*, p. 550.

⁶ Ogburn, W. F., and Tibbitts, Clark, in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934, p. 664.

depression years has fallen, but there is every reason to believe that their production, except for mending or repairing, is still predominantly the function of factories rather than family groups.

Effects of other social changes upon the home. The school took out of the home for five days each week 84 per cent of the children between five and thirteen years of age in 1940. Even play is often impossible in connection with the home in cities.

The family ownership of the home of former days has been undergoing changes in recent years. In 1890 in the United States 34.1 per cent of farm homes, 63.1 per cent of other homes, and 52.2 per cent of all homes were rented. In 1900 the percentages for each of these classes of homes were respectively 35.6 per cent, 63.8 per cent, and 53.9 per cent. In 1910 the percentages showed that 37.2 per cent of farm homes, 61.6 per cent of other homes, and 54.2 per cent of all homes were rented by the occupants while in 1920 tenants held 38.1 per cent of the farms.⁷ In 1940, 56.4 per cent of all homes, 58.9 per cent of nonfarm homes, and 46.6 per cent of farm homes were rented. Thus from 1890 to 1920 there was a steady increase in the number of rented farm homes. More than half (56.4 per cent) of all families in the country lived in rented homes in 1940.⁸

This movement away from the ownership of the home was especially remarkable in the large centers of population. Of fifty cities of the United States in 1910 only one, Spokane, Washington, had less than half of its families living in rented houses. In thirty-nine of these cities fully three-fifths and in sixteen of them more than three-fourths of the homes were rented. In New York City as a whole, nearly nine-tenths (88.3 per cent) of the homes were rented. In the Borough of Manhattan alone in that city, less than 3 per cent of the families owned their homes.⁹ Practically the same situation prevailed in 1920,¹⁰ but some improvement was shown in 1930.

In 1940 in the Metropolitan district of New York-Northeastern New Jersey 23.6 per cent of the homes were owner-occupied.¹¹

Increasingly up to 1930 we were losing that attachment to one spot which has helped to make the home a stable institution. Not only is there much truth in the maxim "three moves are as bad as a fire," but socially the constant moving which a rented house incurs may be detrimental to family

⁷ *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, Vol. 1, p. 1295; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, Vol. 6, Part 1, p. 18.

⁸ *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Vol. II, Part I, Washington, 1943, p. 3; Table III.

⁹ *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, Vol. 1, p. 1298.

¹⁰ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, Vol. 2, pp. 1284, 1288.

¹¹ *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, Vol. 6, p. 57; *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Housing, Vol. II, Part I, p. 157, Table 89.

life. How much are the sentiments of loyalty to the home connected with constant attachment to one spot? Certainly, while mere physical contact with a pile of lumber or brick would not seem to engender the tender sentiments involved in love of home, yet in reality living in one spot, resulting as it does in the sense of familiarity with a place, has something to do with the origin and strength of these sentiments. Pride of appearance, sense of ownership, and development of interest in family affairs, other things being equal, have much better chance to develop when the family owns the home. Even more important are the results of frequent changes of dwelling upon friendships, which mean so much to developing children. While frequent moving necessitates the formation of new attachments and so multiplies contacts with different personalities and enlarges social experience, it is a question whether such changes do not interfere with the production of a stable character.

Liberalization of thought and its effect upon family ideals. It must not be forgotten that the tendency of the changes in the form of industry just discussed to bring about a change in the nature of the family has been supplemented by other influences. Once *political opinions* were formed in the home. The wide reading of newspapers and the rather general use of the radio have apparently broadened the contacts whereby political opinion is formed. The recent rise of the "mugwumps," the "insurgent," and the "progressive" shows a growing independence in political opinion in our American life.

This same independence of thought about fundamentals has shown itself in *religious matters*. Within the past forty years there has taken place in the minds of religious people in the United States a "liberalization" of thought along theological lines which has manifested itself most markedly in the lessening of interdenominational strife and a growing tendency to emphasize common rather than mutually distinctive denominational doctrines. Yet, the individual freedom which made possible in this country such a number of religious sects as in no other country in the world, has gone on multiplying sects in spite of the evident desire on the part of the older ones to get closer together. Both these tendencies have shown the freedom that characterizes our American life and thought. More than that, it is during the past forty years that the very foundations of belief have been put to question. There has occurred a veritable revolution in the acceptance of theological dogmas. The preaching of today is no more like that of a generation ago than the science of today is like that of the eighteenth century. Churches are revising their creeds; others, recognizing the far-reaching changes involved in the liberal tendency, are banning liberalism in theology. Individual judgment

in religious matters has gone so far that many people think that the very foundations of faith are being undermined.

In science also the most revolutionary changes have taken place since about 1850. Scarcely any opinion is held by scientists today which was the common teaching of science then. That is especially true of the biological sciences, but almost as true of the rest. Darwin gave an impetus to the scientific spirit which has not yet ended in its revolutionary results, but



The changing family

Home was like this not so long ago: a typical evening scene showing an American family around the sitting-room table after supper. Four generations are present. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

which already has swamped the old world of scientific notions. It has become the scientific attitude to treat with a critical spirit old theories as well as new ones. The critical spirit is the proper spirit of the scientific investigator. It is only by having an open mind that any progress is made in the discovery of new truth. During this time everything has been questioned. First "natural" science fell under the light from the new point of view, and then every other phase of human life subject to investigation and speculation gradually came under the spell of the spirit of doubt and inquiry. Once all was settled. Now much is uncertain. These changes in science and

the introduction of the scientific spirit have had their repercussions on the family.

Likewise in *education* great changes have come. Here, too questions impossible a half-century ago are being asked about our school system. The American school, for so many years the palladium of our liberties and the shibboleth of the orator, has fallen upon evil days. Once a sacred institution not to be questioned, but to be worshipped, now it is the football in the center of every educational scrimmage! Everywhere there is questioning and change in educational methods.

This same spirit is abroad in all spheres of life. Doubt of the old and search for new foundations are everywhere manifest. They have reached even the *family*. That institution, which we once thought was created in the Garden of Eden, exists in quite different forms in other and more primitive countries. Careful study has made it clear, as was shown in the preceding chapter, that among different peoples there have developed various forms of the family. These have become known. It was easy to connect them with this questioning spirit of the age. These two influences, coupled with the change which has been going on in the economic basis of the family and with the new freedom which has risen on the horizon of the weaker sex, have produced dire results for the sanctions of the family tie.

Decreasing size of family. For more than a century the American family has been decreasing in size. In 1790, when the first census was taken, the American family consisted of an average of 5.7 individuals; in 1850, 5.6; in 1900, 4.7; in 1930, 4.1 and in 1940, 3.78 persons per occupied housing unit. Many of these "families" as enumerated by the census were actually households, including unrelated members. More striking than decrease in average size is the decrease in the proportions of very large families and a corresponding increase in small families. Proportionately there were five times as many families in 1790 with ten or more members as there were in 1930. On the other hand families consisting of one and two members were almost three times as numerous proportionately in 1930 as in 1790. In 1930 only 0.9 per cent of all families included ten or more members. The largest single class consisting of 23.4 per cent of all families, included only two persons, representing newly married couples, childless couples, or remnants of larger families, and perhaps reflecting the tendency to postpone childbearing in marriage. Second in order of precedence came the three-person family with about one-fifth (20.8 per cent) of all families in this class.¹²

¹² Parten, Mildred, and Reeves, Ruby J., "Size and Composition of American Families," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 638-649.

The decline in the childbearing and rearing functions of the family is indicated by the census figures on children in families. In 1930 well over half (58.8 per cent) of all families in the United States had no children under ten years of age. More than one of every three families (38.8 per cent) was composed entirely of persons over twenty-one years of age. Nearly one-fifth (19.2 per cent) of the families had only one child under ten years of age; 11.8 per cent had two children; 6 per cent had three children; while only 4.1 per cent had four or more children less than ten. Indicative of the decreasing size of the family are facts revealed by the census. In 1910, of the women 15 to 74 years old who had been married, 13.6 per cent had never had any children, whereas in 1940 they numbered 20.3 per cent. The percentages of such women who had up to four children increased from 1910 to 1940, but the percentage of those who had had more than four steadily decreased.¹³

Obviously the large family is no longer popular. Only 1,000,000 of the total of nearly 30,000,000 families had six or more children under twenty-one years of age.

The largest families are found in the South Atlantic states and the smallest in the Pacific area. In 1930 the South Atlantic area was outstanding in families with large numbers of children. The largest families in the country as a whole occur in rural farm areas and the smallest in cities. The median size of the blood-related family in farm areas was 4.02; in cities, 3.26. The popular impression that Negro families are large is not borne out by the census figures. Median size of native white families was 3.34, while that of the Negro was only 3.15. Foreign-born whites, on the other hand, outstrip both with a median size of 3.74.

It is interesting to note that home-owning families are larger than renting families. The median size of the former in 1930 was 3.49; of the latter, 3.35. In rural areas, however, the tenant families are larger.¹⁴

From the standpoint of the family's welfare, there are two different and seemingly opposing sets of circumstances which should be faced. The smaller the size of the family, the better the care and the more money that can be spent on the children. That means better clothing, more good food, education carried further, and a better chance to get the higher paid jobs. Moreover, it is claimed that it means better training in the home. The mother has more time and strength to lavish on each child. On the other hand, it is a question whether the child who is reared in the home with

¹³ Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910, Washington, 1943, pp. 2 and 3, Table I.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

adults or with only one other child enjoys the same socializing influence which is the privilege of the youngster reared in a large family. The give-and-take of child democracy is often lacking in the small family. One has only to observe in rural districts the greater family affection manifested by the members of large families than that seen in families with few children. In this case, however, as in so many similar ones, much depends on the conditions of life in the two kinds of families. Without a doubt, the child reared in the small needy family is better off than the children of a large family in similar circumstances. When they can all stay in the home and be adequately cared for, probably it is best for children to be reared in a large family. On the other hand, where there are so many that the older ones are driven to work in some shop or factory at the earliest possible age, huddled into small and ill-kept rooms called a home, forced to get their recreation and do their courting on the street or at least outside the home, it is quite certain that the large family of children has no advantage over the type with only one child.¹⁵

No doubt the present tendency toward small families has a direct connection with the changed attitude with respect to the home and especially the family. When there were available in the United States free farms, when there was great need for men to people and subdue the wilderness, and when either farming or the domestic system of manufacture was the method of making a living, a large family was an asset. Moreover, large families had the benefit of a religious sanction. "Children of the youth are a heritage from the Lord; blessed is the man that hath his quiver full of them," was Scripture, and also good economics. Moreover, it accorded well with the habits of the European peasants who had peopled the colonies. Without a doubt there has developed in the last half-century a consciousness of the economic and social advantages of the small family brought about in many cases by deliberate limitation of the number of children. At any rate family limitation has increased.

Factors in the smaller family. The smaller biological family results from a lower birth rate, or from the survival of larger numbers of aged people. The number of births per 1,000 population per year has steadily declined in the United States from an estimated 37.0 for the period 1871 to 1875 to a recorded 16.8 for the year 1935. This trend has been noticeable also in European countries, for example, Sweden, England, Italy, France, and Germany. Recently the United States birth rate was lower than that of any of these countries with the exception of England (14.7) and France

¹⁵ Breckenridge, S. P., and Abbott, E., *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, Charities Publication Association, New York, 1912, Ch. 7.

(15.2).¹⁶ Various factors may contribute to this decline in birth rate. In 1941 the rate had risen to 17.9 per 1,000 population, and in 1943 to 21.5 in the registration area.

1. *Later age of marriage* might, as John Stuart Mill and others suggested, affect the number of children per family by decreasing the length of the childbearing period. The age at which marriage takes place is, as we have seen, largely a cultural matter. Between 1890 and 1920 the census showed a steady increase in the proportionate numbers of individuals married in the age group fifteen to nineteen inclusive. But in the middle of the 1920's a decline in marriage in this age group set in, so that in the 1930 census all classes of individuals in this age group, except rural females, showed fewer marriages than in 1920.¹⁷ The decline in the birth rate, however, had begun much earlier than the 1920's, so we are forced to seek other causal factors.

2. *Sterility induced by vice, disease, and other pathological conditions* may have had some effect in lowering the birth rate, although information regarding the extent of this factor is far from complete. It has been estimated that at least a million and a half persons each year seek treatment for either early syphilis or gonorrhea. Data collected by the American Social Hygiene Association show that probably double this number buy patent remedies or patronize quacks for these diseases. Estimates of the actual number of the population infected at any one time vary so widely as to be useless for our purposes, but there is general agreement that the problem is no minor one.¹⁸ Venereal disease may affect the number of children in the family in several ways. (a) It is estimated that venereal disease is the cause of from 23 to 50 per cent of sterility in marriage.¹⁹ (b) It is a frequent cause for the postponement of marriage, especially in those states which enforce their laws against the marriage of infected persons. (c) Venereal disease leads directly or indirectly to breakup of the family before the end of the childbearing period in many cases. All of this is in addition to the evil effects of such infections upon children born of such marriages. Also syphilis is one of the important causes of stillbirths.

¹⁶ Lotka, Alfred J., "Modern Trends in the Birth Rate," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 188, November, 1936, pp. 1-13.

¹⁷ Stouffer, Samuel A., and Spencer, Lyle M., "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 188, November, 1937, p. 60.

¹⁸ Snow, William F., "Venereal Diseases and Sex Abnormalities in Relation to Population Growth," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 188, November, 1936, pp. 70-77.

¹⁹ Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

3. The question of the effect of certain poisons on the vigor of the children born of parents addicted to their use is unsettled. There is a general belief, however, held by many medical men that such poisons do tend to cause weakness of the offspring, if not sterility of the parents. These beliefs are based for the most part upon experiments on animals. Hodge found that cocker spaniels given a certain amount of alcohol each day showed a greater tendency to have deformed or weak progeny than a pair to which no alcohol was given. Out of twenty-three puppies born to the alcoholic pair, only 17.4 per cent were viable, while out of forty-five puppies born to the nonalcoholic pair, 90.2 per cent were viable. Moreover, of the twenty-three puppies of the alcoholic pair, eight were born deformed and nine were born dead, while of the forty-five nonalcoholic dogs, only four were deformed and none was born dead. In connection with the published results of these experiments, Hodge published the results of an investigation by Demme on alcoholic and nonalcoholic families, showing similar results on human progeny.²⁰

Certainly the experiment on the dogs under strict scientific control is significant. One cannot be so sure with reference to the families reported on by Demme. It must be added, moreover, that some more recent investigations by Pearson and his students and assistants at the Galton Laboratory at the University of London have not shown any positive relationship between alcoholism and weakness in the children.²¹

4. *Social influences which play upon woman* may reduce her effective fecundity. By this term is meant her ability not only to bring children into the world but to give them that measure of vitality and care which will enable them to reach maturity. It is probable that the occupation of women in factories without adequate safeguards for health, especially in the case of married women, results in great infant mortality, and thus reduces their effective fecundity. The important thing in this connection is not the number born but the number reared to maturity. Several studies have been reported bearing upon this problem. Dr. Rosalie S. Morton of New York city made an investigation in that city of the effect of work in stores, shops, and factories upon the health of women. She came to the conclusion that "women may work in practically any field of modern industry, and not only retain but increase their standard of health. But they must be given hygienic

²⁰ Billings, J. S., *Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1903, Vol. 1, pp. 373, 374.

²¹ Elderton, E. M., *A First Study of the Influence of Parental Alcoholism on the Physique and Ability of the Offspring*, Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs, University of London, London, Vol. 10, 1910.

and properly arranged buildings in which to work, and they and their employers taught the common sense of the laws of health."²² Dr. George Reid, the county medical officer, Staffordshire, England, in reporting an investigation in six pottery towns in that county, showed that the deaths of children under one year of age born to "home mothers" was 146 per 1,000 births, while of those born to mothers working in factories or away from home during the day the rate rose to 209. He also found that women working in lead works showed a much greater tendency to miscarriages and still-births.²³ Dr. John Robertson, health officer of Birmingham, England, in an inquiry covering the women in one of the poorest sections of Birmingham, where the population was of very much the same status economically and socially and where just half the married women of childbearing age worked outside the home, found that 52 per 1,000 of the women employed before confinement gave birth to children prematurely, in comparison with 38 per 1,000 of those who were not thus employed. Yet the mortality of infants of employed mothers was less than that of those who were not employed. Unhealthy conditions of the infants a year old occurred in the proportion, moreover, of 57 in the case of the children of employed mothers to 63 among the children of unemployed mothers. He came to the conclusion, nevertheless, that unfavorable conditions growing out of poverty in the family were much more inimical to the welfare of the children of these people in that part of Birmingham than employment outside the home.²⁴ In America an investigation at Fall River, Massachusetts, showed that the proportion of deaths of the infants of working mothers in that city from diarrhea, enteritis, and gastritis—the diseases which caused more than two-thirds of the deaths—was over 80 per cent in excess of that of infants whose mothers remained at home.²⁵ Moreover, those homes where the women do not work are better kept; the men are more sober—though that may mean either that men are sober on account of the good home, or that wives of intemperate husbands work in order to eke out a living for the family; the children are better cared for, are healthier; and the family ties are stronger.²⁶ Several studies by the United States Federal Children's Bureau have shown the high infant mortality rate when the mother is employed, especially outside her home. In all these cases, however, the correlation of high infant death rate with employment of the mother is uncertain because

²² *Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography*, Washington, 1913, Vol. 3, p. 941.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 945-946.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 949, 950.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 952. Cadbury, Edward, Matheson, M. C., and Shaw, George, *Women's Work and Wages*, Unwin, London, 1906, Ch. 8. Breckenridge and Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

in most cases when the mother works it means that the income of the father is insufficient to support the family without her help; hence, the cause may be poverty in the home instead of the mother's employment. In any case the facts show that inadequate income reduced the effective fecundity of wives.²⁷

More recent studies indicate that the high infant mortality rate among employed mothers who feel compelled to work is due partly to the fact that because of inadequate family income they do not receive the proper prenatal, natal, and postnatal care. The Social Security Act, one section of which allots Federal funds to the states to be spent in providing better care of mothers and infants, has begun to show some results. But the amounts appropriated are quite inadequate. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill introduced in Congress was intended to provide more adequate medical and nursing care for all low-income families. Something of that kind should help in the solution of the problem.

5. *Education of women and the size of the family.* Several studies have been made which purport to prove that the education of women has had a very serious influence on the decrease of the birth rate among such women. Ample evidence is available to indicate that contraception is better understood and, on the average, more widely practiced by educated women. As regards college women, their graduation usually postpones their date of marriage. It has been shown, however, not that fecundity of college women is less than that of women in the same social class who have not gone through college, but that fewer of the college women marry, and so the average number of children for college women is unusually low. In fact, college women who marry seem to be as fecund as other women who have not had a college education.²⁸

6. *Birth control.* When all these things are said, however, there yet remains the most important consideration of all. The causes of the declining birth rate in this country and throughout the Western world are twofold. People limit the birth rate voluntarily either because *they do not want children* or because *they think they cannot afford to have them*. Those who do not want them are the women and men who have social ambitions. Children are an interference with the social or business plans of the man and with the social program of the woman. Such people cannot well do the things which

²⁷ See U. S. Children's Bureau Publications, Infant Mortality Series, Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11.

²⁸ Emerick, Charles F., "College Women and Race Suicide," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24, pp. 269-283; Notestein, Frank W., "Class Differences in Fertility," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, No. 188, November, 1936, pp. 26-36.

they are wont to do or wish to do and still have children. On the other hand, the working woman feels that she cannot have both children and a job. The job is essential; therefore children are not wanted. These same motives actuate families of the middle class. Because of the style of living to which both the husband and wife are accustomed they feel that a family cannot be undertaken until such time as the business or profession has been established that will insure the same standard or a better one to their children; therefore, the family is postponed, with the result that they have few children or none at all.

7. *The woman's movement and the size of the family.* The woman's movement probably has had some effect in limiting the size of the family. Certain leaders have been loudly agitating for a limitation of the size of the family. Some have even gone so far as to urge that many women should not marry at all. Others have urged that a family should not have more than two children. This doctrine grows out of the doubts and questionings of the twentieth century. It has found an echo in the heart of many a woman. Why should she have children when so many more children will be borne in any case by the "lower classes"? Her children are not needed to keep up the population of the world. Of course, it is hardly necessary to point out that such an argument bears only on the quantitative needs of the world with reference to population. It does not touch the question of quality.

8. *Physical degeneracy and the size of the family.* Some students of the decline of the birth rate in American families have assumed that the reason for it is a supposed degeneracy or running out of the stock. It is argued that the preservation of the weaker individuals, both men and women, by reason of the measures taken by modern hygiene in lessening a selective death rate which would have weeded out many people with weak constitutions, has preserved a stock that naturally is relatively infertile. It is quite possible that the survival of the physiologically weak may lower the birth rate, although we know of no careful studies which throw light upon the question. The suggestion, however, is worthy of scientific investigation. The fact is certain enough that in some states the native white stock has a birth rate that is insufficient to keep up the population. The primary causes, however, are probably such economic and social causes as have been reviewed, rather than any inherent constitutional defects analogous to those which cause individual decline.

Thus it becomes probable that the causes which have affected the family in the last century in the United States are largely social and economic in their nature. While physiological factors may have affected the birth rate

to a certain extent, psychological factors and social considerations have played a much more important role. So far as we have reviewed the evidence, the chief changes in the family are in its decreasing size and its altered functions.

Functions of the contemporary family. Most of the *economic functions* of the family have been taken over by outside institutions. The use of electrical gadgets and laborsaving machinery has reduced the amount of work done in the home, even in the tasks of housekeeping, at least in middle-class families. It is no longer the pattern for the individual members to work in the home, but if they work at all, they tend to seek employment outside.

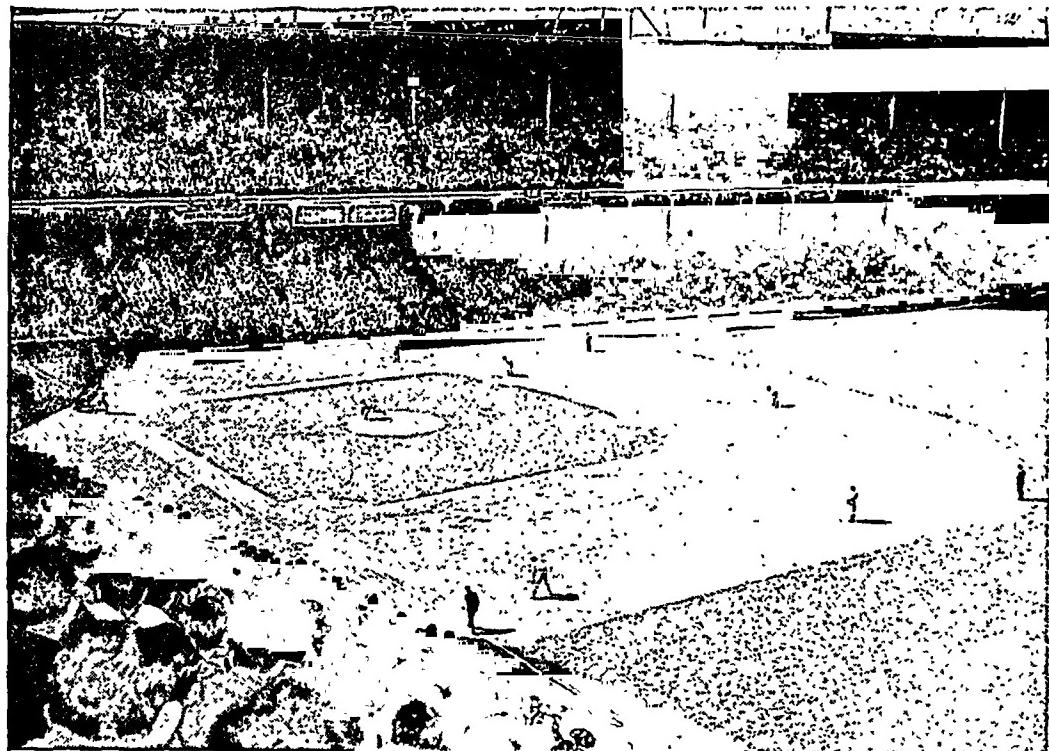
The *religious functions* of the family have tended to disappear. This has in part been due to the decline in general interest in religion, in part to the pattern of individualized, diversified interests characteristic of the contemporary family. Opportunities for getting together for religious worship as a group have declined.

Education has largely been moved outside the home. With the increased use of nursery schools and kindergartens, much of even the early training of the child has been taken over by specialists. The trend toward the small house with little or no play yard has also tended to put the children on the streets or on the public playground during their leisure time, further removing them from the influence of the parents. The fact that the father and in many cases the mother, also, work outside the home has necessarily limited their contributions to the child's education.

Recreational facilities are now largely sought outside the family circle. The difficulty of getting members together is one factor in this change. The smallness of the living quarters and lack of recreational facilities at home has tended to make the members seek diversion elsewhere. The development of relatively cheap commercial entertainment in the form of movies, professional athletics, etc., plus the comparative ease of modern transportation, has lured the family members away from the home hearth. These outside amusements tend to be organized on age lines to some extent, thus hindering the family participation in them as a unit. Two inventions, the automobile and the radio, have some possibilities of keeping the family together during leisure hours, but the competition of other means of amusement has been very strong.

The *protective functions* of the family, for example, the care of the sick and the aged, are still preserved, but are being steadily encroached upon by specialized institutions such as the hospital, old peoples' homes, old-age pensions, and the like.

In summary, it appears that the family institution is falling into a pattern in which reproduction and individual personality development remain the two established functions. With the decline of the patriarchal pattern, the individuals find in the family an institution where their individual personalities may be molded. The institutionalized patterns of the modern family are aimed toward the development of individualism and self-sufficiency. The child is treated as a person; the parents each tend to regard themselves as individuals, rather than "as one flesh." The members of the family



Recreation is now sought largely outside the home
A baseball game at Ebbets Field. (Photo by Brown Bros..)

no longer regard the future as hopeless once they are removed from the family circle, but they do regard the family as a group where they may develop the self-reliance and assurance which will enable them to make their way in the world outside. This trend in institutional patterns is perhaps largely responsible for the relative instability of the modern family. Not only is divorce, as we have seen, a relatively common occurrence, but the mobility of the family has increased both socially and geographically in recent times. It is no longer unusual for a family to move from one town to another, from one neighborhood to another, as well as to move upward or downward in the social scale. The result has been that the

status-giving functions of the institution have suffered to some extent. The average family is no longer so closely identified with a particular locality or particular social position, as was the case fifty years ago. The individual is often able to achieve a social status with little help from his family. The large numbers of individuals who have established themselves on a plane of society different from that of their family of orientation make it appear that improvement of the individual's social status, independently of that of his family of orientation, is a regular part of the pattern. The saga of the self-made man who returns to his old home to set his poverty-stricken parents up in luxury for their remaining days is a part of American folklore. This emphasis upon individualism, the idea that the individual can "get along" independently of his family, naturally contributes to the instability of the latter group.²⁹ We do not mean to insinuate that all traces of the older functions of the family have disappeared. Our purpose is to indicate the trend as ascertained from numerous scientific studies and to show the changes which are affecting the institution.

The cultural configuration and the family. We remarked at the opening of this chapter upon the interrelationship between institutions in a culture. This is well-illustrated in the case of the contemporary family. It seems obvious in view of what has already been stated that the several institutional changes in American culture have been intimately associated with synchronous changes in the institution of the family. Among these we may mention (1) industrial specialization and factory pattern of production with increased use of money and credit instruments, (2) the institutionalization of education, (3) the institutionalization of recreation and amusements, (4) development of communication and transportation inventions, and so on. These and many other institutional changes in American culture have brought about a period of cultural and social flux. The family has not been immune to these influences, and the shifts and rearrangements of its institutional patterns which we have attempted to sketch in this chapter have been to some extent the result.

The family as it faced the Industrial Revolution a century ago in Europe and more recently in the United States, had written all over it, "Made in the country." It was adapted to pastoral and rural life. Plunged suddenly into a city and industrial social order, it has shown signs of disorganization because it was not well adapted to the changed circumstances. There are some signs that gradually it is becoming modified to fit the new cultural situation.

²⁹ Every student should read Ogburn and Tibbitts' excellent chapter on this subject in *Recent Social Trends*, Ch. 18.

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Exercises

1. What influence has the widespread use of the automobile had upon family life in the United States? Illustrate.
2. Since at the most, according to the text, only 22 per cent of the gainful workers in the United States in 1930 were women, and only 11.7 per cent of married women were gainfully employed outside the home in that year, on what grounds can we justify the statement that the industrialization of the country has affected the modern family?
3. Since the percentage of children between the ages of ten and fifteen has decreased from 18.1 per cent gainfully employed in 1890 to 4.7 per cent in 1930, in what sense can we say that changes in economic conditions have affected the relationship of children to the family?
4. Could more women be employed in industry without affecting the proper care of their children in the home? Explain.
5. Do you know of any clear evidence of inimical results in family life due to the lack of ownership of a home?
6. Has the decrease of religious instruction in the home had any damaging results on the efficiency of the home as a social institution? Explain.
7. What results on the home have you observed resulting from the liberalization of thought at the present time?
8. Discuss the pros and cons of the effect of the decreasing size of the family upon functions of domestic institutions.
9. What if any has been the effect on the family institution of late marriages on the part of educated young people?
10. Do you think that the financial hazards of young people marrying today are greater than those which faced your grandparents? Explain.
11. Does the contemporary family institution fit into the total social configuration as well as did the family of the colonial period in this country?

chapter I 6 Economic institutions

In Chapter 12 we touched upon economic activities and the groups which grow up about these interests. Because they are directly concerned with the problems of "getting a living" and therefore bear on the whole question of the survival of the individual and the group, economic activities occupy a prominent place in all societies. They have to do with the production, accumulation, distribution, and consumption of wealth. Economic institutions are those unit groups of traits and complexes which are organized around some particular objective or set of objectives in this field.

Economic institutions are not of a separate and independent nature. They are a part of the culture complex of a people. By this we mean that economic institutions are the products of a given culture and are affected in their nature, structure, and functioning by all the other elements in the culture. For example, the historical role of the family in getting and using economic goods even today affects the economic structure and function. So with the historical role of religion in the economic process. Economic institutions bear the marks of every other aspect of social life. They in turn affect the nature, structure, and function of every other institution—the family, religion, morals, education, etc. Since that is the case, economic institutions cannot be discussed in terms of mere logic or an analysis of pure theory. They must be examined in connection with their development in the whole social structure.

Factors affecting economic patterns. A remarkable discrepancy exists in the economic patterns of different societies, and it may be worth while to inquire what factors bear upon them. (1) Natural resources and environment exercise a limiting influence upon them. For obvious reasons we do not find the Eskimo of the Arctic practicing agriculture. The Indians of the Western Hemisphere never practiced plough agriculture because there were no animals in the regions adapted to agriculture which could be domesticated for this purpose. (2) The degree of technological advance-

ment of the culture affects the economic activities. For example, a group, such as the pre-Columbian Chippewa Indians in the Mesabi range, ignorant of the techniques of smelting metals, was none the richer for the presence of large deposits of ore in their territory. A hunting-and-gathering group, having little surplus, engages in less trade than an agricultural group, and a purely agricultural group is less commercial than one which has some development of industries and a surplus of products. The degree of technical advancement depends, remember, upon two factors in addition to geography: invention within the culture and borrowings made through contact with foreign cultures. (3) The dominating interests of the culture, reflected particularly in religious, political, and social organization, influence the forms of economic activities. A society organized around blood relationship into sibs tends to place small emphasis upon the individualistic "go getting" type of economic behavior. In a society in which magic or animism or certain other religious beliefs play a large part, economic activities are strongly affected by these beliefs. A homogeneous society has economic patterns differing from one organized into classes or castes.

Some aspects of primitive economics

It is very difficult to generalize about the economic patterns and institutions of primitive peoples, differing as they do among themselves in geographical situation and in the whole social organization. The following general remarks apply perhaps to the majority of primitive tribes, but not to all.

1. There is a greater tendency to confuse economic, religious, and magical activities in primitive societies than in our own. The primitive man tries to ensure success in complicated economic undertakings by certain ritual acts, such as practicing magic, observing omens and portents, and consulting oracles. Instead of putting fertilizer on the ground the Carib joins in a ceremony to the spirit of the cassava. The Trobriand man before starting out on a *kula* trading expedition, makes elaborate preparations of his canoe and equipment, employing magic through numerous ceremonies supposed to placate all sorts of dangerous influences and powers.¹

2. An absence, on the whole, of desire to make profits either from production or exchange is a characteristic of primitive economics. Quality and kind of real articles, rather than abstract values, are emphasized. This is connected with the two factors which we mention immediately below.

3. Primitive economics are mostly direct. That is, there is no money

¹ Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Routledge, London, 1922, *passim*.

or rigidly standardized system of measuring values. When something in the nature of money does exist, it takes the form of such actual standards of value as cattle, hoes (East Africa), mats (Melanesia), various types of shells (Africa, North America, Melanesia). The media of exchange are objects which can actually be used. Without an accurate system of abstract monetary values profits play a minor part in primitive economic thinking.

4. In primitive society, accumulation of property when it exists is usually attended by social connotations. That is, it is not unusual for an individual or group to accumulate wealth with little regard to the *material* exchange which it will bring—for fur coats, cars, houses in Palm Beach, etc.—but rather with a view toward the social satisfaction which its distribution will entail. Thus the important man among the Kwakiutl of British Columbia accumulated large stores of blankets and fish oil simply for the pleasure of being able to destroy them in the fire at a *potlach* feast and thus raise his prestige. The elaborate accumulations of yams made in the Trobriands and other Melanesian communities are often piled up only to be admired, for the major portion of them rot before they can be used. Exchanges and gifts are made, but reciprocal gifts are expected, much as we give a dinner party in our society with no notion of "profits," but feel slighted if the compliment is not returned by our guests after a proper interval. Accumulation of property is not known in some simple cultures living close to nature, but in those which are able to accumulate a surplus its usage tends to be involved more with the social organization than with purely economic activities, as understood in our society; and the motivations usually differ.

5. Private property is known and recognized in almost all primitive societies, particularly with respect to articles which are made or used by individuals. But the individual frequently has to rely upon his membership in a family or sib for economic undertakings, such as payments for initiation into a secret society, providing exchange in return for a wife, accumulating property for a *potlach*, etc. Property is perhaps more often held by social groups as groups in primitive society than in our own. Clan pasturages, family hunting grounds, village fishing areas, and the like are characteristic of primitive societies. Taken as a whole, primitive society is no more "communistic," in the strict sense of the word, than is modern society, but group ownership is more prevalent.

6. Since money with abstract value is little used in primitive societies, middlemen and professional traders, while not unknown, are less characteristic than in our own society. Distribution, when it does not take the form of direct exchange between two producers, is characteristically tied

up with social exchanges, with politics in the form of levies and taxes redistributed by the chiefs, or with customs of generosity and reciprocal sharing. Most primitive economic systems provide no social role analogous to those played in our society by traders who obtain their entire livelihood from the exchange of goods without having any hand in their production.²

Civilized economic institutions

It is difficult to pick out for analysis the economic institutions in different periods in the development of society, because social evolution from primitive to civilized life is not a clear-cut matter. This evolution took place over so long a period of time and by such slow stages, and each succeeding generation of mankind is so affected by the traditional way of doing things, that it is only in the larger affairs of human life that differences appear. The traditional way of doing things in one generation inevitably carries over to the next. New ways are introduced and gradually modify the traditional ways. The change usually is so slow that a new institution may appear, yet seem very much like the old. In spite of these difficulties, however, it is possible to study the economic institutions of different periods and describe the essential features. In the interest of clarity we shall discuss some aspects of medieval European and of modern economic institutions.

The list of institutions is by no means complete. The ones selected are intended to give the student some conception of how economic institutions have changed from age to age and something of their essential nature.

Some aspects of medieval European economic institutions

Feudalism. Consider first the economic institutions of feudalism and those which arose upon the decline of feudalism up to the time of the Industrial Revolution. Feudalism as a system of social relationships grew up on the ruins of the Roman Empire following the barbarian invasions. The whole social structure was changed because of the breakdown of government and the consequent disorder of every kind. The barbarians came in with their tribal system of relationships and took possession of the land. In the course of time out of this disorder there developed a system of relationships which we now call *feudalism*. The name is derived from the Latin word *foedum* later called *fief*. The fief was a portion of land

² See Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Societies*, Oxford University Press, London, 1932; Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, Ch. 9; Bunzell, "The Economic Organization of Primitive Peoples," in *General Anthropology*, F. Boas, editor, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1938.

given by someone who claimed control of it into the care of someone else who actually worked it.

Even in late Roman times when the political and economic order was undergoing rapid transformation and there were many individuals who had no way of making a living and protecting themselves from the encroaching barbarians, it became the practice for such individuals to commend themselves to the protection of stronger and wealthier individuals for protection and for sustenance. This was similar to a practice among the German tribes known as *comitatus*.

a. *Comitatus*. It is out of a usage, *comitatus*, and the practices connected with it in the late Roman Empire that the ceremony of homage and the feudal obligations grew. Tacitus described this relationship among the Germans. It was a practice among these German tribes for the young warriors to pledge their fidelity to a popular chieftain. He on his side agreed to support his faithful followers against all enemies. It was this relationship together with the *beneficium*, or the granting of the fief to the vassal, which resulted in the fundamental institutions of feudalism.

In earlier feudalism the lord and vassal were partners in the economic life of the feudal manor. The lord furnished protection to the vassal and assigned to him portions of land to cultivate; the vassal on his part served the lord in war and worked on the lord's demesne a certain number of days each week. This gave rise to what was called the *beneficium*.

b. *Beneficium*. The *beneficium* is the old Latin term describing the practice in the later Roman Empire of small landowners, either for the good of their souls or for material protection, turning over to a monastery their lands and receiving them back for use on the payment of a small sum each year. It is equivalent to the term *usufruct*, the latter being used in the full development of feudalism. The term *beneficium* was supplanted later in those countries which adopted Frankish customs by the term *fief*.⁸ The vassal had access to the forests for wood and game, to the common pasture land, and to the streams for fish. In the full development of feudalism there was a fixed ceremony and form whereby an individual became the lord's vassal. In this ceremony was an oath of allegiance to the lord with a promise to pay the feudal dues and services. On the lord's part there was a contract to provide certain benefits to the vassal.

The two leading institutions of fully developed European feudalism were (1) vassalage and (2) the fief.

⁸ See Robinson, James Harvey, *History of Western Europe*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1903, p. 105, and Bloch, Marc, "Feudalism" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, Vol. 6, pp. 205, 206.

1. *Vassalage.* Vassalage is the institution which described the relationship in which the man inferior in wealth and status stood to his lord. Although the obligations of the vassal varied greatly at different times and in different places, in general it may be said that they included the obligation not to attack or injure his lord in honor or estate, nor to oppose his interests in any other manner. It also included the obligation to join the lord in any military expedition and to serve at his own expense for not more than forty days. The vassal might also be required to help guard the castle of his lord and to attend the lord's court when summoned. At the lord's court he was privileged to sit with the other vassals, to hear and to pronounce judgment upon cases in which his fellow vassals were involved. Further, he was obligated to attend his lord upon solemn occasions. He also, under certain circumstances, was required to make money payments to his lord, e.g., when the fief changed hands through the death of the vassal or when it was otherwise alienated, when the lord was put to extra expense for the knighting of his eldest son or providing a dowry for his daughter, or when he was held for ransom in captivity. This was the *taille* or *tallage*. Finally, the vassal was obligated to entertain his lord when the latter visited him. On the other hand, the lord was required to protect the vassal in the use of his fief against other lords or against fellow vassals. He was also supposed to look after the vassal's general welfare.

2. *The fief.* The fief was the central economic institution of feudalism, and it is from the equivalent of that term (*foedum*) that feudalism derives its name. Originally in feudalism the fief consisted of land. The use of it in perpetuity was granted by the lord to the person who became his vassal. It was in connection with the granting and accepting of the fief that homage occurred. This was the ceremony by which the fief was bestowed upon the vassal, and the individual receiving it became the vassal of the lord granting the fief. The individual about to become the vassal of a lord knelt before the latter, placed his hands between those of the lord, and declared himself the lord's man for such and such a fief. That was *homage*. The lord then gave this man who knelt before him the kiss of peace and raised him from the kneeling posture. Then the vassal took an oath of fidelity solemnly promising to fulfill all his duties toward his lord. Usually this ceremony was held whenever the fief changed hands.

In late feudalism money fiefs grew up. The lord sometimes found it inconvenient to depend upon the military services of his landed vassal; consequently in the thirteenth century the feudal lords began to grant money fiefs to individuals who became a sort of standing army. Also it should be noticed that in the course of time the feudal dues, such as a

part of the grain or a part of the livestock, paid by the vassal to the lord, were supplanted by money payments by the vassal.

A subordinate institution which developed in the period of full feudalism—*subinfeudation*—must be briefly described:

3. *Subinfeudation*. As feudalism developed, it became the practice of some of the larger landowners who had obtained their fiefs from their superiors to sublet portions of their fiefs to other vassals. This, as can readily be seen, created a chain of relationships. The subvassal owed allegiance and dues to his lord. That same lord might be the vassal of some other person from whom he had received his fief. Consequently it often happened that some of the vassals owed obligations to more than one lord. This gave rise to difficulties when the two lords to whom a man was a vassal got into trouble with each other. This institution proved to be one of the weaknesses of historic feudalism which contributed to its downfall. William the Conqueror in England remedied this anomalous condition by requiring that every vassal swear primary allegiance to him, and that oath took precedence over any oath which he had sworn to another lord.

Economic institutions from the decline of feudalism to the industrial revolution

In picking out individual institutions which appear characteristic of this period, one must not forget that some of them originated under feudalism. Further, it must be remembered that there were other institutions which characterized all these periods and which we shall discuss later on, such as property and contract.

Citing only what may be looked upon as the characteristic economic institutions of this period in Western civilization we may name the following: (1) individual domestic manufacture, (2) the domestic system, (3) systems of exchange of goods, (4) the merchant guilds and later the craft guilds, (5) tolls and taxes on business, (6) partnerships and joint-stock companies.

1. **Individual domestic manufacture.** This institution, though outstandingly characteristic of this period, roots back into feudalism and beyond. In Greek and Roman civilization considerable development had been made in the division of labor and the specialization of craftsmen. With the breakdown of classical civilization went the decay of this economic development and the coming in of the new order of feudalism which we have just discussed briefly. The fundamental unit of feudalism was the feudal manor. It was practically a self-sufficing economic unit. As time

went on, however, some individuals on the manor developed special facilities in producing certain articles and disposing of these articles to others in exchange for their surplus products. On the whole, however, there was no such thing as manufacture on a large scale such as we know at the present time. The individual made in his own house or the shop near-by the articles which he required for his use and for his lord. It was handwork and therefore we call the process *manufacture*.

2. The domestic system. The domestic system of industry arose as far as medieval times are concerned when the craftsman made goods in his own house *for a market*. As the system developed, he often employed others to assist him in his work. These were journeymen and apprentices. These terms, however, did not become rigidly fixed until after the development of the craft guilds.

3. Systems of exchange of goods. Early in the Middle Ages the handy craftsman went from house to house and made the articles required. He did not produce for the market but for the individual needs of the household which employed him. Thus if shoes were made, the shoemaker spent a few days in the household making the shoes for the family. After a time, however, especially in the towns, the craftsman set up a shop for a particular line of goods. Some of these goods were made on orders by customers, and others were produced and sold ready-made to whomsoever desired them. The craftsman thus became both a manufacturer and a merchant.

As soon as conditions became stabilized under feudalism and the artisans on one manor produced more of certain articles than the individuals in that manor required, *markets* and *fairs* developed. The exchange of goods at these markets and fairs at first was largely on the barter basis. Later, when money became more abundant, it served as a medium of exchange and greatly widened the markets for these surplus products.

4. The merchant and craft guilds. With the development of commerce and the bringing in of products not made in the locality, an impetus was given to the expansion of trade and trade facilities. This development is especially marked after the Crusades. The Italian cities began to expand their trade into western Europe and their traders exchanged the produce of the Orient for the products from near the Baltic and other parts of western Europe. This, together with the expansion of trade between communities, led to the development of what are called the *merchant guilds*, which flourished from the eleventh to the fourteenth century and reached the height of their development in a league of town guilds which became known as the Hanseatic League.

In the meantime during the development of this extended trade by the merchant guilds, the craftsmen who had been producing certain articles, at first for the local markets and fairs, and later for the fairs held by the merchant guilds, organized what are known as the *craft guilds*. For example, the men who made shoes formed a craft guild. They produced not only for the local market but also sent their products to the great fairs.

Thus they became competitors with the merchant guilds. They flourished from about the twelfth to the sixteenth century. To their influence the decline of the merchant guilds is largely to be attributed.

The domestic system in its later phases was one of the factors in the decline of the craft guild. The great expansion of the domestic system occurred when the craft guilds endeavored to monopolize their trades by refusing to admit into their crafts certain of the men who were making products for sale. Often it happened that these workmen lived in the country places and found that they could not find a market for their wares because of the monopolistic control by the craft guilds. Since they were refused membership in the craft guild, they felt free to violate the rules regulating the materials and the workmanship laid down by the latter. They also felt that they were not compelled to adhere to the price fixed for the goods by the craft guilds. The result was that they undermined the craft guilds in the sale of products and thus led in part to the disintegration of those monopolistic institutions.

It was due to the growth of the merchant and craft guilds that the medieval *towns* flourished. They were centers of industry and trade. Sometimes originating as fortified places to which the countrymen fled when they were threatened and sometimes as developments of the manorial village, the towns became centers of manufacture and trade.

5. Tolls and taxes. Another of the economic institutions characteristic of the later Middle Ages was the practice of the various feudal lords to levy tolls and taxes on those who took goods across their territories. These naturally grew out of, although they were not the same as, the feudal dues. The merchants and traders, as they passed from one part of Europe to another in the pursuit of their business, had broken loose from their feudal relationships, but the lords across whose territories they went found a convenient method of exacting from them payments for the privilege of crossing. Hence every navigable river within the area of a lord's territory had obstructions of one kind or another where tolls were collected from traveling traders. The roads across their territories were likewise used to exact tribute from these merchants. The regular feudal dues and these various taxes and tolls constitute economic institutions of very great sig-

nificance to the modern world. Toll bridges are still in use, and customs duties between countries are almost universal.

6. Partnerships and joint-stock companies. Originating in a smaller way in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and coming to full development in the modern economic period, are partnerships and joint stock companies. As trade increased, men found it convenient very often to combine together into a partnership and thus increase the assets handled by a single firm. This was an advantage not only in cutting down competition between the partners but also in giving greater financial strength to the concern itself. Of even greater importance was the joint-stock company, the lineal ancestor of the present corporation. The advantage of this sort of economic institution lies in the fact that while in a partnership, custom had made each partner responsible for the debts of the whole concern, the joint-stock company limited the liability of each stockholder to the amount of stock which he owned. This device carried over and further developed in modern times was of the greatest importance.

Thus there is more or less of a continuum throughout the Middle Ages, though changes were occurring in the ways in which men produced and distributed goods for human needs, and certain of the institutions decayed and new ones arose.

Some aspects of modern economic institutions

Even our modern economic institutions show signs that their roots are in the past. They resemble a tree on which new branches have been grafted. Often the new branch became much more important than the original stem. Remembering that the present institutions have marks indicating that they originated in a different situation in the past, let us look at some of the modern economic institutions.

1. Property. The outstanding form of property under feudalism was land. The manorial system was primarily a land economy. However, the difference between modern property and medieval property lies chiefly in the fact that the ownership of land in medieval times rested upon custom and force, while in modern times property rests upon law. Under the Roman Republic and Empire, property was a legalized institution. The medieval feudal regime was an interlude between the breakdown of that ancient civilization and the modern. Yet even in medieval society under the feudal regime there was the growth of custom and tradition with respect to the ownership of property which, when it came into contact later with Roman law, formed the basis of the modern legal

concept of property. Whether based upon custom or statutory law, property is an economic institution. It roots back into Roman law and medieval custom. Our modern economic capitalistic system rests upon the concept of the legality of private ownership of property. Medieval custom provided also for public property. Even in the medieval manor there was the common land which was free for the common use of all the people. Today the concepts of private and public property are very much sharpened, and under our capitalistic economy private ownership of property has come to be looked upon as something almost sacred.

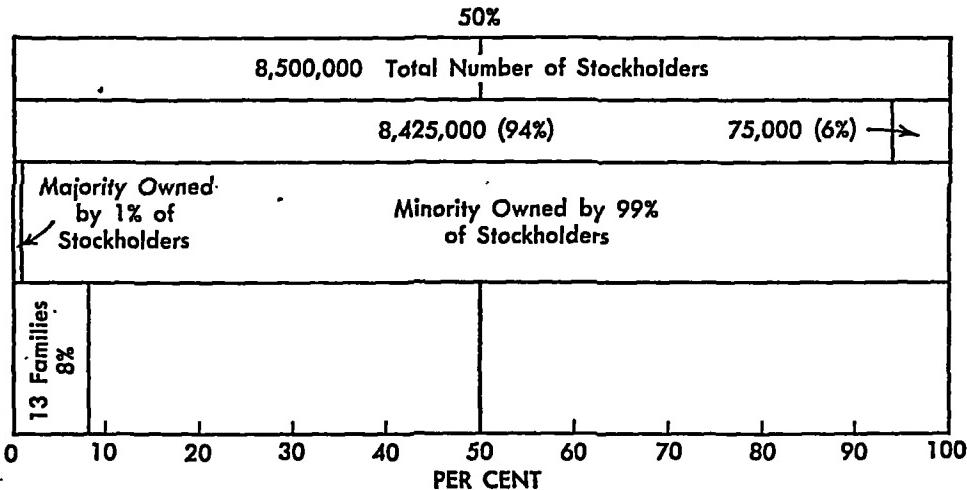
2. Money and credit. The use of money and credit instruments as economic institutions are familiar to us from our study of Roman history. During early medieval times the use of money was rather restricted. Even in late medieval times interest was forbidden, and it was not until trade had become an important feature of medieval life that credit instruments such as notes, bills of sale, bills of exchange, etc., came into common use. At the present time, while money is still used as a medium of exchange, it is vastly changed in its nature. Once the only money was metal money; now except for small change and for international exchange, in most countries the money in common use is paper money. In our system even money is of quite secondary importance in comparison with credit instruments. The vast part of our business is transacted on a credit basis. It could not be conducted on a hard money basis because there is not enough of such money in the world to serve the large demands of even one country like the United States. Furthermore, credit instruments of various kinds are very much more convenient. These devices, therefore, enable us to have a much greater trade and a wider market than would otherwise be possible.

3. Large-scale factory production. Until the Industrial Revolution occurred, with the introduction of power machinery and the massing of labor and capital in large units, production was necessarily upon a somewhat limited scale. Today our economic system is characterized by what may be called *machine industry*. Each industrial worker today has at his command power equivalent to that of eighteen human slaves; in some industries very many more. Hence our modern industry is characterized by mass production. This would be impossible without the invention of modern machinery and the corporation.

4. The corporation. The corporation is simply a development of the joint-stock company. As a modern economic institution it is of the very greatest importance. Its *advantageous characteristics* are: (1) Limited liability. In most of our states, the owners of all stock except in banks, trust companies, and other similar institutions, are limited as to their financial

liability to the amount of stock they own. Exempt are stockholders in banks and trust companies which are members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. (In some states, exemption does not depend upon this membership.) (2) It is a device which enables the bringing together of small amounts of money into one great aggregate. A billion-dollar corporation, for example, may have individual stockholders who each owns only \$100 worth of stock. (3) It may be immortal, whereas a partnership has to be dissolved when one of the partners dies. A corporation is not affected by

**OWNERSHIP OF 200 LARGEST NON-FINANCIAL CORPORATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940**



SOURCE: Securities and Exchange Report, summarized in *Time*, Oct. 28, 1940, p. 76. From this report it is clear that about 6% of the total number of stockholders owned fully one-half of all corporate stock held by individuals; that 1% of the stockholders owned the majority of such stock; and that 13 families owned 8% of the stock of the 200 largest non-financial corporations in the United States.

the death of any one or any number of stockholders; it continues its life indefinitely until deliberately dissolved or unless extinguished by economic adversity. (4) The securities, stocks and bonds of a corporation provide easy means of investment because they can be issued in small denominations and are easily transferred. Stock and bond exchanges provide a ready market. (5) Finally, a corporation has the advantage that it can obtain the most efficient management procurable with large salaries. It need not depend upon the efficiency of even its largest stockholder.

There are *certain disadvantages* to the corporation. (1) It is often unresponsive to the demands of the general welfare. Its history is much shorter than that of individual ownership and than that of partnership. Custom and tradition have not had time to build up controls over its

conduct. What it may do is limited by the law under which it is chartered and also by the laws regulating its conduct, but these laws are experimental and not very effective. The control of the great corporations of this and other countries has proved to be one of the most difficult problems in modern government. It has often been remarked that "a corporation has no soul." That phrase expresses the popular view of the irresponsibility of the corporation. Moreover, the vast amounts of money at its command make possible corruption of public officials and long and expensive litigation with the government. (2) It is easily governed by a small inside group. Fifty-one per cent of the stock of a corporation, and often even less, controls the action of that institution. In actual practice a large corporation can be managed by an inside group which does not own more than a small fraction of the entire stock. It is difficult for the stockholders to get together if the number is large and if they are widely scattered; hence the proxies which they send in are usually voted by this small group in control. (3) The corporation can be exploited by a small inside group for their own personal advantage to the disadvantage of the other stockholders. These insiders may by their management depress the price of the stock and buy it in, vote themselves salaries and bonuses out of all proportion to the value of their services, pay themselves commissions for reorganization services and for the issuance of new stock, and may practice various other abuses.

Cartels. It is in connection with the large corporations that international cartels have developed. The cartel is an agreement between corporations in one country with one or more in another to divide the market when they are producing and marketing a like product. That is, a large corporation, say in England or Germany, makes an agreement with one in the United States not to sell its products in a certain South American country or in the United States, and the corporation in this country agrees to keep out of other South American countries or out of some Asiatic country. The purpose is to eliminate competition and thus secure larger profits for both companies. The net result is usually an artificially high price to the consumer and a stifling of competitive enterprise. Profit rather than the general welfare is the motivating factor. Recently the office of the Attorney General of the United States has been taking an interest in these cartels. The investigations of the Antitrust Division of that office have shown that (1) cartels have strangled the development of technological processes even at the expense of the preparation of our government for its defense—for instance, as in the case of the agreements between an American company and a German which prevented the American from providing the army

with 100 octane gasoline for airplanes; that (2) through the use of the patent laws of England and of the United States, Germany's monopolies nearly strangled the steel industries and the dye industry in those countries; (3) that through the international cartels the vitamins and the synthetic hormones, so important in medicine were controlled in price, quality, and distribution in the interest of profit rather than in that of the welfare of the people; that (4) through the organization of ostensibly independent but subordinate companies in Switzerland and in this country, the German cartels during the war were able to circumvent the efforts of the Allied Nations to blockade Germany from receiving needed war materials from South America; that through these cartels British and German firms came to dominate some of the industries of other countries through restriction of fields of operation, prices, and sources of supply; that (6) the cartels are organizations for world-wide monopoly control in their fields; that (7) they have most pernicious effects on international relationships,⁴ and that (8) cartels form one of the greatest menaces to free enterprise and to democracy.

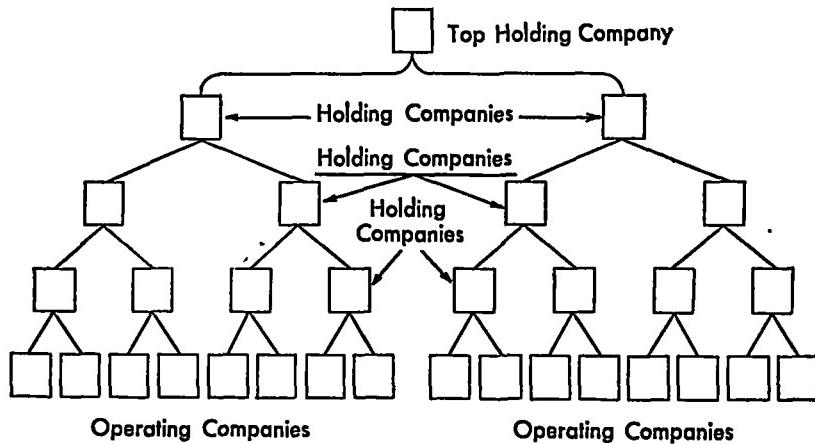
It is clear that cartels are new economic institutions, devised to meet the new conditions resulting from invention and technology, and motivated, not by concern for the general welfare, but for profits. They have developed under what has been called our system of "free enterprise," which theoretically means competitive enterprise, but really means monopolistic enterprise if its promoters are left unregulated by government.

5. **The holding company.** The corporation recently has given rise to a further development, the *holding company*. Such a company may control any number of operating companies by owning a sufficient amount of the stock of each, theoretically a majority, but frequently less than that amount. A series of holding companies may likewise be controlled by another holding company owning a majority of their shares. This "pyramiding" of holding company upon holding company enables a few men with only a fraction of the capital involved in the capitalization of the underlying companies to determine the labor policies, the distribution of earnings, and the prices charged for the products of the held companies, thus making it easy to monopolize the field.

⁴ See Berge, Wendell, *Cartels: Challenge to a Free World*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, 1944. This is the most succinct book on cartels in English. Written by the Assistant Attorney General of the United States, who has been in charge of the Anti-trust Division of the Attorney General's Office, it is authoritative. It quotes extensively from the original sources. It has also an excellent bibliography of all the important books in the field. A later book is that by Stocking, George W. and Watkins, Myron W., *Cartels in Action*, The Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1947. This study is described by the authors as a kind of case book on the subject prepared under the aegis of a special committee, of which the chairman was James M. Landis. It is the first of three volumes planned on the subject.

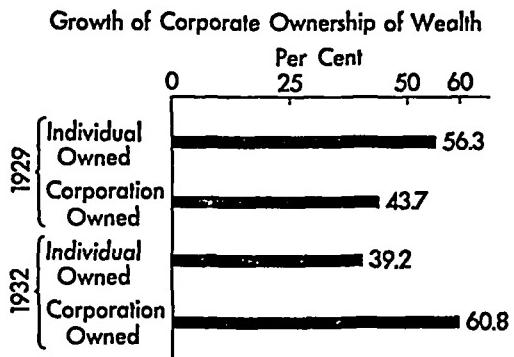
The claim is made that the holding company produces efficiency by providing adequate capital to the underlying, operating companies, capital they themselves often could not command; by providing engineering services for all of them instead of each having its own engineering staff; and by lessening the overhead management costs. It is also claimed that greater economy is possible by diversifying products among the various underlying companies and coördinating more closely their economic activities. Under this plan it is claimed that electric utilities can pool their power and thus iron out "peak loads" and so produce at lower cost.

The Holding Company in the Control of Wealth



All this and more may be true, but it is a question whether putting so much power into the hands of a few men is good public policy. In 1930 the 200 largest corporations in the United States had assets of \$81,000,000,000, half of all the nonbanking corporate wealth of the country. From all indications, during World War II the trend towards further concentration of wealth in the hands of large corporations was given a further impetus. Of these companies 58 per cent were controlled by the management and only 2 per cent by majority ownership. The management, by controlling the distribution of profits, may pile up most of them in a surplus and use that surplus to buy control of other companies. For example, one large industrial concern in this country has used surplus earnings to buy a controlling interest in one of the largest corporations producing automobiles. The larger the company the easier it is to control legislative bodies, administrative authorities, and even the courts; the less difficult to control wages and working conditions; and the easier to charge monopoly prices. One of the important problems of the present day is how to control these gigantic financial and industrial institutions in which the savings of so large a number of people are invested.

The enactment in 1935 of the Public Utility Holding Act by the United States Congress, giving the Securities Exchange Commission power to regulate in certain respects these holding companies doing an interstate business, was a move to eliminate some of the abuses by the holding companies.



SOURCE: Doane, R. R., *The Measurement of American Wealth*, Table VIII, p. 27.

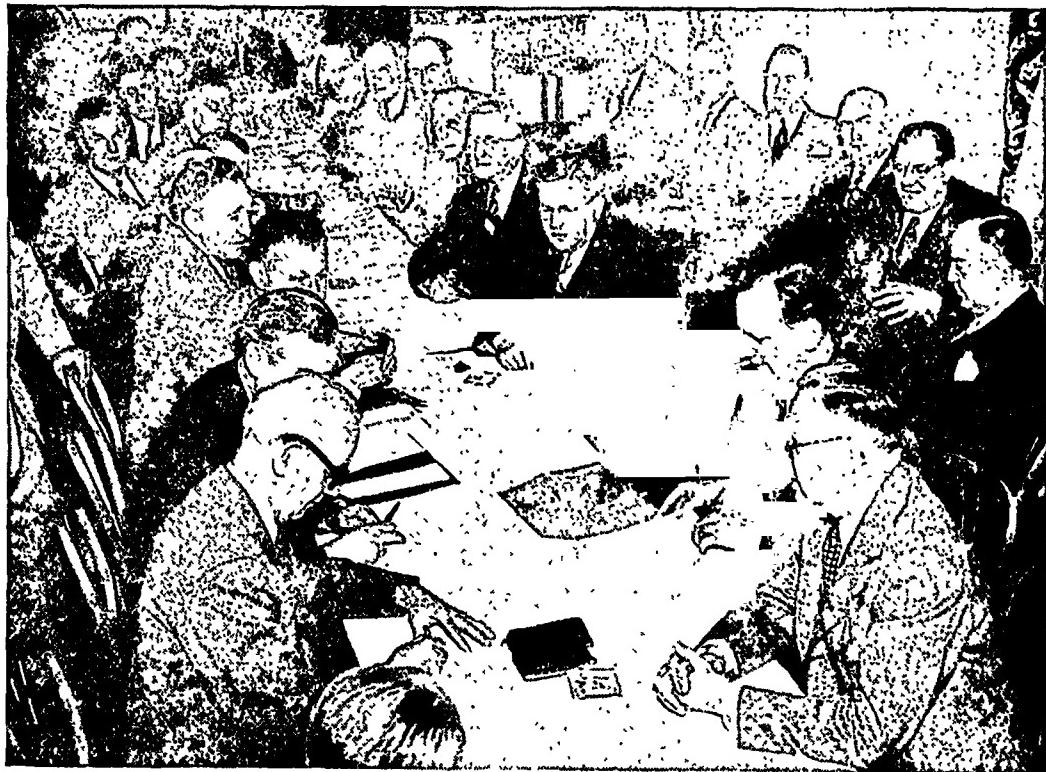
6. The wage system. This institution, like most of the others we have discussed, did not arise suddenly, but has its roots in the past. It is the characteristic institution for the payment of labor in our present economic system.

We have already referred to the fact that in late medieval times there was a growing tendency for many of the vassals or villeins to break loose from their vassalage and to produce articles for the market. The domestic system of production of these articles was characterized by great merchants hiring these men to produce the articles for sale in the markets and fairs. The merchants furnished the raw materials and sometimes the tools and paid the laborer a wage. In England before the Great Plague (1348) many of the villeins instead of paying dues in labor had compounded their obligations to the lord by the payment of money. They reimbursed themselves by selling their labor to a merchant for the production of goods for his purposes. In that country and also on the Continent many of the agricultural laborers likewise were paid wages. This is shown by the enactment of the Statute of Laborers in England following the Great Plague.

With the coming of the Industrial Revolution this tendency was accelerated. The gathering of machines and men in great factories for the production of goods caused the wage system to become firmly established, and, is now one of our outstanding economic institutions. Naturally the wage system creates a gulf between the interests of the laborers and employers. Under its influence the old personal relationships between the

masters and the men have been dissolved. It is out of this divergence of interests of employer and employee that the present conflict between labor and capital, so characteristic of our present economic order, has grown.

7. Unions of laborers and associations of employers. Growing out of the wage system and what it signifies, the clash of interests between employers and employees, is the organization of associations of these two classes engaged in the productive process. Labor unions have sprung up in order that they may realize to a greater degree the solidarity of their interests and present a united front for bargaining with the employers as to conditions of labor and as to wages and hours. On the other hand, the employers themselves have formed associations which present a united front not only to consumers, but also to their employees. This matter of organization of these two groups of individuals along the lines of their special interests is a characteristic economic institution of the present day although it also has its roots in the past. The merchant guilds and the craft guilds of medieval times were forerunners of such organizations for the protection of the special interests of the persons concerned. Thus both



Economic institutions: labor and employer organizations

Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steelworkers, signs the steel pact in Pittsburgh in 1947. On the opposite side of the table are representatives of the steel companies. (Photo by Acme.)

the employers and the employees are organized to safeguard their special interests—and the devil take the hindmost, i.e., the consumer. His only protection is the government, and that protection is somewhat of a broken reed.

8. Contract. Involved explicitly in the old feudal relation was a contract between the lord and the vassal. We have seen that on the lord's side the obligation was assumed to protect the vassal. The latter contracted to give loyal obedience to the lord, to perform for him certain services, and to pay him certain feudal dues. The sanction for this relationship between lord and vassal was customary. The contract in the present economic system is enforced not merely by customary but by legal sanctions. One who breaks a contract is subject to a suit for damages. Furthermore, in the Constitution of the United States and in the laws of most of our states, the inviolability of contracts is provided for unless contracts are decidedly against the public interest. Then the breach of the contract must be approved by the courts. Upon this institution depends the workability of our complex system of business.

9. Competition. In medieval times when goods began to be produced for market, competition arose between the merchants. Likewise when the craft guilds were organized to insure certain standards in the production of goods and certain practices in the interests of the consumers, competition developed between the different craftsmen. The competitive process was found to be in the interest of the general public because it tended to lead to the production of goods at the lowest possible price. Soon, however, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds found that competition led to such evils as deterioration in the quality of the product and cutthroat competition for the market, which was destructive of sound business.

In connection with the institution of competition should be mentioned one which grew out of it, namely, that of *monopoly*. In medieval times many regulations were passed against *engrossing*, i.e., buying in large quantities so as to corner the market and thus set the noncompetitive price. *Forestalling* was another practice having some of the characteristics of monopoly. It consisted in buying the goods before they reached the market and thus controlling the price.

In modern times monopolistic practices of various types have developed to meet the situation in our greatly expanded industrial system. Certain characteristics of large-scale production under the capitalistic economic order lend themselves to practices which have been denominated monopolistic. For example, the *patenting* of a very important process may give the producer using that process a monopolistic control over it. In most countries,

however, the government has limited the lifetime of patents in order to obviate some of the evils of monopolistic control of an invention. Unfortunately legal regulations are inadequate to prevent a concern from taking out patents, not to use them itself, but to keep others from getting them. Then there are *natural monopolies*. For example, the demand for hard coal in the United States, valued for its smokeless character, has led to what has been called natural monopoly because of the limited area of the country producing that commodity. It is not purely a natural monopoly, but partakes in part of the nature of the next kind of monopoly to be discussed. *Capitalistic monopoly* is dependent on the advantage which large aggregations of capital are supposed to possess in producing and marketing an article at less cost than that at which it can be produced and marketed by a small concern. It is this kind of monopoly which has been characteristic of the present economic order. It led to the development of what were called "trusts" earlier in this country, combated by the United States Government with the Sherman Antitrust Act. In the struggle for profits, to obtain which monopolistic practices are of great advantage, our "captains of industry" have resorted to all kinds of legal variations of the corporation in order to control the sources of supply, secret patented processes, and the advantages of large-scale production. The United States Steel Corporation, for example, was the result of the attempt to get away from the small profits of unrestricted competition between the various steel companies. Many other examples might be given.

10. Coöperatives. The coöoperative movement in the Western world may be looked upon as an economic institution of recent growth. It grew out of the attempt of consumers to eliminate the middleman's profit in the purchase of commodities. The Rochdale Pioneers, in England, were one of the early examples of consumers' coöperatives. This organization, however, soon found that in order to attain its ends it had to engage also in manufacturing. Consequently, at the present time many of the coöperatives in various parts of the world have had to undertake the entire industrial process. The greatest extent of the movement, however, is still to be found in the consumers' coöperatives. In some of the Scandinavian countries and England the movement has had its greatest success.

11. State regulation. In the Middle Ages, when cities grew up as trading and industrial centers, and a little later when the nations of Europe were formed, the political unit, whether municipal or state, gradually took up the regulation of wages, monopolistic control of products, and the attempt to maintain competition. Illustrations are the attempts of the medieval cities to control the guilds and conditions in the markets and at the fairs; the attempt of the English Parliament, after the Black Death, to control the

wages of laborers through what has been called the Statute of Laborers; the attempt of the later British government, as in the days of Elizabeth, to promote foreign trade by the chartering of such monopolistic organizations as the East India Company; and after the Industrial Revolution, the laws enacted for the control of the conditions of labor in the mines and factories, especially as they related to women and children. At the present time labor legislation, antitrust legislation, the recent laws enacted for the protection of investors in securities, the state and Federal banking laws, child-labor legislation, legislation governing the employment of women in industry, factory laws, workmen's compensation, and scores of other pieces of legislation illustrate the gradually extending sphere of government in the control of the industrial order. The customary regulations of economic life failed in a time of rapid change; hence the increasingly stronger state took up the task. Such regulations, however, have consistently trailed behind the efforts of both capital and labor to circumvent their purpose, that of protecting the consumer.

Economic Institutions of Socialism. The discussion of economic institutions thus far deals with those developed on the basis of private ownership of property. However, partly as reaction against the dire results to the workers in industry following the rise of the Industrial Revolution and partly as defense against autocracy in government, various suggestions have been made to put the ownership of the instruments of production, what the economists call capital goods, either in the hands of the government, or in the hands of groups of workers. These various plans may all be covered by the general term "socialism." There are numerous varieties of socialism, but the goal of most of them is to give more of the results of the productive process to the workers. The political aspects of this general movement are discussed in Chapter 18. Here it must suffice to mention briefly the economic institutions characteristic of socialism. Anyone interested in the details of the developments should read the article "Socialism" by Oscar Jászi in volume 14 of *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934.

There are two varieties of socialism in operation at the present time: (a) "guild" or coöperative socialism, and (b) state socialism. The former may develop in a country in which private ownership of the instruments of production prevails. This system is marked primarily by ownership of the property by the people who operate it. They are both owners and workers. At present it has reached its widest development in England and Scandinavia. The second type is "state socialism." In this variety the state owns and operates the industry. It is to be seen in a number of the European

countries in a limited way. In some it is restricted to certain of the public utilities, such as railroads, mines, telegraph and telephone lines, and the post office. In Soviet Russia this form has had its most extensive development. There all the large instruments of production are owned and operated by the state. Coöperative farms and the industries connected directly with farming are encouraged. Russia also has state owned farms. Before World War II in Soviet Russia there were more than 242,000 collective farms with nearly 19,000,000 households. At the same time there were more than 4,000 state farms with a total of more than 32,000,000 acres. The collective farmers own the farms and all the equipment necessary to operate them, save the tractors and combines. The latter are furnished by the state on a rental basis. On the state farms the workers are in the employ of the state. In the collectives the members each owns and operates a small portion of land attached to the house in which his family lives, a few live stock, poultry, an orchard and vegetable garden. The Soviet authorities say that the present system is only a transition stage between capitalism and communism; it is a training stage for communism.

The "National Socialism" of Nazi Germany and the "corporative state" of Fascist Italy were quite different in both organization and operation. They were really private ownership by corporations in the interest of authoritarian control by the government, supposedly for the welfare of all the citizens. Even in Russia the coöperative farms must be conducted in accordance with plans handed down by the planning body of the Soviet Union through the supreme authority of the constituent republic.

In all countries the economic institutions are tied in closely with the political institutions.

Economic and other institutions. Society is an outcome of the "struggle for existence" with which Darwin and Wallace long ago made us familiar. In this "struggle for existence," as Giddings has pointed out, there are four elements: "(1) *the struggle to react*, to endure heat and cold and storm, to draw the next breath, to crawl the next yard, to hold out against fatigue and despair, to explore and analyze the situation; (2) *the struggle for subsistence* wherewith to repair the waste of reaction; (3) *the struggle for adaptation* by every organism to the objective conditions of its life, and (4) *the struggle for adjustment* by group-living individuals to one another."⁵ Economic institutions are partly the outcome of the struggle for subsistence, but only in part, for they are modified by the institutions devised to satisfy man's other needs. In all stages of society from the primitive

⁵ Giddings, F. H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, p. 14.

horde to civilized nations the struggle for subsistence is constantly affected by the other struggles mentioned. Man does not live his life in watertight compartments. He loves as well as hungers; he craves companionship as well as food and clothing; he plays, and his play affects all the other aspects of his behavior; he fears and worships, and his religion modifies his struggle for subsistence; he hates and fights, not only for food and the sources of food supply, but for social prestige. Thus the cultural activities and his economic activities interweave and condition each other.

In these as in all other social activities man has developed an order, by which is meant that he has organized his relations to objective nature and to his fellows in his wealth-getting and wealth-using activities in certain definite ways. Therefore, since his economic life is only a part of his total life activities, they must be studied as a part of man's social relations. Only so shall we be able to get a complete picture of social relations and processes.

Social results of economic institutions. The institutionalized ways of making a living have repercussions upon the other social institutions. So profound have been the effects of the economic changes which have occurred in the last 150 years that some people have come to the conclusion that economic conditions are the determining factors of activities and institutions in human society. This theory is known as *economic determinism*. While the economic institutions are very important in modern society, they are not the only factors in the determination of human behavior and of the institutionalized ways of life. Each operates to affect the other in the whole complex of human relationships. Let us look at some of the social effects of modern economic institutions.

1. *The social importance of trade.* Trade between different individuals in the same group and between different groups produces contacts on which rests the development of social relationships. Even in tribal societies the exchange of goods is of importance in establishing intertribal relationships. Often beginning by the giving of gifts and then by formal barter, the exchange of goods has expanded with the growth of society to the present credit system. Barter, money, and credit are steps in the processes of trade which represent successive stages of social development. Money and credit instruments are of no value unless the people who are exchanging their products for them have confidence in them. Credit is impossible until social organization has reached a point where men in groups have faith in each other's honesty. A credit system is one means whereby close social relations are cultivated.

2. *Social Effects of Commerce.* Commerce stimulates diversified indus-

tries. It thus develops division of labor and allows each individual to follow a given occupation or trade according to his natural ability. This permits him to follow a single pursuit with greater efficiency than if he were a "jack-of-all-trades." Further, commerce develops social intercourse between individuals, groups, and nations. This intercourse promotes socialization of groups, diffusion and assimilation of culture. It spreads material inventions and new ideas from group to group. Commerce has always been an important stimulus to intellectual development. The trader has been no less important than machinery in diffusing culture elements. The thoroughfares of commerce have usually been the highways of learning and the courses of intellectual development of historical nations. The Phoenicians, with their commerce in the Mediterranean, brought to the peoples of that area the practical arts of Asia. The traders from the Italian cities, during and following the Crusades, had much to do with the introduction of oriental ideas into western Europe. Christianity in its early days was carried by Christian artisan and peddler to all parts of the Roman Empire and beyond.⁶ Furthermore, one of the roots of war is commerce. Witness the wars of historical nations, or better, look at the world situation at the present time. The desire for wealth, for areas of trade, is today one of the most potent causes of war, and war produces some of the most radical changes in human institutions.

3. Economic development and the growth of social classes, the occupational division of labor, and the increasing complexity of trade, produce groups some with kindred and others with conflicting interests. The conflict between city and country becomes sharper with economic development. Professions multiply as industry and trade develop. With the growth of wealth there is a growing chasm between the rich and the poor. The stockholders of a company no longer are acquainted with their employers. Hence new social classes arise to supplement and to modify the classes in society arising from other motivations. Thus through wealth-getting activities contacts are multiplied; division of labor is increased; culture is spread; new classes arise in human society; coöperation in certain lines is developed; and class conflict grows.

Forming, then, a part of the social organization or structure of society are these institutions in the economic field, established and widely recognized as approved ways of doing things in man's attempt to secure the goods necessary for his sustenance and the wealth to maintain his status in society and to satisfy his desire for power. We see them gradually growing from faint beginnings in a somewhat different social system. They are modi-

⁶ Harnack, Adolf von, *Expansion of Christianity*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1904, Vol. I, p. 460.

fied step by step to meet changing conditions. Some are constantly undergoing decay and disintegration; others develop new forms on the basis of widely accepted practices adapted to a different economic situation.

4. Economic institutions affect the *family institutions*. The Industrial Revolution, by taking many economic functions out of the home, has had very serious results on family relationships. Vocational education has largely been removed to the school. Except on farms and in some small businesses the children no longer work with the parents day after day in the ordinary productive activities. Thus close association, especially of boys with their parents in economic activities, is no longer possible. That condition makes more difficult those subtle but effective measures in transmitting the social heritage from parents to children. The solidarity of the family institution has thereby been weakened. On the other hand, other personalities have been given a greater opportunity to present different attitudes and values to the children and so imbue them with a broader outlook on life. However, the presentation of a variety of patterns of behavior, of different ideals, may confuse the child.

5. The effect of the Industrial Revolution on other institutions is to be seen in dependency, crime, religion and morals. If one reflects upon these matters as they appeared in, let us say, feudal Europe as against the situation today it is easy to see that, concomitantly with changes in the respective economic institutions, there occurred vast alterations in the way society looks upon these other areas of human behavior. While these changes are not due solely to the alteration of the economic institutions, the latter have forced changes in the definition, the values, and the patterns of behavior in relation to dependency, crime, morals and religion. It is because of these changes, not only in economic institutions, but in science, ideologies, and systems of value, that society has had to devise substitutes for the medieval methods of protecting the needy and preserving the religious and moral values felt to be necessary for the welfare of individuals and social cohesion. Hence, the separation of State and Church, new measures for the relief of distress, new healing methods, modern sanitation, compulsory school laws, workmen's compensation, safety laws in industry, public health regulations and social insurance. These are new institutions intended to provide for the welfare of individuals and the integrity of the whole society, made necessary by the decay of the old institutions.

Thus we see that economic institutions are part and parcel of the wider social organization. They cannot be understood as they are at any given moment without reference to the other social institutions which form the whole complex of the social order. They are modified by the other institu-

tions and in turn have their effect upon the nature, structure, and the changes which take place in the other institutions of society.

Since the Industrial Revolution was indeed a revolution, its impact on the institutions of Western society were soon apparent, and its results led some scholars to contend that economic changes are primary in social change. But the same thing occurred to other institutions at the time of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. In the case of the Renaissance the political philosophy and the educational ideology gradually changed. In the Protestant Reformation the change was in the realm of religious and political institutions. In both cases the result was a strain between the political and religious institutions and the economic, with the result that inventions were made that disrupted the economic institutions. Hence it appears that a revolutionary change in one set of institutions affects all others.

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Exercises

1. Keeping in mind the discussion in the early part of this chapter of the interdependence of various parts of a culture, explain why when missionaries introduced into India the steel plow, the native agriculturists of India refused to use it.
2. Why do some farmers today in the United States plant their potatoes in a certain sign of the Zodiac?
3. Explain the action of the *potlach* in some primitive societies.
4. What if any relationship exists between the motives for the stimulation of wealth among the Kwakiutl of British Columbia and the accumulation of wealth for "conspicuous waste" in contemporary society as described by Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Ch. 4.
5. Describe each of the economic institutions of European feudalism. Which one of these was primary?
6. Describe each of the characteristic economic institutions from the decline of feudalism to the Industrial Revolution.
7. What are the characteristic aspects of modern economic institutions?
8. What are some of the advantages of the corporation? The disadvantages? Of the holding company? Of labor unions?
9. Point out some of the effects of private property upon domestic institutions, upon political institutions, upon our educational system.
10. Explain why labor unions and associations of manufacturers have risen since the coming of the Industrial Revolution.
11. What is the relation of the code of fixed prices recently enacted by some of the states to the economic institution of competition?
12. Is monopoly a necessary consequence of the competitive system? Explain.
13. Show how our present economic institutions are a part of our whole social complex.
14. Point out ways in which the other elements of our culture have had an influence on the economic institutions.
15. Indicate changes which have come about in the other institutions in our society owing to changes in the economic institutions.
16. In what are our economic institutions at variance with our other institutions?
17. If competition fails to protect the consumer, what agencies can do so?

chapter I 7 Educational institutions

Education in its widest sense includes any method whereby culture, including not only the social heritage of traditions, customs, and institutions from the past, but also new knowledge and techniques, is transmitted from one individual or group to another individual or group. It involves both learning and teaching, and is vitally necessary for the continued existence and functioning of any society. It is the means whereby organized society is perpetuated and whereby it grows. Such processes as diffusion and acculturation are phases of the broad educational mechanism. Suggestion, precept, example, and imitation are subordinate divisions.

If we use the term *culture* in the anthropological sense as meaning the whole complex of traditions, customs, attitudes, habits, and techniques of a people, practically every individual in a society to some degree is both recipient and transmitter. In some societies age gives superior authority; in others, other qualifications such as initiative and vigor. Among ourselves, education is a set of formalized culture patterns in themselves, which have been organized into a group of institutions; in other societies the techniques are often less formalized, yet have the characteristics of an institution.

Education in preliterate societies

The forms of the educational institution usually show a considerable correlation with the cultural configuration of the society in which they exist. Not only is the content of education (i.e., the culture patterns which are transmitted) inevitably oriented toward the major interests of the society, but also the methods of transmission are determined by the content and organization of the culture as a whole. Thus a society living in a gathering-hunting-fishing type of culture will be mainly concerned with the transmission of those techniques which are regarded as necessary for the maintenance of life. Among primitive people having simple cultures there is seldom necessity for the specialized institutionalized vocational instruction. This was

true also in agricultural economies. Until our society became industrialized, the ordinary vocations were taught informally. The result is that the larger part of education under such conditions is informal. However, in some societies, as among the blackfellows of Australia and some others, birth, puberty, and death provide occasions for formal educational measures. (1) Verbal instruction in the form of myths, folklore, songs, and everyday conversation of the elders is sufficient for passing on the traditional attitudes and thought-ways in many simple cultures. Verbal instruction usually takes place within the family group, at festivals and religious ceremonies, and at all events is not handed over to a specialized educational institution. (2) Learning by doing is an unavoidable educational method in most primitive societies. Playful imitation of adult occupations is a common pastime among primitive children, and this is usually supplemented as the child approaches adolescence by allowing him an increasing share in the activities of the adult group. It is a great day for the youngster in Ontong, Java, when he is first allowed to join a men's fishing party.¹ And when the Crow Indian boy finally graduated from the gang of other small boys who carried on mock raiding parties and joined a real adult raiding party, he felt he was on the threshold of manhood.² The youngster receives informal instruction from his elders as he progresses. It may take the form of suggestions, or ridicule and mockery, or of punishment, but he learns by doing. (3) Learning by observation, generally an informal process, is common in primitive societies. The children of Trobriand Islands receive no formal education in sex matters, nor do they need any, for they have been familiar with the spectacle of sexual intercourse between their parents since early childhood.³

In spite of the prevalence of these methods, institutions of a type trending toward educational specialization do occur in some primitive societies. Among these we may mention puberty ceremonies and education of specialists. (4) Puberty ceremonies do not occur in all primitive societies, nor are they invariably educational in nature. Nevertheless in many cases, as among the Central Australians, the puberty ceremony, sometimes continuing at intervals over a period of twenty years, is an excellent occasion for the older men to impress upon the neophyte younger men certain important cultural observances which they are expected to practice throughout their lives.⁴ Torture, food tabus, restriction of movements, the natural psychologi-

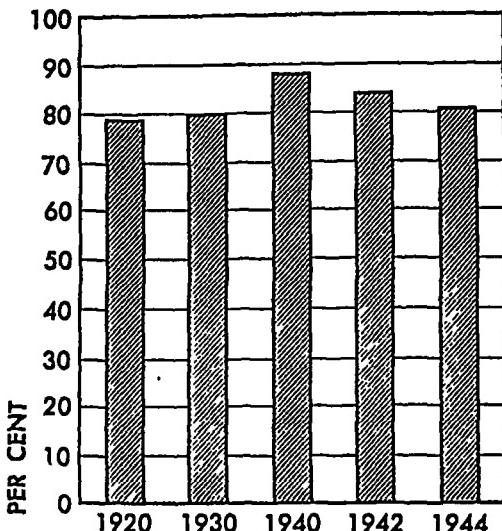
¹ Hogbin, Ian, *Law and Order in Polynesia*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1934.

² Lowie, R. H., *The Crow Indians*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1936.

³ Malinowski, B., *Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia*, Routledge, London, 1929, p. 46.

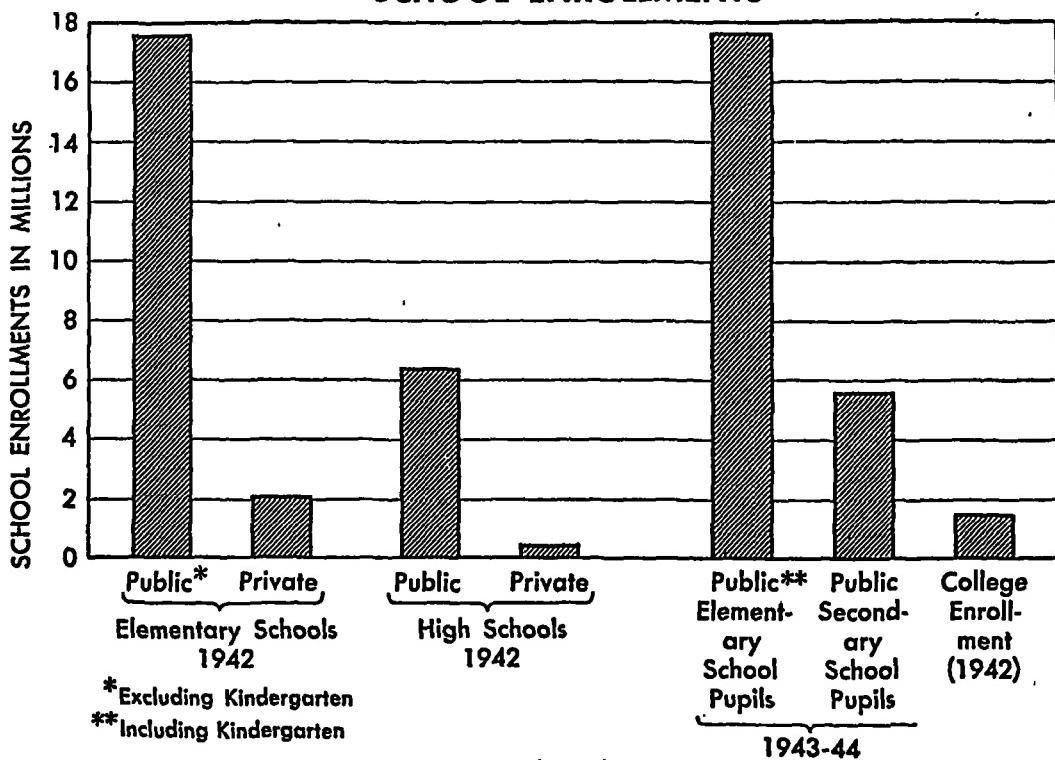
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**PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL
IN THE UNITED STATES**



SOURCE: U. S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, 1943-44, Washington, 1946, Chapter 1, Table 13, p. 14.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS



SOURCES: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1946, p. 134, and *Statistics of State School Systems*, 1943-44, Chapter II, U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, 1946, p. 4.

cal unbalance of adolescence, and the solemnity of the ceremonies all create a heightened emotional condition propitious for learning. Similar opportunities are provided at ceremonies occurring at the adolescence of girls in many tribes. Not only do puberty ceremonies serve as opportunities for instruction, but in many cases they include features which we may regard as the "final examination." The successful fulfillment of practical tasks; demonstration of prolonged self-control under torture, hunger, and thirst; and the reception of ecstatic visions and dreams are included as a regular part of the puberty ceremony in many tribes, and the unsuccessful candidate is sent back in disgrace to his parents for further instruction. (5) in most cultures certain specialists exist, although often in very restricted numbers. Almost universal is some sort of religious official, such as a shaman or medicine man. Often candidates for this position receive no special training, their powers being regarded as supernatural gifts. But usually some sort of intensive and specialized instruction from a qualified expert is required for the mastery of the formulae and manipulations essential to the practice of the profession. The Eskimo shamans, called *angakoks*, for instance, are expert prestidigitators, and novice *angakoks* in most groups require, in addition to their "unlearned" supernatural gifts, a prolonged period of apprenticeship with an expert.⁵

In no preliterate society, however, has education been so highly institutionalized as in modern society. A large part of the culture continues to be transmitted informally and specific educational institutions occur only sporadically.

Specialized educational institutions and the culture configuration

There are good reasons why specialized educational institutions are prominent features only of complex, literate cultures and why they have reached their highest development in modern society. Education, being concerned with the transmission of culture, is strongly influenced by the total configuration. (1) As a culture accumulates and increases in content, the process of acquiring it requires an increasing amount of time and effort. At the same time the increasing content of the culture requires the services of specialists who can devote their whole time to keeping up with the added accumulations and imparting them to learners. Parents and other adults can no longer spare the time from their own essential activities to impart the large amount of knowledge necessary for their children. (2) Increase in content usually means increase in complexity. This is patently true of our

⁵ Weyer, E., *The Eskimos*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932.

own situation. If the younger generation is to be equipped with a general background of the specialized contributions and also to develop a specialized knowledge for itself, educational institutions are required which perform this function and thus relieve other institutions, such as the family and industry, primarily devoted to other objectives. Specialists are required to keep abreast of their specialties, so that they may be taught to the learners, and teachers are also required who have sufficient time to reflect upon the complex additions to the culture, develop a rounded and understandable view of it as a whole, and impart this knowledge and skill to the student.

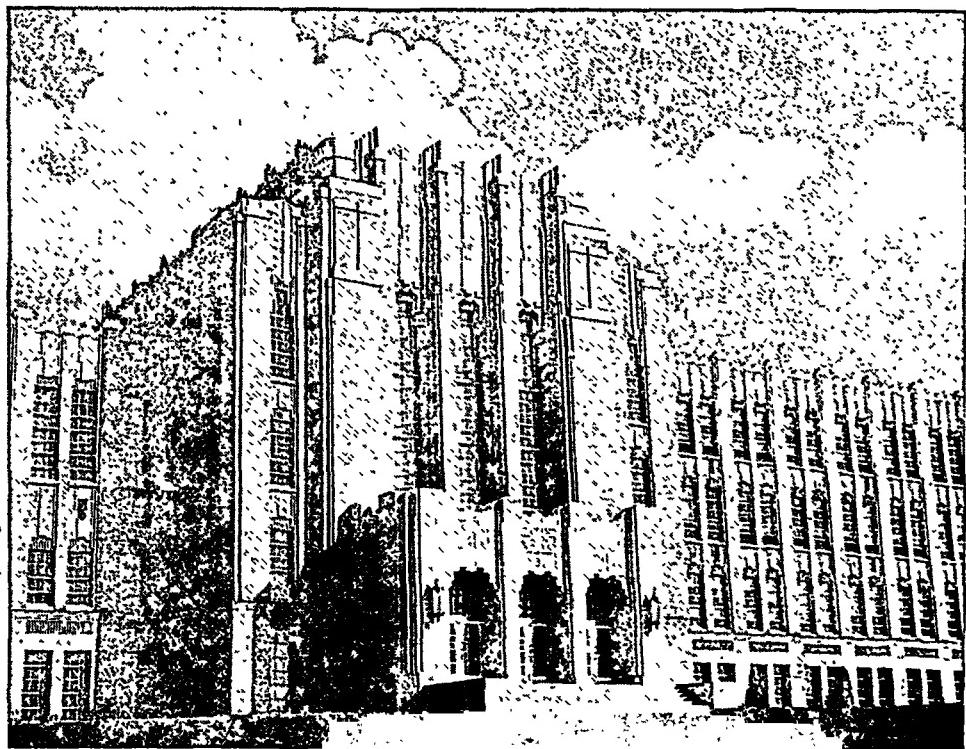
(3) A most important feature of culture, usually giving rise to concomitant specialized educational institutions, is literacy. In a society which does not contain a writing and reading complex, the amount of knowledge which can be accumulated is definitely limited by human memory. Word of mouth and demonstration serve very well for educational purposes under such conditions. But in a literate society, the additions are stored away in books, and it is notoriously difficult to read while you run. While many patterns are still acquired by practice, a certain amount of time and effort is required to master those which can only be obtained from the pages of books and manuscripts. A literate culture depends to a large extent upon verbal symbols. Many of these symbols are abstract in nature, having no simply demonstrable referents in nature. Yet the usage and connotations of these symbols must be learned by the young. Hence education tends to become institutionalized in a manner fitted to the other institutions of society. Once a society learns to write them down, words become increasingly important.

Formal educational institutions

The extent of education in the United States. The United States has the most educated population in the world, if we accept statistics of school attendance as a measure. The percentage of illiteracy, however, is slightly lower in Canada. In 1940, 70.8 per cent of all children between five and twenty years of age were in a school of some sort. In the same year, according to the United States Census, of the population of the United States twenty-five years of age and older, 3.8 per cent had completed no school years; 56.6 per cent had completed from one to eight years of elementary school (of which 35.1 per cent had completed from seven to eight years); 29.5 per cent had finished from one to four years of high school; 10.1 per cent had been to college, of whom 5.5 per cent had attended from one to three years and 4.6 per cent, four years or more. Thus the percentage of

those who had never attended school decreased from 4.3 per cent in 1930 to 3.8 per cent in 1940.⁶

In the years 1941-42, 20,418,231 pupils were enrolled in elementary public and private schools, 6,933,265 in high schools, and 1,403,990 students in colleges and universities. Practically 90 per cent of the students were enrolled in public schools and 10 per cent in private schools. In 1935-36, 503,926



Educational institutions

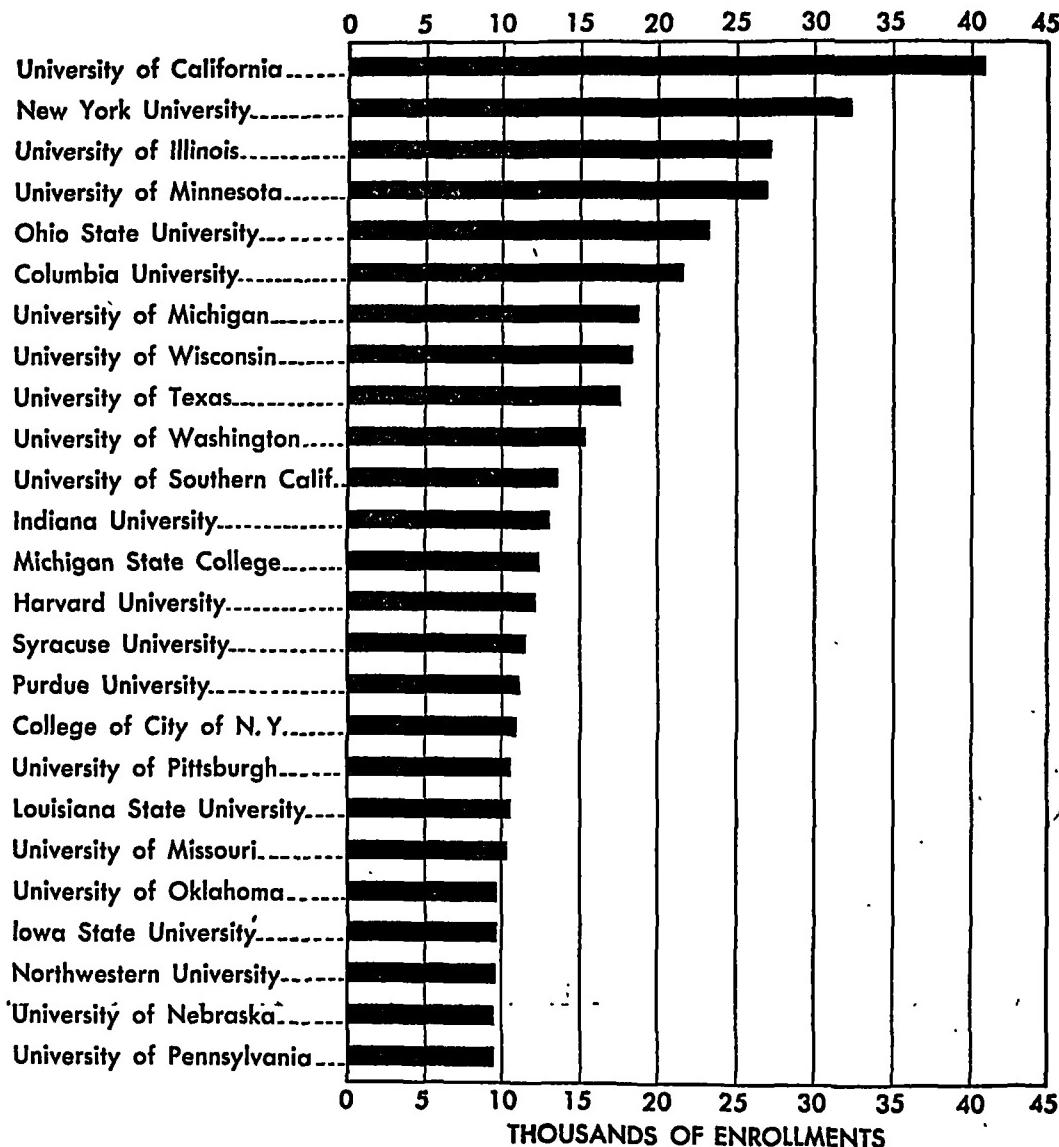
The size and complexity of the modern American educational institution is suggested by this picture of the high school at Ogden, Utah, an urban community of only some 43,000 population in 1940. This is a far cry from the "little red school house" of a former generation. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

students were enrolled in summer schools, 1,099,556 in evening schools, 297,921 in extension and correspondence courses, and 41,441 in short courses.⁷ The number of educational institutions in the continental United States is equally staggering. No less than 276,738 institutions of learning

⁶*World Almanac, 1946*, p. 579.

⁷*Statistical Summary of Education*, Bulletin 1937, No. 2, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1939, pp. 14-15, Tables 7, 13. For data in 1941-42 see *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941-42*, Office of Education, Washington, 1944, p. 5.

**COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS,
TWENTY-FIVE U. S. COLLEGES, 1946**



were in operation in the two years from 1936 to 1938, not including Federal Indian schools. Of these 232,174 were public elementary schools; 9,992, private elementary schools; 25,652, public high schools; 3,327, private high schools and preparatory schools; 536, public universities, colleges, and professional schools; 1,159 private universities, colleges, and professional schools; 295, public schools for the blind, deaf, feeble-minded, and delinquent; 123, private institutions of the same type; 2,099, private commercial schools; and 1,381, nursing schools.⁸ These institutions represented a plant

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 2, Table 1.

investment (including endowment funds for private institutions) of over \$11,500,000,000 in 1934,⁹ and cost about \$2,333,000,000 per year to operate, or about 5 per cent of the national income (\$49,575,000,000) for that year.¹⁰ It is obvious from these facts that education is no small item in our national culture. In view of the compulsory school laws, it is virtually impossible for a child in most of our states to escape some formal education, and the legal length of time required to be spent in school is increasing.¹¹ By 1941-42 the prospect of war had its effect in lowering the enrollment in high schools and in colleges and universities.

The development of modern education. Although the United States has popularized education more widely than any other country, mass schooling has become a definite characteristic of all societies with Western culture. During the nineteenth century almost all Western societies made provisions for at least some formal education of their children. This was due, in general terms, to the increased complexity of the culture. One change—the rise of democratic or pseudo-democratic political institutions—strongly affected the development of educational agencies. If the people were to play a larger part in governmental affairs and, theoretically at least, were to have the privilege of participating in government and in determining policy, they must be informed of the issues involved. This in essence was the theory of the democratic idealists of the early nineteenth century. Among the qualitative changes during this period we mention the following:

1. Education was progressively taken from the hands of the church and turned over to secular authorities. The rise of democracy, the declining influence of the church, and the rise of rationalism contributed to this change. The first move toward compulsory education was made by Frederick the Great in Prussia in 1763, although, owing to opposition from the clergy and other conservative forces, the Prussian system was not established until 1794.¹² In France a National Normal School and a number of state-supported secondary schools were established in 1794, and public elementary education began in 1833. Free compulsory elementary education was not established until 1882. In England the private school remained predominant until very recently, and education was largely a privilege of the wealthier

⁹ Calculated from figures in *World Almanac 1938*, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1938, p. 536.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 287. The edition of 1947 did not give comparable data.

¹¹ In 1928 all states had compulsory school laws with only five states setting the minimum age at which schooling could be stopped as low as 14. See Kandel, I. L., "Public Education," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., 1931, Vol. 5, p. 418.

¹² Barnes, Harry Elmer, *The History of Western Civilization*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1935, Vol. 2, p. 684.

classes. Beginning in 1833, the government started to make grants to private and religious schools, compulsory education was introduced in 1876, but not until 1918 was an adequate publicly supported school system set up.¹³ In the United States public education, although advocated by Thomas Jefferson and agitated by Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, made little headway until the 1830's. The first law providing free public education was passed in Pennsylvania in 1834, and within fifty years practically all states had followed suit, many of them also passing laws limiting the labor of children.

2. The graduated, standardized, and uniform series of educational stages covering the development of the individual from the kindergarten to graduate work in college was established in one form or another in most western European countries and the United States during the nineteenth century.

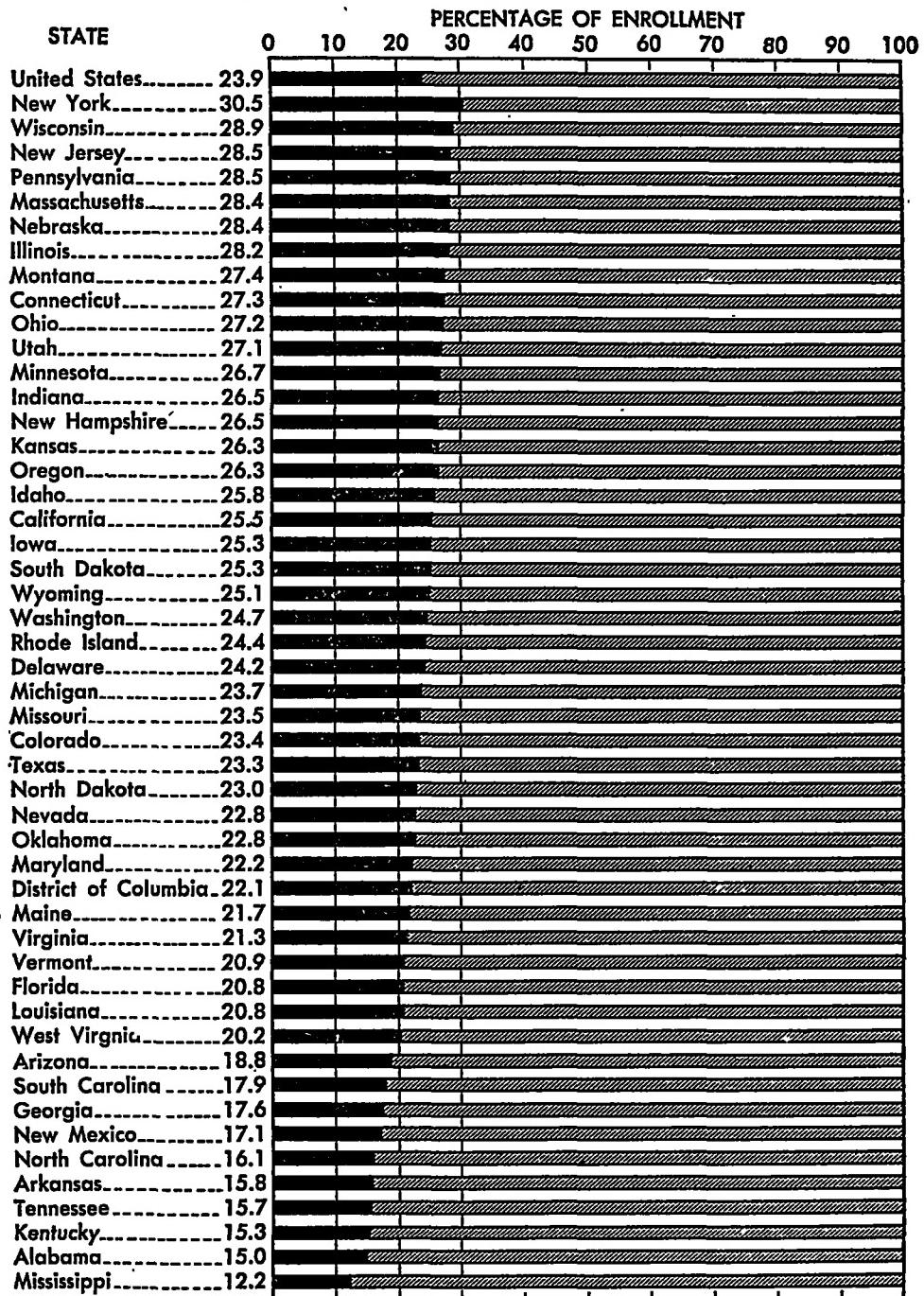
3. With the mass education of students, demand for professionally trained teachers arose, and "normal" schools and teacher-training colleges became a regular part of the educational establishment.

4. Increased liberality and size of the curriculum characterized the development of secondary and university education during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, "classical" education in rhetoric, logic, Greek, and Latin literature, and mathematics together with theological courses comprised the entire offerings of most institutions of secondary and higher education. Then innovations began to appear. First came the admission of modern languages and literatures to the curriculum. Then natural science began to win its way into the courses of study; this trend, having started in Germany, made rapid headway in the United States, but was resisted in English universities and preparatory schools. Last of all came tolerance of courses in history and the social sciences, which were not admitted to most curricula in America until the latter decades of the century. During most of the century, however, the classical subjects were given prominence through the requirement of fixed courses of studies. It was not until after Charles W. Eliot became president of Harvard in 1869 that the elective system, giving the student some choice in his courses, was established in any college in the United States, a change, which encouraged expansion of the curriculum.

5. The establishment and growth of professional schools were also a feature of nineteenth-century educational development. The medieval professional training in law, medicine, theology, and the fine arts was reorganized and enlarged, and new types of professional training were provided in engineering and in the physical sciences. The development of the latter was in some measure due to the competitive nationalism of the period.

¹³ *Ibid.*

**PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN HIGH SCHOOL
BY STATE LAST FOUR YEARS OF SYSTEM, 1943-44**



Percentage of Total Enrollment in High School
Percentage of Total Enrollment in Elementary School

SOURCE: U. S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education*, Washington, 1946, Chapter I, Table 18, pp. 14-15.

Each country realized that its success in war, exploitation of colonies, and world trade depended upon its technological advancement, and most countries set out to provide themselves with trained men in these fields.

6. Education for women gained headway during the nineteenth century until by the end of the century it was accepted as routine in most public elementary schools and publicly controlled secondary and higher institutions in the United States. Coeducation above the elementary and secondary schools made little progress in the United States until after the 1850's, although the Society of Friends had established a number of coeducational schools in various states after the Revolution. Oberlin, the first coeducational college in this country, was opened in 1833. Mount Holyoke Seminary, the first college for women, opened its doors in 1837. More than one hundred women's colleges are now in existence, enrolling over forty-seven thousand students. Coeducation has made less headway in Europe than in the United States and is particularly frowned upon in Catholic countries. Soviet Russia has deliberately established a policy of complete coeducation and equality of educational opportunity for both sexes, but the Fascist and Nazi regimes in Italy and Germany respectively frowned upon both coeducation and the higher education of women in any form.¹⁴

Problems of modern education. In a rapidly changing culture, such as our own, the objectives of education are bound to be in a state of flux. Discussion rages as to what education is for and how it may be accomplished. This unsettled state of affairs is due in part to the fact that, during this century at least, knowledge affecting every phase of life has been accumulating at a rate with which education has hardly been able to keep pace. It is due also in part to the fact that the population is increasing in age, i.e., proportionately fewer children of school age are found in the population now than ever before. Increased length of life brought about by modern medicine has added to the older age group, while the declining birth rate has reduced the proportions of the younger group. As Chapin¹⁵ has pointed out, since 1900 the expectancy of life has increased 24 per cent, while the number of subjects taught in elementary schools has increased 161 per cent.

¹⁴ See Goodsell, Willystine, "Coeducation," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, Vol. 3, p. 614; Stern, Bernard J., "Woman, Position in Society," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 15, p. 449. Lindenwood College for women in Missouri was opened in 1827 as a private school, in about 1847 became an "academy" and in 1853 a "college." From the first, Mt. Holyoke had many of the attributes of a college, differing from most "female seminaries" of the time. It is possible that Lindenwood should have the honor given above to Mt. Holyoke.

¹⁵ Chapin, F. Stuart, *Contemporary American Institutions*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1935, Ch. 8.

The number of individual courses of study in thirty representative colleges and universities in the United States has increased 212 per cent. These figures show the increased scope which education has assumed during this century in response to rapid cultural accumulation. During the same period the number of inventions recorded in the Patent Office by five-year periods has increased 95 per cent. Averaging these indices we see that the percentage increase in the volume of culture since the opening of the twentieth century has been six times as great as the increase in the average age at death.¹⁶ The mere mastery of vocabulary introduced along with new inventions, such as the automobile, radio, movies, etc., has added tremendously to the educational effort required. The fact that the average age at death in 1930 was about sixty years as compared with forty-six to forty-nine in 1901 means that the average individual will live from twelve to fifteen years longer than he would have at the opening of the century. During his life he will be required to adjust to more changes than did his ancestors, because he lives longer and because the culture is changing and accumulating at a faster rate. The educational system is therefore faced with preparing individuals for a long life of adjustment in a rapidly changing society, or providing for the continuing education of adults.

Objectives of education. Despite the present confusion in pedagogical circles we may recognize several more or less consciously held objectives in American education. Most pedagogues would probably agree that the ultimate goals are *adjustment of the individual and stabilization of the society*. The disagreements arise over the methods of accomplishing these aims.

1. One of the primary objectives in a highly literate culture is to teach the young individuals the *simple skills* connected with language: reading, spelling, grammar, writing, and arithmetic. In American civilization the child must first of all learn to master the channels of communication. This is especially important since so many of his contacts will be secondary ones. Mathematics is of course a type of language, a highly abstract language, upon which much of our communication is based. It is of the nature of things that a large part of the mastery of these subjects involves memory. The language tools represent the concentrated contribution of millions of individuals over a long period of time. The child cannot waste his time making these discoveries all over again for himself. He must be able to pick up the tools which are handed to him, if he is to make the larger adjustments which depend upon these tools. One of the principal problems of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

modern education is how to make this process of accumulating the rudiments of the culture, which requires so much memory work, interesting to the student.

2. A second objective of American education is to provide the child with an *understanding of the immensely complex culture* sufficiently integrated for him to make his adjustments to it as a whole. It is, of course, impossible to provide him with a detailed knowledge of all the specialties, but it is essential that he grasp the general scheme of things if he is to find his way around and through a culture characterized by many competing interests and interrelationships.

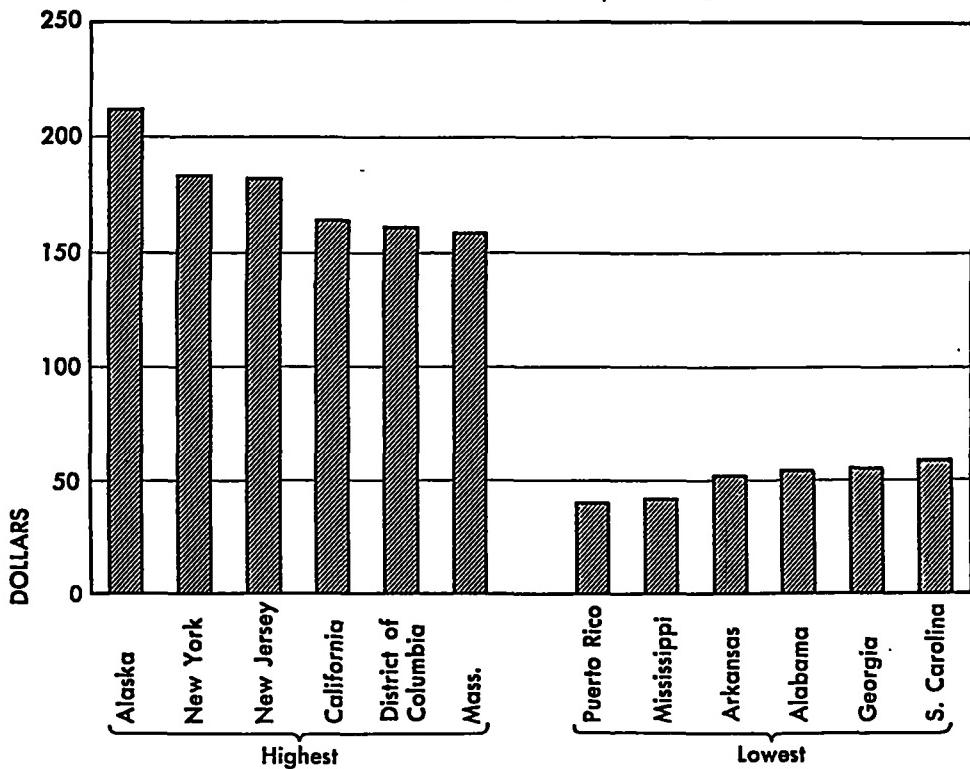
3. Education is also faced with the necessity of developing *patterns of social adjustment in the child*. He must learn to get along with other individuals in society. But that is no longer a simple task. Once the child was taught a small number of established patterns which would serve him in all of the relatively few types of situation in which he was expected to find himself during life. But our society has become mobile and complex, and secondary contacts have increased immensely in number. Thus the child must develop self-reliance and problem-solving ability in the social field. He can no longer expect that a few simple rules which sufficed his parents for their adjustment to village or community life will serve him equally well as he moves from one community to another, from one contact to another in a rapidly changing social situation.

4. It is generally conceded that the educational system should provide *training which will fit the child to adjust economically*. He must be prepared to earn his living when the educational period is over. But in a specialized society this also is no simple matter. Individual aptitudes differ; some are fitted to be ditch-diggers, some to be engineers, and it is highly desirable that these aptitudes be discovered fairly early so that waste of time and effort in haphazard preparation may be avoided. Also the educational system must avoid so far as possible the unfortunate error of preparing children for occupations to which they are not fitted or in which there are insufficient economic opportunities to enable them to make a living. This type of error is illustrated by the former policy of the government in providing, willy-nilly, training in linotype operation and plumbing for the boys of certain nomadic Indian tribes. Returning to the reservations the Indian boys rightly concluded that their years in school had been 90 per cent wasted. Vocational guidance and training are intended to link the educational system closely to the economic system. The educators are obliged to understand the latter if they are not to misguide their charges.

5. The educational system is expected not only to guide and adjust stu-

dents to American society and culture as it exists, but also to *train and encourage some of its students to improve the culture and to make additions to it*. In other words, scholars must be developed who understand the culture, or their specialized fields in it, in great detail and who can make additions to it for the benefit of the society. Research funds and projects are not mere playthings of professors but are or should be intended to serve useful

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1943-44



SOURCE: *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1942-44*, U. S. Office of Education, Social Security Agency, Washington, 1946, p. 60, Table 27.

social purposes. One error which is commonly made, however, is to divert the funds largely into research which is expected to produce immediately practical results. Necessary as this type of research is, it is well known that the "practical" discoveries and inventions are almost invariably made upon a basis of prior research of a more fundamental, but more abstract type.

6. Finally it would be fairly generally agreed that the educational system is charged with the duty of *keeping adults up to date on the cultural changes*. This objective is becoming more important as the average man's life lengthens and a larger proportion of middle-aged and older people

compose the population. So rapidly does the culture change that the adult can no longer depend upon much of the material which he acquired during his days in school. Adult education is perhaps destined to occupy as important a place in the system as child education.

Some patterns of American education. In view of the multiplicity and complexity of the objectives just stated, it is not surprising that some confusion exists in the educational patterns.

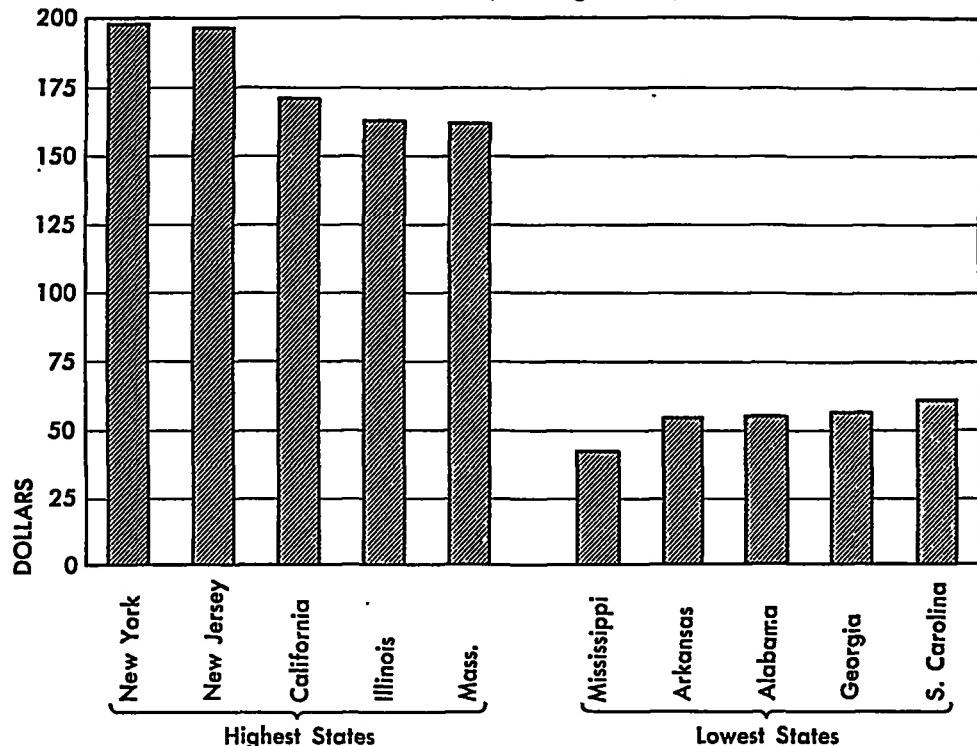
1. No Federal system of education exists in the United States, except for its professional military and naval officers, and for wards of the government, such as Indians, veterans, the deaf, and other special classes. The effective control of educational institutions lies in local or state political divisions or in private hands. The United States Office of Education is essentially a fact-finding body devoted to the dissemination of information. The Federal government exercises some control by the use of grants for vocational education, military training, and the like, but policies for the public institutions are usually made locally or by state offices. This results in considerable variation in educational programs throughout the country. In general outline, however, a more or less standard pattern has developed, which now is undergoing some changes.

2. The standard educational program involves three levels of increasing complexity through which the student is ushered. (a) The elementary level consisting of eight years or grades devotes itself primarily to instruction in the fundamentals, including the basic means of communication, thought patterns, and a limited familiarity with the culture as a whole. (b) The second level of complexity, traditionally four years, is reached at the high school. Here some vocational training is given; the beginnings of the social and physical sciences and of foreign languages are taught. The emphasis is still upon acquiring knowledge, answering the questions of life, as Chapin says, rather than asking them. (c) At the college level, at least in the larger institutions, the individual is subjected to a series of studies intended to develop in him a questioning turn of mind and a desire to ask questions and to solve them by his own efforts. The university tradition has been to present both sides of large fundamental questions and to train the student to solve the questions for himself. There has been a strong tendency, however, to make the university a training school for specialized vocations and a forum for social contacts, and these aspects must be realistically considered as part of the university in this country.

So far as the teacher group is concerned, the traditional view of its functions, at least at the first two levels and to a large extent in the university, has been (a) maintenance of order and discipline in the classroom, (b) im-

parting of knowledge, preferably in predigested form ready for memorization. The emphasis, in short, has been upon the acquisition of knowledge with relatively little attention to practice in applying this knowledge by way of problem-solving and practical adjustment. Obviously both aspects are important, and in recent years teachers have become increasingly conscious of the necessity of combining the two. A general weakness in the

EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE FOR CURRENT EXPENSES (Including Interest) 1943-1944



SOURCE: *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, 1939-40 and 1940-42, Washington, 1944, Vol. II, Chapter III, p. 31; and *Ibid.*, 1943-44, Chapter II, Table 28, pp. 62, 63.

method of teaching symbolic knowledge only, in addition to the fact that it supplies incomplete training in life adjustment, has been the tendency of the teachers and schools to lag far behind the actual cultural changes. It requires an average of about ten years, for example, for the new discoveries in historical research to reach the high-school textbooks.¹⁷

The increasing size of the educational system has added several other types of groups to the old teacher and student groups—the administrative

¹⁷ Blythe, Irene T., "The Textbooks and the New Discoveries, Emphases, and Viewpoints in American History," *Historical Outlook*, Vol. 23, 1932, pp. 495-502.

and the maintenance groups, to mention only two. The opening of the school year in 1932 brought to work 26,953 superintendents and business officers, 37,764 principals and supervisors, 238,306 janitors, 50,000 bus drivers, and 125,000 other persons connected with school operation.¹⁸ The presence of all these functionaries, not directly concerned with the problems of teaching and learning, has given rise to a certain amount of dull routine and "red tape" (ritual) which has contributed to the lag of the educational system behind the advances of the culture.

But with all this increase in the personnel of the educational system there has been a dangerous lag in in the number and quality of the teachers. The American Education Fellowship, the successor of the Progressive Education Association, has pointed out that in 1942-43 the average of all teachers' salaries was only \$1,550 and of rural teachers only \$969. Five out of every one hundred teachers received less than \$600. The report points out that in 1940 three million adults twenty-five years of age or over had never gone to school; 13 per cent had not completed the fourth grade; 56 per cent had only an eighth grade education; and 75 per cent had not completed high school. Selective Service records from 1940 to 1946 revealed that 350,000 young men of draft age could not write their own names.¹⁹

During World War II vast numbers of teachers left the profession to enter the services or to work in war industries, leaving an enormous deficit of teachers to man the schools.

Some recent trends in education. It has become increasingly clear that in many ways the standard pattern of education in this country has resulted in loss of integration of the educational institutions with other aspects of the culture. The educational gears have failed on occasion to mesh with those of other institutions of the country, and "educated" individuals have too often shown themselves maladjusted when turned loose in the arena of adult society. The need of change has not been lost upon progressive educators and other scientists.

1. Changes in pedagogical methods are becoming gradually institutionalized under the symbol of *progressive education*. The principles upon which these "progressive" schools operate have been summarized by Cook.²⁰ (a) The child is viewed as an active organism rather than a passive memorizing mechanism. Education should be fitted to the needs, wants, interests,

¹⁸ Judd, Charles R., "Education," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933, Ch. 7.

¹⁹ *The Public and Education*, National Education Association, Washington, Oct. 20, 1945.

²⁰ Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1938, pp. 340-344.

individual development, and capabilities of the child. The children are therefore taught as individuals, rather than on the assumption that they are all alike. (b) Progressive education lays heavy stress upon the development of the child's personality. Education is viewed as a process of making



Educational methods

In some modern schools the stiff rows of desks have been supplanted by chairs around a table and a variety of apparatus to stimulate the interest of children in learning. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

the individual able to adjust through his own efforts rather than through memorization of symbolic knowledge alone. (c) Since learning is conceived of as "experience plus interpretation," the project or activity method of instruction is used. The children learn by doing and by taking part in activity; they see for themselves the interrelations between the subjects with which they are dealing. (d) Less stress is laid on texts and lectures and more upon library reading, visits to scenes of activity, motion pictures, case reports, personal-experience reports, and studies of community conditions "in life." This attempt to study living realities means lessened emphasis upon classroom work and more upon field work. (e) The teacher's activity is regarded as guidance. He or she plans the general outlines of the work, but expects the students to provide the initiative and to work out the details for themselves, following the interests aroused. The teacher still "teaches," but the objective of "progressive education" is to develop more coöperation and initiative on the part of the students than were possible under the traditional system. (f) Since one of the objectives of this method is the development of self-discipline in the student, the old methods of control by formal report cards, scoldings, and physical punishment are discarded in favor of indirect methods of control, intrinsically interesting activity, an ideology evoking respect for the rights of others, class discussions and group decision, primary group restraints, isolation of child from group, and recognition of misbehavior as a sign of maladjustment which may be remedied. (g) By keeping the students in closer touch with life, the progressive movement also hopes to keep them abreast of social change and thus to obviate the lag which was so unfortunate a characteristic of much traditional education.

The methods and principles of "progressive education" are still the subject of heated debate, and though we have no way of predicting the final outcome, there are numerous signs that some of its tenets are being taken over into the traditional system. Progressive schools have been established not only at the elementary level but also on the secondary and college levels. Among the latter we may mention Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, Antioch, Berea, and Rollins Colleges. The question of the adequacy of preparation for life given by these methods still remains to be answered, but other things being equal, there can be no doubt that further modifications in the educational institutions of society will be influenced by these experiments.

Recently a committee of the faculty of Harvard University released a report on a two-year study of a liberal college education. One significant emphasis of this report was its definition of "a general education" as an "education for an informed, responsible life in society." The issue was raised in American education, says the report, by the development of "spe-

cialism" and by the enormous growth in the numbers attending the educational system. The secondary schools can no longer be considered as preparatory for college only. The multiplication of courses both in the high schools and at the college level has resulted in confusion of education aims. The report endeavors to find a way of reconciling the claims of two schools of thought—that which stresses, with President Hutchins of Chicago University, the role of a study of great books, and that of those with the scientific and practical outlook. Or, to put it another way, a liberal education is a middle way between "unrelieved classicism and on undirected experimentalism."²¹

2. Another recent trend has been the *extension of education both downward and upward into new age levels*. Nursery schools and other institutions for children of tender years have increased in frequency. At the same time formal adult education has been recognized as an increasingly important problem. Confined for the most part to the East until recently, special institutions for adult education similar to the Cooper Union and the New School for Social Research have appeared in other parts of the country. University extension courses for adults have been provided for many years by American universities, and during the depression beginning in the early 1930's, a regular system of continuation classes and adult forums was established by the Federal government, staffed by relief teachers and leaders. In 1940, 2,242,118 persons were enrolled in universities and colleges, teachers' colleges, and in extension courses, as compared with 1,567,359 in 1926.

3. The *increased registration in higher education* has been a phenomenon of the present century. With more than two million students enrolled in institutions of collegiate rank, various problems have arisen. (a) One has been crowding of facilities and consequent lowering of the intensiveness of instruction, with accompanying mechanization and superficiality. (b) Another result has been increased curricular offerings to satisfy the varied demands of the larger group of students. Professional training and training for jobs have become increasingly important among the functions of the college—the commercial angle obtruding into the sacred halls of learning. (c) Another strange appearance of commercialism in higher education has appeared in the huge financial operations involved in intercollegiate athletics. (d) Growth of extra-curricular activities in college and high school has been rapid and represents an adjustment to the need of the student for experience in practical life situations. Gradually the value of these activities is being recognized by the college administrations and faculties, and some institutions have taken the step of providing faculty guidance and academic

²¹ General Education in a Free Society. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945.

Percentage of population enrolled in college 1890-1942

	<i>Total population</i>	<i>Population 18-21 yrs. of age</i>
1890	0.25	3.04
1900	0.31	4.01
1905	0.31	4.02
1910	0.38	4.84
1915	0.41	5.50
1918	0.43	6.00
1920	0.57	8.14
1922	0.62	8.87
1924	0.73	10.27
1926	0.79	10.98
1928	0.88	12.13
1930	0.89	12.37
1932	0.92	12.74
1934	0.84	11.45
1936	0.94	12.89
1938	1.04	14.17
1940	1.13	15.42
1942	1.04	14.25

Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938-40 and 1940-42, *Statistics of Higher Education 1939-40 and 1941-42*, Vol. II, Chapter IV, Federal Security Agency, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1944, p. 4.

credit for worthy participation in activities of an educational nature.

4. *Vocational education* has made rapid strides, helped to some extent by grants from the Federal government. All money granted by the Federal government must be matched by states and local divisions in Federally aided vocational schools. In 1939 the states and local communities expended \$1.71 for each dollar of Federal aid, exclusive of their expenditures for buildings and equipment for which no Federal money may be used. Total registration in Federally aided vocational schools has risen from 164,183 in 1918 to 2,002,895 in 1945; of the number enrolled in the latter year, 522,718 students were undergoing trade and industrial training. During the same period the Federal funds expended for vocational education have risen from \$6,888,000 (1918) to \$65,642,000 (1944).²²

²² *World Almanac 1939*, The New York World Telegram, New York, 1939, p. 396; and *World Almanac 1941*, p. 551. Due to the war in 1944 the enrollment dropped to 2,001,136. *Ibid.*, 1946, p. 579. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1947*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1947, pp. 140, 141, Tables 166, 167.

5. A *reorganization in the traditional system of grades* involved with the introduction of the junior high school and junior college is becoming increasingly popular. Various plans are used: One is to reduce the eight-year elementary period to six years, the last two years being joined to a junior high-school period four years in length (seventh to tenth grades inclusive); the junior high school is followed, in such a plan, by a four-year junior-college course, which includes the last two years of the conventional high school and the first two years of the conventional college. These reorganizations are being made in recognition of the differences in abilities and circumstances among students. The junior college, which includes only the first two years of the traditional college work, is becoming the answer to the student who wishes the social advantages and background of higher education, but who lacks the talents, funds, or desire to go through a four-year "liberal" college course.²³

6. Among *other changes and trends* we may mention emphasis on hygiene, physical training, sex education, and the development of special classes for backward children and for unusually bright children. One trend, not as yet extensive in America, has appeared in European education. This was particularly evident in totalitarian states, such as Italy and Germany, where education was no longer viewed as a means of stimulating the mind of youth and fitting them to solve the problems of life, but as a means of control. Only those subjects were taught which contributed to the ideology of the political system; free thought and inquiry were ruthlessly suppressed in the interests of political conformity. The same view of education is held in present-day Russia. From any standpoint, it seems certain that such policies are destined to choke progress and the development of socially useful additions to the culture. Freedom of thought and of education has been won, as we have seen, very late in world history and at great cost of life and treasure. Any regression toward the earlier state of ignorance and bigotry is to be regarded as calamitous.

Auxiliary educational institutions

We have seen how formal, mass-educational institutions have grown in size and complexity in modern culture and have taken over educational functions formerly performed by other institutions or groups. Certain other in-

²³ This scheme, the 6-4-4 plan, was recommended as the best by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Educational Association in 1938. See *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*, National Education Association, Washington, 1938, reported in *Time*, Vol. 32, August 22, 1938, p. 32.



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NEW OR OLD PATTERNS IN EDUCATION

Sociology in cartoons

stitutions exist in modern society which may be regarded as educational, or at least, as Young puts it, as competitors of formal education.²⁴ These latter institutions—the press, the radio, the motion pictures, and others—all convey cultural patterns en masse.

The press. Books are published in the United States at the rate of about 11,000 titles per year (9,015 new titles and 1,625 new editions in 1939).²⁵ Stephen Leacock in a humorous squib once said, "Americans are queer people: they can't read. . . . They print more books in one year than the French print in ten. But they can't read. They buy eagerly thousands of new novels. But they read only page one. The last American who sat down to read died in the days of Henry Clay."²⁶ This may be true, although the authors of the present volume profoundly hope that it is not; in any case Americans publish books in large quantities; and knowing that commercial publishers are not in business for their health, we assume that Americans pay out good money for their books, whether they read them or not. Fiction is the most popular classification of books published in terms of number of titles, followed in order in 1939 by books for juveniles, sociology and economics, history, religion, poetry and drama, and general literature, to mention only the seven most popular classifications. It is interesting to note that the classification "domestic economy" showed the fewest number of titles, with philosophy second fewest.²⁷ In view of the fact that fads and fashions sometimes operate to promote the publication of more titles in one classification in a given year than in other years, these figures should not be taken to represent the fixed reading habits of American book lovers, but as indicative of the recent state of affairs. There has been a steady increase in the last ten years in the number of new titles in the social sciences.

Although the book publishers complain that the small size of the modern American home and the competition of other interests have reduced the home libraries and the number of books bought by Americans, one important institution should be mentioned in this connection, namely, the *public library*. Libraries as repositories of written knowledge have existed in practically all literate cultures. The earliest library of which we have record was established by Sargon I at Accad in Sumeria about the twenty-ninth century B.C., while the oldest library of which any considerable remnant has been recovered was that founded in the seventh century B.C., by the

²⁴ Young, Kimball, *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., New York, 1939, p. 275.

²⁵ *World Almanac 1941*, p. 556. During the war all private publications were restricted on account of paper and man-power shortages.

²⁶ *Forum*, April, 1931, quoted in *Reader's Digest*, September, 1938, p. 33. Quotation by permission of *Reader's Digest*.

²⁷ *World Almanac 1941*, p. 556.

Assyrian monarch Assurbanipal. Perhaps the largest and most famous library of antiquity was that established at Alexandria, Egypt, by Ptolemy I. Destroyed in the fourth century B.C., it probably contained between 400,000 and 700,000 volumes, all, of course, in manuscript form. It is said that Julius Caesar promoted the library in Rome and that by the fourth century A.D. there were twenty-eight public libraries in the Imperial City. The library history of the Christian world apparently begins in the sixth century A.D. with the establishment of the Benedictine Order and the founding of libraries in all of its monasteries. Throughout the Middle Ages monastic libraries were the only ones in existence. In 1350 the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the library of the University of Prague were established, marking the first development of library institutions on a national scale in Europe. The Renaissance stimulated a demand for the classics, and the development of the printing press in Europe in the fifteenth century (it had been known in simple form at least a thousand years earlier in China) provided the means of satisfying this demand.

The development of many libraries supported by public funds as an aid to education is an American accomplishment. The first circulating library in America was a subscription library organized by Benjamin Franklin in 1732. Until after the Revolution this type of library was the only one known, and it flourished until the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. The American Library Association was organized in 1876.²⁸

In 1941-42 there were about 38,000 libraries in the United States, distributed as follows: public, 6,500; centralized school, 28,000 or more; university and college, 1,600; state and Federal, 250; and special, 1,500. They contained over 100,000,000 volumes and enjoyed a circulation of about 410,000,000 volumes during the year. A measure of the use to which libraries are put may be abstracted from these figures which, compared with the population figures, show that on the average 3.67 loans of public-library books were made for every soul in the United States during the year. These figures do not, of course, include loans made from commercial libraries.²⁹ As Ballard points out, the phenomenal growth of the public library was correlated with several other significant changes in American culture; establishment of mass education, dissemination of liberal political views, the spread of the lyceum movement popularizing oratory and debating, the

²⁸ Ballard, L. V., *Social Institutions*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, pp. 227-251.

²⁹ *World Almanac 1938*, p. 370; *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941-42*, United States Office of Education, Washington, 1945, pp. 38, 39; *Public Library Statistics, 1938-39*, in *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940-42*, Washington, 1945, Vol. II and *Bulletin 1942*, No. 4, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1942.

accumulating of surplus wealth which made library financing possible, increased leisure for workers as a result of the movement for shorter hours, the popularization of scientific and technical knowledge, and the recognition of the need of adult education. It is interesting to note that the use of libraries increased during the depression, perhaps reflecting decreased funds available for more expensive leisure-time activities.³⁰

Notwithstanding this intensive use of libraries, complete coverage of the population is far from achieved. More than 45,000,000 are without public library facilities, and most of these live in rural areas. No libraries are found in more than one-third (1,135 of the 3,065) of the counties in the United States. Only in Massachusetts and Rhode Island are all the inhabitants provided with library service. The traveling library has been developed to meet this need in rural areas to some extent, as has interlibrary lending whereby the larger institutions provide loans to the smaller institutions, thus increasing the facilities of the latter. The Wisconsin Free Library Commission for many years has distributed books to individuals, the only expense to the borrower being the return postage. The package library, originating in the University of Wisconsin Extension Division and now found in other states, has also done much to meet the need of library facilities in small communities.

Even more important than books as a medium of rapid dissemination of information and cultural patterns to the masses are *newspapers* and *periodicals*. In 1937 a total of 13,028 newspapers and periodicals of all classes were being published in the United States. These products of journalism enjoyed an aggregate circulation of 320,895,626. Daily newspapers (exclusive of other daily publications) totaled 2,065 with a total circulation per day of 43,344,936.³¹ In the daily field a trend toward consolidation has been in evidence since the first World War, reducing the number of publications. Circulation, however, continued to climb until the depression, when it suffered some loss, since recovered.

As is well known to any literate person, much of the printed matter flowing off the presses is of inferior quality, intended merely to amuse or to thrill. The press fulfills recreational functions as well as educational. The entire question of the social results of such education as is provided by the daily and periodical press is a question on which we have very little information.

The radio. The listening public in the United States in 1945 had 56,000,000 receiving sets—about 46,000,000 in homes, 4,000,000 in business

³⁰ Ballard, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 230.

³¹ *World Almanac* 1941, p. 556.

places, and 6,000,000 in automobiles. More than 40 per cent of all receiving sets in the world are owned in the United States. In this equipment the public has invested \$3,500,000,000 and spends about \$300,000,000 annually on its upkeep. As of 1945, there were 960 broadcasting stations.³² Since about 85 per cent of the broadcasting stations sell time commercially, it would be naïve to assume that a considerable portion of radio effectiveness is devoted to education with the serious social objectives we have discussed under the head of formal educational institutions. Nevertheless, the aim of the sponsors is to propagandize or educate the public to the virtues of their products. There can be little doubt that the radio exercises large influence in disseminating culture patterns and attitudes both old and new throughout the population. Whether the majority of these patterns are socially desirable is an open question. Certainly a large part of radio time is almost worthless, even as amusement. As Landry says, "The British believe that an occasional interval of silence on the radio is no disgrace. Not so the Americans. The American radio is devoted to the principle of something doing every minute. The show must go on—and on—and on." He proceeds to discuss the expedients used to fill the yawning holes of the "sustaining" programs. Singing mice, diction and vocabulary contests for parrots, descriptions of the performances of trained fleas, hog-calling, cow races, mule derbies, egg-frying on the pavement, interviews with the "man in the street" and "the housewife at her door"—"such are the enduring monuments marking the battles between American broadcasters and their old adversary, silence." Questions under discussion, if any, may vary. "Once the ringing of the American doorbell heralded the presence of a young man working his way through college; today it may be the radio announcer working his way through the building. 'Good evening, ma'am. You're on the air!'"³³

Motion pictures. Another agency for education and dissemination of mass impressions is the motion-picture industry. Although movies are used to some extent for formal educational purposes in the schools and colleges, this institution makes its principal contacts with the public under the guise of recreation and amusement. On January 1, 1940, there were 19,032 commercial motion picture theaters in the United States, to which about 85,000,000 admissions were paid each week, at an average price of twenty-three cents each. Although many of these admissions represent individuals who attend the pictures twice or more each week, it is obvious that a considerable section of the entire population has formed the movie habit.

³² *World Almanac, 1946*, p. 612.

³³ Landry, Robert, "The Yawn Comes up Like Thunder," *Reader's Digest*, September, 1938, pp. 10-12. Quotations reproduced by permission of *Reader's Digest*.

Throughout the world in 1939 an estimated 230,000,000 admissions to moving-picture theaters were sold each week, more than a third of them in the United States. The motion-picture industry in the United States represents an investment of over \$2,000,000,000 and the production cost for the 1939 to 1940 season was about \$165,000,000.³⁴ Features and shorts made and shown in the country during the year 1937 totaled 1,311, of which about 600 were feature-length pictures. In addition, 313 foreign features were released during the year.³⁵

The precise influence of the motion pictures and radio is yet a matter of question, although some studies have presented suggestive findings.³⁶ There can be no doubt, however, that these institutions have a share in disseminating attitudes, patterns of behavior, and impressions of all kinds to the masses of the population.

Educational institutions
Television. (Photo by Brown Bros.)



Other powerful forces for mass impression might be mentioned, such as advertising, the convention movement, and so on. The fact is obvious, however, that our society has developed techniques for informal diffusing of culture throughout the population on a scale never before approached. Questions arise in connection with these matters for which no answer has yet been found. Many of the auxiliary institutions of education are under commercial control. The diffusion of culture which is motivated by selfish objectives is termed *propaganda* in distinction from true education, sup-

³⁴ *World Almanac 1941*, p. 768.

³⁵ Nugent, F. S., "Motion Pictures," *American Yearbook*, 1937, Thomas Nelson, New York, 1938, pp. 904-908; *World Almanac*, 1946, p. 612.

³⁶ See Charters, W. W., *Motion Pictures and Youth*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933; Blumer, Herbert, and Hansen, Philip M., *Movies, Delinquency and Crime*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933; Mitchell, A. M., *Children and the Movies*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

posedly motivated by social objectives. If propaganda is to be allowed, should it not be controlled? If control is attempted, how may censorship avoid injury to the rights of free thought and free speech? Should not the formal educational institutions provide training for the population in distinguishing between propaganda and education, between falsehood and truth? But how can this be done without interfering with the huge investments in radio, press, movies, etc.? These are some of the questions which boldly emerge from the present situation. They reveal the multiplicity of alternative elements in our culture. And they illustrate the conflicting objectives which characterize contemporary culture.

Among the institutions of Western societies and of those influenced by the West those of education and of economics are outstanding. They are outstanding in their widespread acceptance despite their recent origin, in their rapid change in methods, and in their dependence upon modern knowledge. In these respects they stand in contrast with the institution of marriage and the family, and with political and religious institutions. The basic educational institutions differ from economic institutions in our culture in that the former are motivated by concern for the social welfare instead of for profit. In that respect they resemble the political and religious institutions. As to type, the educational institutions are, in Sumner's phrase, enacted rather than crescive, or to use Ross's classification, they are operative rather than regulative. On the whole they are not subsidiary but basic.

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Exercises

1. Describe some of the informal educational methods in our culture which correspond more or less closely to those of primitive society.
2. How much of what you knew up to the age of ten years was learned in school?
3. Why is it necessary in a culture rich in content and possessing a written language to have specialized educational institutions?
4. Do you know of any evidence which indicates that some of our people believe that too much is spent on primary education? On secondary education? On university education?
5. In what country was compulsory public education first established?
6. What influences in the culture of Western civilization led to the demand for public education?
7. By whom and when was the college elective system established?
8. What bearings have the increased life expectancy in our country and the rapid accumulation of culture upon the demand for adult education?
9. The natural sciences are intended to make man acquainted with the physical universe; the social sciences to make him acquainted with the world of social relations. Which of these two seems to you to be the more important for the modern college student?
10. What are the chief differences between the ordinary methods of education and the "progressive" methods which are being introduced into some secondary schools and colleges?
11. What in your estimation is the value in a college education of the extra-curricular activities? Why?
12. Discuss the statement that considering the education which everyone receives through the reading of books, magazines, newspapers, and listening to the radio, a liberal college education is adequate to fit one to make a living in Western civilization except in the highly skilled professions.
13. Illustrate how newspapers, movies, and radios present ideals and patterns of activity for imitation which may influence large areas in the population.
14. Should school textbooks be censored? Should magazines, newspapers, movies, and the radio be censored? Give reasons.

chapter I 8 Political institutions

The nature of the state. The state is the sovereign political organization of the individuals occupying a definite territory. Its purposes are (1) the protection of the interests of the whole group or of particular parts of the group against other states and against subordinate groups, and (2) the preservation of order in the interest of the group in power or of the whole population. Concern for the preservation of the group is the most general motive inspiring that regulation of individual and group life which is the beginning of government. That characteristic explains why both in primitive and in developed societies the group's regulations are limited to those designed to promote this aim. These regulations differ both as to stringency and as to scope in societies at different stages of development. Sometimes it may seem best to the governing authorities to exercise closer regulation of individual and group action than at others, for example, in times of war, or of such a crisis as famine, flood, or plague. In certain stages of social evolution, regulation by the governing authorities extends to affairs which at other times are left to the regulation of the mores or to the individual interest.¹

It is important for the student in sociology to recognize that the state as a political organization, whatever its form—oligarchical, monarchical, communistic, totalitarian, or democratic—is an institution only because it is the instrumentality whereby a people, or a dominant part of it, expresses sentiments, opinions, and feelings about human relations. These opinions, sentiments, and feelings are the result largely of past experiences, but in part of new conditions recently met.²

¹ Willoughby has a clear, simple statement which best serves the purpose of this discussion. He says that the essential elements of a state are: (1) a community of people socially united; (2) a political machinery, termed a government, and administered by a corps of officials termed a magistracy; and (3) a body of rules or maxims, written or unwritten, determining the scope of this public authority and the manner of its exercise. Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1896, p. 4.

² Spencer, Herbert, *Principles of Sociology*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1891, Secs. 465-470.

Giddings, following Burgess, has expressed the same idea in different words by saying that there is a state *behind* the constitution and a state revealed *in* the constitution. The two are quite distinct. The former is composed of the people in a given geographic area usually speaking a common language and having common ideas as to the fundamental principles of rights and wrongs. The latter is the people expressing themselves in cultural patterns and defining and delegating certain powers which they wish to have exercised. The latter may be called the *government*. It is the subject of political science. The former is the subject matter of sociology.³

For the origin of the state behind the constitution we must go back to primitive social institutions. The state, whether it be that of Louis XIV saying, "*L'état c'est moi*," or that of our revolutionary forefathers writing the Constitution of the United States, organizing itself in order to secure benefits which could not be obtained by isolated individuals, finds its basis in primitive man's consciousness of group needs and in the whole complex of feelings, beliefs, customs, and traditions concerning group relationships developed from time immemorial. Its development cannot always be traced through a definite succession of forms as Herbert Spencer thought, but like other social institutions varies in form from people to people. It is always the result of a psychosocial process working through all forms and taking shape according to the demands of the total situation of the group and of the cultural configuration of the particular society. For wherever there is concerted action for the common good, however faint, there are the beginnings of those arrangements relating to the security of a group against hostile groups and regulating relationships within the society which results in the state behind the constitution. As will be explained later, the state in the sense of that term which involves sovereignty did not develop as a matter of history until war, migration, and conquest had given a conqueror the right to impose his will upon the people of a certain geographical area.⁴

Theories concerning the origin of the state. Our knowledge of the way in which the state originated is still quite incomplete. The following account gives certain theories which have been propounded. When men discuss the origin of the state, some discuss the psychological motives which gave it birth, while others refer to the social institutions out of which the

³ Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1901, p. 35. See Burgess, John W., "The American Commonwealth," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 1 (March, 1886), p. 13.

⁴ Ward, Lester F., "Sociology and the State," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 15, March, 1910, p. 679; *Pure Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1907, pp. 206-211; Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 116-123.

state developed. Representative of the first class is Morley when he says that society, by which he must be understood to mean the state, is grounded in "the acceptance of conditions which came into existence by the sociability inherent in man, and were developed by man's spontaneous search after convenience."⁵

Not ignoring the motives which gave rise to the state, but connecting those motives with the institutions in which they found their expression, are other writers, from among whom two representatives may be cited. Wilson says, "Government must have had substantially the same early history among all progressive races. It must have begun in clearly defined family discipline." And, "What is known of the central nations of history reveals clearly the fact that social organization and, consequently, government (which is the visible form of social organization), originated in *kinship*. The original bond of union and the original sanction for magisterial authority were one and the same thing, namely, real or feigned blood-relationship."⁶ Commons looks to a different series of motives to explain the origin of the state. He says, "The state is the coercive institution of society. It is not an ideal entity, superimposed upon society, but is an accumulated series of compromises between social classes, each seeking to secure for themselves control over the institution of private property." "The state is rather the creature and offspring of private property."⁷ Yet the patriarchal family, possessing only women and children as private property, is one of the institutions in which sovereignty and so the state originated.⁸ Thus, according to the writers represented by Wilson the state originated in the relations and institutions of kinship, while according to those represented by Commons it grew out of the institution of private property. Closely akin to the theory of Commons is the theory of Gumplowicz.⁹ He says: "States have never arisen except through the subjection of one stock by another, or by several others in alliance." Consequently states with sovereignty are in his view outgrowths of war and conquest.

Apparently Wilson and his group are speaking about the state behind the constitution, while Gumplowicz and Commons are attentive to the sovereign state revealed in a closely knit organization dominating others with the threat of physical force. The former corresponds to Sumner's "crescive" institution, the latter to his "enacted" institution. The state as

⁵ Quoted by Wilson, *The State*, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1911, p. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3, 13.

⁷ Commons, "A Sociological View of Sovereignty," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 5, p. 683; Vol. 6, p. 88.

⁸ Commons, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pp. 3, 12.

⁹ Gumplowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-123.

we know it today in Western civilization arose by the process delineated by Gumplowicz and Commons. However, lying back of the conflict of groups and the imposition of sovereignty of one people upon another were aggregations of individuals who had developed institutions which determine in part the characteristics of the modern state. Let us turn now to notice the development of those institutions which were concerned chiefly with relationships within the groups before war and conquest led to the imposition of the will of the conquerors upon the conquered and the development of a whole new set of internal arrangements.

The ethnic state. The primitive family, or the band composed of several primitive family groups, was the primordial social group. Naturally out of these simple relationships grew the first attempt at group control. The individual's social relations were within the group; he was connected with his fellows by blood bonds, real or fictitious. In that homogeneous social group we must place the beginnings of what eventually became political institutions.

In the establishment and maintenance of social order the family frequently performed some measure of the essential duties of the state. As the family multiplied in numbers through adoption and natural increase until it became a large aggregation under the direction of council, patriarch, medicine man, or chief, it became necessary to establish more elaborate methods of control. It became necessary for those in authority to make certain rulings on new conditions that arose, as well as to carry out the practices and customs of the forebears. The custom grew up for those in control also to pass judgment in order to settle the differences between members of the tribal groups, and thus in the patronymic kindred some male became the chief judge of the social group. Moreover, to the help of the patriarch in the patronymic group as governor of the group, there was now added the force of the economic motive; he was not only the representative of the gods, but was actually the owner of the women and children and held in trust for the group its common possessions.¹⁰ While later his authority became delegated to other officers, just as the power to legislate eventually passed from the head of the tribe or nation to a body of people selected for that purpose, in this early state of affairs the judicial, legislative, and executive powers of government were all vested in one man, the patriarch, or in a group of old men. In him or them, therefore, rested whatever authority existed, and in him or them we find one historical

¹⁰ See Commons, "A Sociological View of Sovereignty," *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 12. For the view that the state could not have originated from the family, see Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

origin of political control. Here, then, in these primitive kinship organizations we have basic groups, the raw material out of which the state could develop when the new elements of a settled abode and a conqueror enforcing obedience were added—elements introduced by immigration and wars of conquest.¹¹ This was not a civil state but an ethnic group with political institutions adequate to that particular kind of social aggregate.

Race conflict and amalgamation. But seldom if ever did a family or horde expand into a tribe and the tribe into a civil unit without an intermixture of groups. Once families or hordes were well established and population increased, there began a struggle for existence. Tribal warfare brought about the extinction of some groups and the union of others. The union of the conquerors and the conquered occurred on the basis of the slavery of the latter. Conquest brought about the sovereign state. A conquered tribe was reduced to slavery, or at least to an inferior position by the conquering tribe. Then occurred the imposition of the will of the conqueror enforcing obedience by one method or another and later a compromise as to rights, duties, and privileges, and the regulation of the political status of the members of the united groups.¹² Athens and Rome, among the civilized nations, and the Iroquois, Hopi, Aztecs, among the preliterate peoples, are examples of federated or united tribes. Many of these peoples passed through successive stages of union with others, each stage being followed by a period of integration. During these successive unions and amalgamations of groups, the duty of the individual to the whole mass became more clearly defined. The later growth of the state was then along the line of complete union of discordant racial elements and full recognition of all classes.

The differentiation of political institutions and functions. In the development of these various forms of government there was a constant change in the titles and functions of officers and administrators. These changes varied according to the evolution of government itself. Kings were made by a social process no less definite than the processes of nature that developed the plants of the field or the trees of the forest. As it was but natural that the father of the family of a patriarchal society, or the most outstanding male in a metronymic society, should be the one to lead and control, so it was again the natural outcome of this leadership, when the family expanded into a tribe of many groups of people, that the oldest or most powerful male should be the leader. It was evident that when

¹¹ Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 206-216.

¹² Giddings, F. H., *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1906, pp. 357-374.

religion, especially ancestor worship, became involved in government, the family which could show the longest lineage, and therefore fix its relationship most nearly to the gods, had the most power. Hence, it came about that the hereditary principle among some peoples was customarily recognized in the choosing of the ruler. As government became more complex and as tribes became federated, one of these hereditary chiefs or leaders, who also had ability in war and government, became king; but the king could not bear his responsibilities without counselors, so it became customary for him to summon the eldest male members to counsel with him in the proceedings of the early state. These counselors later became the senate, an institution which remains to this day one of the important agencies of government in our modern system. Now, as the king could not do everything, his advisers gradually were called on to do more and more of the administrative work of the government. Beyond this the king had special officers to assist him in the leadership in war and indeed in the administration of all the minor affairs of the state. And thus the king became, finally, the head of a group of administrative, executive, judicial, and legislative bodies, and the chief executive and head of a group of officers, as well as ruler of the people.

It was impossible for the king to act as judge of all his people in person and so he appointed others to represent him; this custom developed into a law, and the officers that represented the king became more and more important until finally a judicial system was established in which grievous cases only were appealed to the king. But in the final development of government the king gave way to a special group—the supreme court in most states—as the final court of appeals.

Thus as the process of government became more complex and specialized, the people commanded greater and greater consideration. At first the power was given them to approve or disapprove what the senate or the king had decreed. Later they had the privilege of voting on measures introduced by others, and finally they gained the right of originating laws and passing them. Primarily this was carried on by the whole group of people, but later by representatives of the people chosen for this specific purpose of legislation. Thus was developed the popular assembly so powerful in the Germany of Tacitus and later in Greece and Rome, and the chief legislative body in the modern governments of England and America. In this manner, the primitive group with their traditions and customs and their ethnic government expanded until political institutions were formed with no reference to blood relationship, but in which the individual sustained a direct relationship to the whole body. Thus from a king or patriarchal

president, who held within his grasp all the powers of government, were gradually differentiated the various departments of government as they exist today.

Beginnings of the federation of states. The various changes that took place in the development of the ethnic state left some tendencies which were influential in the development of certain later forms of government. The federation of tribes and other ethnic groups sometimes came about in the face of danger from other groups. The Greeks attempted such federation in the ancient leagues, such as the Aetolian, the Achaean, and the Lycian. These were attempts to unite many of the Greek states into one federal group, but Greek federation failed because of the jealousies of local groups. In some respects it was unfortunate, for doubtless a united Greece would have been able to withstand the attacks of enemies. That such federation was quite a natural step in the face of common danger, even of possible conflict, seems to be evident from the attempts already mentioned, and from the tendency of the Iroquois Indians, the Aztecs of Mexico, and others to federate. Federation is only a process of closer integration of various elements. Wherever it has continued long, as in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States, the trend has been to amalgamate the various ethnic groups of like cultures into one federated body. Integration in social and political development goes on constantly so far as the groups of individuals are concerned, while on the other hand, there is a constant change of conception of the relation of the individual to the state.

The modern state. As pointed out by Herbert Spencer, the modern state in an industrial system not disturbed too seriously by war tends to develop a more complete democracy. Militancy disturbs this trend and makes for the development of a highly centralized, undemocratic form of government. This generalization of Spencer's was based upon a survey of the history of western Europe from the close of the Middle Ages up to about 1890. Events which have occurred during the first part of this century including World War I and its aftereffects, confirms this generalization. War upsets the established relationships, lessens the power of the common people, and concentrates it in the hands of a small group or of one man. Witness recent events in Russia, Italy, and Germany. When danger threatens a state from without, attention is diverted from concern with the welfare of the individual to anxiety about the welfare of the whole state. When war threatens, the ordinary processes of democratic control give way to control of the affairs of the group in the hands of a few. It is out of

such conditions that the dictatorships of recent years have developed. Post-war conditions are even more favorable to dictatorship.

This theory of Spencer's, while generally valid, needs modification in certain particulars. One of these is the fact that when industrialism supplants another system of production, disturbance is set up in social relationships in two areas—within the nation itself and between a particular nation and other nations. The Industrial Revolution, for example, when it came to England gradually destroyed the hand spinners and weavers. The railroads put out of business the stagecoaches. Women and children were exploited in mines and factories. A whole new set of regulations for the protection of the individual worker had to be introduced to take the place of the customary relationships which had grown up over a long period of time. If peace prevails, the energies of the state can be devoted to the solution of these problems of internal relationships. Witness that in the long peaceful period between the close of the Napoleonic wars and the outbreak of World War I, attention was given to these internal difficulties in European countries, with the result that many of the evils incident to a new industrial order were corrected through the advances made by the trade unions or by national legislation or by both.

Peace, however, may give rise to external problems. With the introduction of machine industry and the change in economic and social organization which accompanied it, England, to use a familiar example, became an important export nation. In her particular case this condition was accentuated by the fact that she was limited as to raw materials. In order to pay for the raw materials obtained from other lands, it was necessary for her to export manufactured goods. When the same process had been repeated in other countries such as Germany and the United States, the struggle for export markets began. This struggle led to international tension and was one of the underlying causes of World War I. Hence Spencer is incorrect when he says that the industrial order always makes for peace and democracy. Perhaps it does if the nation is absolutely self-sufficient, but up to the present time history shows no record of an industrialized nation not desiring foreign trade.

One other modification to be made of Spencer's generalization is that frequently after a war has interrupted the processes of adjustment of internal relationships during peace, and the processes of democracy have been sacrificed to the concentration of power in a few hands for the purposes of war, the common people undertake an intense drive for the restoration and enhancement of democracy. During World War I in England and the

United States, for example, high wages were everywhere prevalent. Following the close of the war the struggle between employers and employees became more intense than ever, the laborers trying to keep up the high wages of the war period, the employers endeavoring to cut them. Except in those countries in which the suffrage has been entirely taken away or greatly diminished as a consequence of the aftermath of the war, the common people have fought more vigorously than ever for the return of their democratic privileges and for a standard of living which they had not known even before the war.

During the war, civil rights were very greatly curbed in both England and the United States. Pressure was placed upon all groups, no matter what their opinions, to support the nation in its endeavor to win the war. Conscientious objectors frequently were jailed; mass pressure was exerted upon large numbers of the people to buy bonds. Freedom of the press was shackled. As soon, however, as the war had ended, there was a terrific reaction against these restrictions, and vigorous efforts were made to recover lost liberties. All over Europe and the United States intense activity occurred to extend protection to disadvantaged classes, to widen opportunity for the common people in economic security, in education, and in political democracy. Unemployment insurance expanded; old-age pensions were developed in countries which had not known them; provisions for other underprivileged classes were sought for by the populace, and to a degree supplied.

That these internal conditions following World War I may lead to radical changes in government is shown by what has occurred in a number of European countries following the war, especially Russia, Germany, and Italy. If democracy has not been well established in the customs and traditions of the people, internal difficulties, economic and social, may destroy parliamentary government and give rise to dictatorship. It is clear, therefore, that the social attitudes of the people, the customs and traditions with reference to the nature of government, have much to do with the nature of the state. Russia, Germany, Italy, and a number of the smaller states of Europe, had not, like England and the United States, a long tradition of democracy in government and of the supremacy of parliament or other legislative body in the government of the state. When internal conditions following the war in those countries proved to be very difficult, it was easy for a dictator to rise, concentrate the powers of government within his own hands, and secure the tacit consent of the great masses of the people to his endeavors to extricate them from the difficult economic conditions.

Recent developments in the form and structure of the state

Ever since the latter part of the eighteenth century until the period just following the close of World War I, the trend in government has been to admit the common people to an even greater share in the conduct of the state. This movement was known as the *democratic* movement. Ideologically this movement can be traced to the French writers of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the leader among these writers was Rousseau. The widening of the franchise in Britain, the growing importance of the House of Commons in the government of that country, the establishment of a republican form of government in the United States, and the changes in the French government due to the French Revolution were the earliest results of the ideas released by these French writers. Parliamentary government based upon an extension of the franchise to a larger proportion of the common people became popular in an ever-increasing number of countries. This form of the state, often denominated as democratic, until recently has been looked upon as ideal. The extension of the suffrage to ever-widening circles of the population in Britain, in France, in Germany, and in the United States, was a realization of this idea. Evils there were even under the most widespread political democracy. They were recognized, but men like President Lincoln declared that the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy. In this country and in England events have shown popular approval of such a theory. This doctrine was not disputed anywhere in any rational way until World War I.

The Soviet Government in Russia, the Fascist Government in Italy, and the Nazi Government in Germany, all have denied the fundamental soundness of historical democracy. The Russian Bolsheviks do not deny that democracy properly carried out is desirable, but the leaders in Germany and Italy scoffed not only at its practical working in so-called democratic countries, but at the very ideal itself. Let us look a bit more closely at these alternative theories of the state and at their practical application.

Sovietism. The Russian Revolution in 1917 resulted ultimately in the overthrow of the Czarist regime. The Russian word *soviet* means simply "council." It was a term in common use long before the Russian Revolution of 1917. After the Bolsheviks seized power, however, the term was used to designate the groups of workers, soldiers, and poor peasants through which the revolutionary party usurped the powers of government. In the development of the governmental structure devised by the Bolsheviks, the soviet became the fundamental unit in the governmental scheme. At the present

time it lies at the base of the governmental hierarchy. The village soviets and the city soviets are the primary units of government in the present Russian political structure. Here the ordinary party members function.

One might suppose that the soviet was a purely democratic institution containing representatives of all classes in the population within a given area. Not so, however. Since the Bolshevik Revolution was a proletarian revolution and since avowedly the government is a proletarian government, the soviet, at least until recently, was composed of delegates elected by the peasants and the workers. The former bourgeoisie, nobility, clergy, and intelligentsia, as such, were at first disfranchised. The Bolsheviks are not opposed to the ideal of democracy, but on the contrary claim that their scheme provides the greatest measure of democracy. They claim that in the so-called democratic countries, while all classes of the population compose the electorate and are represented in the governing body, actually the bourgeoisie control. It is that concept of democracy to which the Bolsheviks are opposed. Their claim is that Russia provides the widest opportunity for economic welfare, for culture, and for the protection of the individual and that, therefore, their democracy is more real than that to be found in any of the great historic democracies. Under the pressures of World War II it is doubtful if this claim has been actualized.

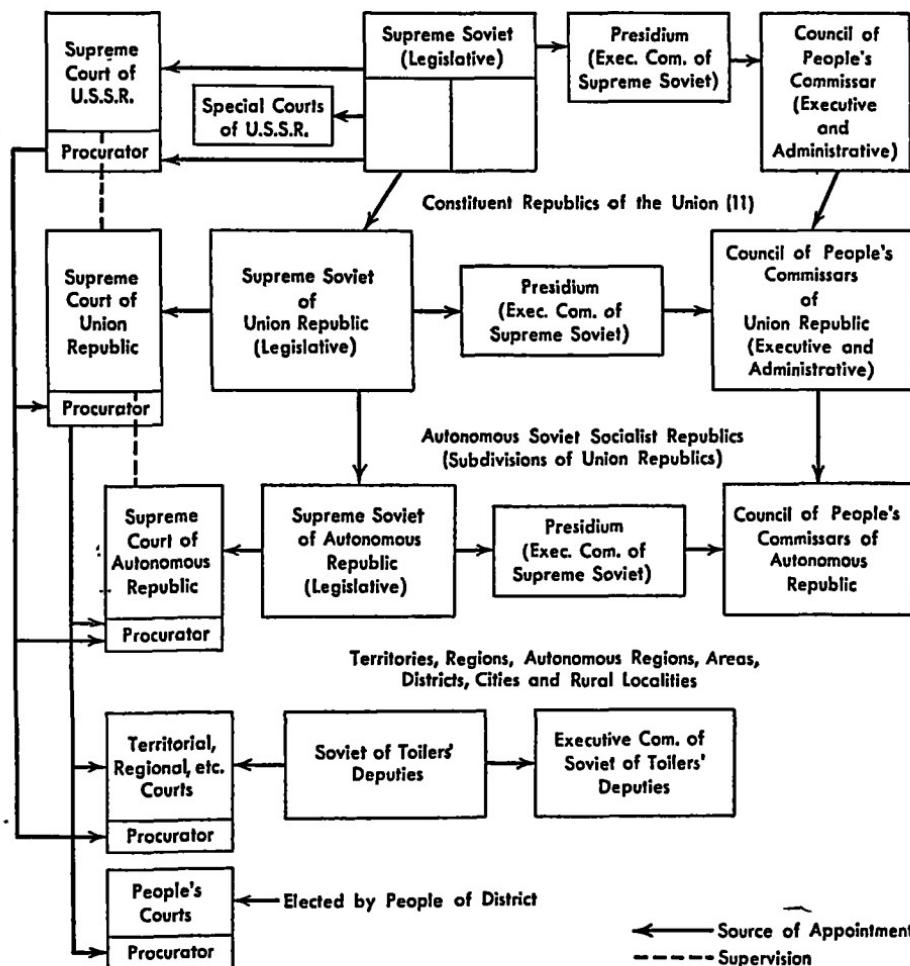
In the later Russian Constitution adopted December 5, 1936, the franchise was widened. As a result many of the restrictions on certain classes of the population earlier in the history of the Bolshevik government were removed. Article 135 of their constitution reads: "Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the U.S.S.R. who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race and nationality, religion, educational qualifications, residential qualifications, social origins, property status or past activity, have the right to participate in elections of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of the insane and persons deprived of electoral rights by court sentence."¹³ Every citizen has one vote, and all citizens take part in elections on an equal basis. Women have equal rights with men. Elections are by secret ballot. So the instrument reads!

This last constitution has done away with the discrimination between city soviets and village soviets in electing members of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities, the two chambers constituting the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. by electoral districts on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 of the population. The Council of Nationalities, on the other hand, is elected by citizens of the U.S.S.R. by union and autonomous

¹³ *Moscow News*, December 16, 1936, p. 7.

republics, autonomous provinces, and national regions on the basis of twenty-five deputies from each union republic, eleven deputies from each autonomous republic, five deputies from each autonomous province, and one deputy from each national region.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.)



SOURCE: "Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," *Sovietland*, January, 1937. (Adopted December 5, 1936.)

Further, it should be observed that local governmental autonomy is provided for, subject to the laws of the U.S.S.R., as it is in the smaller units of government of a republic subject to the laws and constitution of that republic.

Under this latest constitution it may be possible within the U.S.S.R.

for the old differentiation in representation between peasants and workers to be continued, for Article 58 provides that the ratio of representation to the Supreme Council of a Union Republic is determined by the constitution of that Union Republic.¹⁴ It should be further observed, in contrast with the situation in the United States (where the only exceptions are the Federal government and a few of the states), that the judges and the prosecutors of the courts are appointed from above, not elected by the people. Exceptions to this rule are that the judges of territorial and provincial courts, of the courts of autonomous provinces, and of regional courts are elected by the soviets of these various regions. The people's courts, which are the courts for the trial of ordinary cases, both civil and criminal, are elected by secret ballot by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct, and equal suffrage.¹⁵

This apparently rather democratic organization of the political structure of the Soviet Union is modified in reality by two things: (1) a hierarchy topped in each constituent republic and in the Union of Republics by a Supreme Council, whose decisions and orders are carried out through commissariats which are executive arms of the government, and whose decisions and orders every official and every citizen is pledged by the constitution to obey, and (2) by a close connection between the Bolshevik party and the various parts of the bureaucracy. To be sure, the ability of the Communist Party to secure its will depends partly upon propaganda and partly upon the fear of force exerted through the police formerly known as the G.P.U. It is clear, therefore, that the present government of Russia may be described as democracy seriously modified by a bureaucracy dominated by the Communist Party. One may conclude by comparison of the earlier constitution with the later that there is a clear attempt on the part of the Russian authorities to extend political democracy and to broaden the opportunities of the common people in education, health facilities, employment, cultural opportunities, and political activity, but to keep final control in the hands of the top men in the hierarchy.

This rather complex political organization reflects in part the customs and traditions of government in the smaller units of the area, e.g., the *mir* in Czarist Russia. It reflects also the influence of the Marxian ideology introduced by the Revolutionaries face to face with a political incapacity inherited by the common people from long ages of repression by the Czarist government. Manifestly those in power proceed with the extension of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁵ See Ch. 9 of the Constitution, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

political democracy to the extent that education in Marxian ideology has prepared the people for participation in the program. The Russian Constitution and the actual political practices are the result of the culture of this particular time and place. In spite of the fact that the makers of this constitution are Marxian in their ideology, they are social realists in that they have endeavored to apply that ideology to the present cultural situation of the Russian people, giving due weight to the traditions and customs of their past. In conformity with the Bolsheviks' emphasis upon the superior democracy of their constitution, they have provided for equal rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality, race, or religion in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life. The constitution also guarantees religious freedom, and the freedom of antireligious propaganda by the separation of the church from the state and from the school. The constitution also makes a bow to individual civil rights as found in Anglo-Saxon countries by guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and meetings, and freedom of street processions and demonstrations.¹⁶ That this guarantee of civil rights is largely a paper guarantee up to the present is indicated by the fact that freedom of speech is limited to criticism of the way in which the state program is carried out and not at all with respect to the fundamental ideology. There is very limited freedom of the press, of religion, and of assembly. The freedom of street processions and demonstrations is limited almost entirely to activities approved by the bureaucracy. Moreover, but one political party is tolerated in the country. These limitations upon democracy as we understand it reflect the stresses and strains of internal situations.

Fascism. By the term *Fascism* is meant the form of government which was set up in modern Italy by Mussolini. It was a new form of political organization, and for those who are acquainted only with the governments which preceded it, it is a little difficult to understand. Like the Soviet government of Russia, it was a reaction against the liberalism and parliamentarism characterizing the governments of most countries preceding the first World War. Yet it was quite different from the system of government in Russia just described. Further, if one describes Fascism as the unlimited sovereignty of the state for all phases of national activity, one thinks of the program known as integral nationalism (*Nationalisme intégral*) of the Action Française, from which, however, in practically all important aspects it was different. It can be understood only if it is viewed as an outgrowth of a peculiarly Italian situation at the time of its origin. In its

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Arts. 123, 124, 125, p. 7.

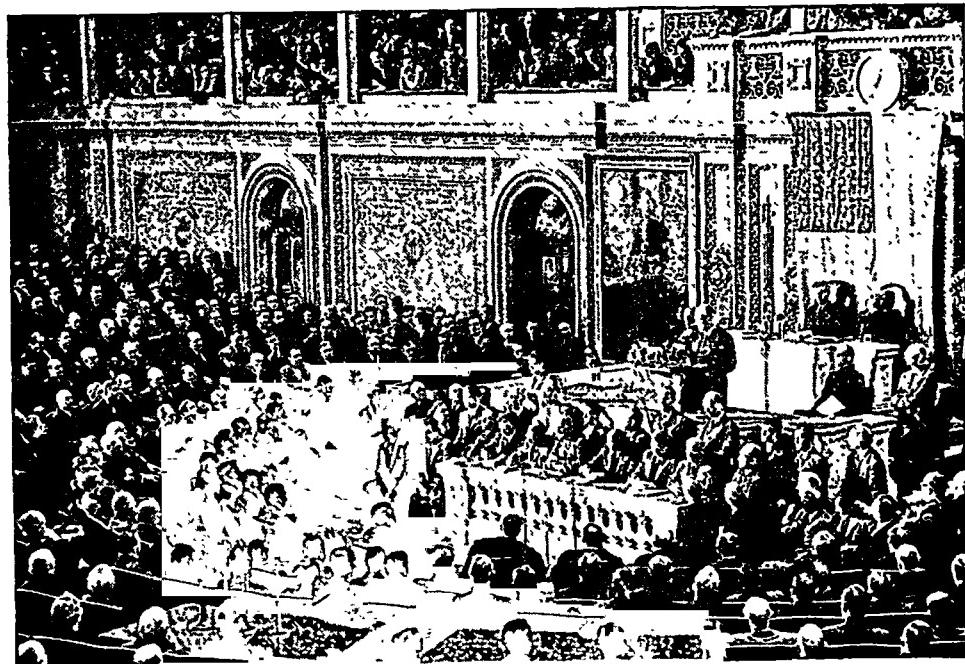
political structure, its philosophy, its origin, and its growth it had its roots in the Italian situation following World War I, modified by the historic past of Italy. In one sense it may be described as the result of the fusion of syndicalist theory with the doctrines of Italian nationalism. According to Mussolini it was the logical development of Italy's past and Italy's genius. He viewed it as the modern successor of "the glory that once was Rome." Its mission was to reproduce in modern circumstances the greatness of ancient Rome. Consequently, the primary objective of the Fascist state, according to Mussolini, was the aggrandizement of the state itself. The individual's duty is to elevate himself to the height of national consciousness and to sacrifice his own interests and welfare for the achievement of this purpose concerning the state. The individual has rights only in so far as they do not conflict with this ideal. Fascism was a new type of nationalism, but at the same time was a repudiation of the type of political organization which hitherto characterized nationalism. Fascism repudiated the popular sovereignty which Rousseau enunciated. On the contrary, the conduct of the nation must be in the hands of a few persons thoroughly imbued with the new idea of nationalism. In contrast with the slowness by which parliamentary action takes place, the action of this new state must be quick, sure, unanimous, conscious, responsible; it is therefore a government by the elite.

It was the influence of this ideal on the supremacy of the state over individuals, private organizations, political parties, and parliamentary discussion which explains the actual organization of society in Fascist Italy. Following World War I, there were so many clashing interests both outside and inside the parliament that it became impossible to conduct state and private business in any positive, constructive way. The struggle between the laboring classes and the employers had paralyzed industry. The activities of the various political parties, sharply clashing in their activities and programs, prevented any united internal or foreign policy. Consequently Mussolini in setting up the new government broke entirely with the pluralistic conception of the state and permitted only those private organizations and political parties which were willing to become integral parts in a program emphasizing the importance of the state. In this scheme there is no space left for the class struggle. Labor and capital are partners in the economic process, and the purpose of that process is to magnify the state. Therefore, all private organizations—economic, social, and agricultural—must be subordinated to serving the interests of the state.

With this ideal in mind one might suppose that logically Mussolini might have gone to the lengths of the Bolsheviks in Russia and socialized all



Fascist Italy. (Photo by Brown Bros.)



Political institutions

The Congress of the United States. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

property. That he did not do so was an historic accident probably due to the reaction of Mussolini and his followers against the activities of the Communists and the Socialists in postwar Italy.

The Italian government under Mussolini may be described as a corporative or guild state. While the various trades and vocations were organized in corporations or guilds, both laborers and employers made up the membership of these corporations. Strikes and lockouts were outlawed. Feuds between labor and capital had to be settled by arbitration, but if that was not possible, by the state's ministry of labor. This forced union of labor and capital, in contrast with their divided attitude in most other countries, was for the purpose of realizing the welfare of the state. It was a clear indication of the supremacy of the state over the economic and social groups. However, the owner of the property still took the responsibility of production. Labor still took its chance at a bargain. The state intervened actively in production, if private initiative was not equal to the task, or if the political interests of the state demanded intervention. Theoretically this ideal meant that the state might intervene in the distribution of landed property. The state interfered in the free choice of residence with a view to redistributing the supply of industrial labor according to the necessities of the case; it discouraged the building of new factories in large cities and provided rather extensive regulations of small merchants. The regulation of these economic matters was in the hands of the Ministry of Corporations, the Ministry of Labor, and the National Council of Corporations.

The Fascist party step by step introduced modifications of the constitutional organization of Italy not by change of the written constitution so much as by alteration of the functions of the governing agencies. All political parties except the Fascists were done away with. Like Russia, Italy became a one-party state. The party was dominated by the Duce.

Most of the ministries were concentrated in Mussolini's hands. As Premier it was possible for him to introduce the members of his party into the most important government places. He amalgamated his Black Shirt militia with the State Guards. The Fascist Party Council became the Great Fascist Council.

Moreover, the two-chamber parliament was modified. The vocational and social confederations had the important function of drawing up a list of candidates for the second chamber which, after amendment by the Great Fascist Council, was submitted to a vote of the people. Since the dictatorship controlled all expressions of public opinion, the chief function of the Italian Chamber of Deputies was to form a point of contact between the

people and the administration. Its members served to disseminate and interpret to the people the essentials of the Fascist policy.

As with the economic agencies, so with the cultural. The schools became instruments whereby children and youth were inducted into Fascist ideology. Religious education was made compulsory in the state schools and was placed in the hands of the Catholic Church. Mussolini insisted, however, that the various youth organizations must be under the control of the Fascist Party and the government.

Thus, the organization of the Fascist government brought it to pass that theoretically democratic government through parliament and local representative bodies was displaced by a rule of a single party—in actual practice that of the Duce. The Chamber of Deputies remained, but was certainly not democratically elective even in the sense in which that term might have been used before the Fascist Revolution. As was indicated before, the Italian system was a corporative system. These corporations regulated the industry of the country. Committees of each corporation controlled each group of employers or workers. These were strictly subordinated to the government. The committees nominated eight hundred persons or double the number of the deputies. The nonindustrial corporations or units nominated another two hundred. The Grand Council selected from these thousand nominees—but was not confined to them—four hundred, the exact number of deputies. These four hundred names were then submitted to the electors, but the electors could vote only "Yes" or "No" on the list as a whole. Further, the Grand Council could remove any deputy who had been elected. Thus the legislative branch of the government was subordinated to the executive. Moreover, though the Senate still existed, it was reduced to a debating society and was permitted to debate only such matters as the Duce submitted. Mussolini gathered into his hands all power. No measure could come before the Parliament without his consent. He could override any law pertaining to any of the institutions of public concern. He could issue decrees, which, while they must subsequently be approved by the chamber, amounted practically to fiat decrees since the chamber was in perfect subjection to him. Again, the Duce not only subordinated the legislature, but in effect supplanted the king. The king no longer commanded the Army and the Navy. All he did was to give royal consent to the wishes of the Duce. Further, Mussolini subordinated the judiciary to himself. He could dismiss judges and magistrates who were suspected of views contrary to his own. No one was appointed to the bench who had not proved his firm allegiance to Fascism. No charges of

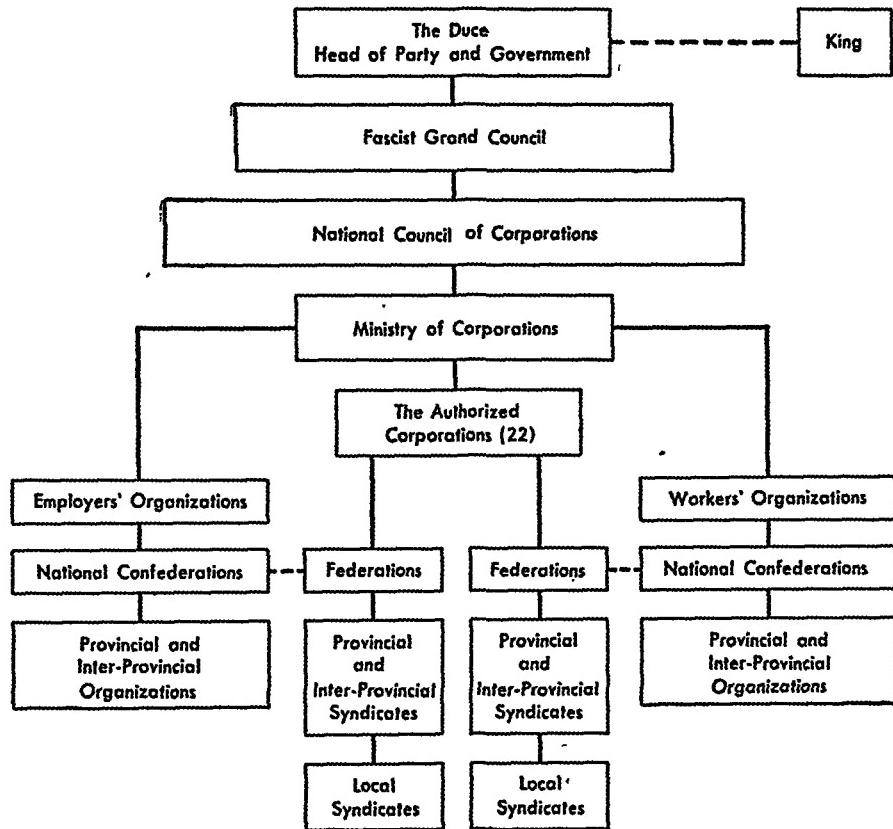
a political nature were allowed to come before the ordinary courts; these were heard before special tribunals made up chiefly of Fascist officials and officers in the Fascist militia. From their decisions there was no appeal, and they could hear cases in secrecy. Juries were displaced by "assessors." These were appointed by the officials of the government and in practice were selected from the ranks of the Fascists. No lawyer, journalist, teacher, or doctor could practice without the approval of a Fascist committee. Thus the bench, the press, school, and the medical profession were dominated from top to bottom by the Fascist Party and in effect by the Duce. All government posts were occupied by Fascists who had sworn a solemn oath to obey Mussolini.

As a result of this change in the Italian Constitution from a limited monarchy with a measure of democracy to a virtual autocracy, the rights of the ordinary citizen were materially reduced. There was no personal freedom. Private societies of any sort whatsoever had to have their rules and list of members approved. Any society which in any way opposed the government could be dissolved and forfeit its property. No meetings of whatever sort could be held without the consent of the police or prefect. Any newspaper which criticized the government could be confiscated. To express ideas contrary to those of the government was a crime punishable by not less than three years in prison; the police were the sole judges of the offense. No longer was a man's home his castle. Police could invade it without warrant at any time. Even free local government disappeared. Officials appointed by the ministry ruled the local commune. The government of Italy thus became an iron autocracy, ruled practically by one man.

In Fascism, then, we see certain similarities to Russian Bolshevism and also certain very striking differences. Like Bolshevism, Fascism repudiated historical parliamentarism, plural political parties, and the freedom of private organizations to pursue objectives of their own choosing. In both countries we see the economic and cultural life dominated by a single political party comprising the dictatorship. We note bureaucracy in both. The differences may be summarized as follows: (1) The ownership of productive property in Russia is in the hands of collectives or of the state; in Italy productive property was owned by individuals and corporations, but it was controlled in the interest of the state by the bureaucracy. (2) The teaching of religion was made obligatory in the schools of Italy and was forbidden in the schools of Russia. (3) In Italy the church and the government came to terms; in Russia, while the constitution provides for religious liberty, actually the church until recently labored under very severe limitations. (4) Marxian ideology prevails in the government of

Russia, but was condemned roundly by Mussolini. (5) While the foreign policy of Russia is as vigorous as was that of Italy, Russia claims that she is not interested in territorial expansion, although events since 1939 have given the lie to these assertions. Italy, on the other hand, under Mussolini's guidance, in accordance with his notion of modern Italy as the successor of

The Corporative Fascist State



ancient Rome, openly sought expansion of territory. The constitution of Russia provides for the protection of the civil rights of individuals; Italy destroyed them. Russia at least makes a gesture towards local self-government. Italy made no pretense in the matter.

Naziism. Like the governments of Italy and of Russia, before World War II the Nazi government of Germany grew out of the difficulties following World War I, but was influenced, like Italy, by the political traditions, customs, and attitudes of the people that go far back in German history. Remember that it was not until 1870 that the various German states were united into the German Empire. Recall also that the pre-

dominant state in the German Empire was Prussia and that from the time of Frederick the Great the Prussian people were schooled in an iron discipline. What was true of the people of Prussia was to a lesser degree true of the other states in the German Empire. They had a long tradition of sternly disciplined obedience and only a short history of a measure of self-government. The German people did not experience the long history of the English in the achievement of the rights of the individual as against the sovereign.

To that traditional attitude of the people toward their superiors add the very disturbed conditions which followed the close of World War I. Consider the unbearable reparation payments assessed against Germany by the Versailles Treaty; the forced confession of war guilt; the feeling of the Germans that they had not been defeated on the field of battle, but by the strikers in the rear; the postwar inflation wiping out practically all savings; the failure of the Social Democratic regime to solve the very difficult internal problems of the country; and finally the intrenchment of what was alleged to be an unusual proportion of Jews in high positions in the Social Democratic government. The psychology of the nation became a psychology of fear and hate. If one keeps all these things in mind, he is prepared to understand the advent of Hitler to power.

The coming of Hitler meant a revolution in the form of government. The very institutional nature of the state was changed. While the Constitution of Weimar was intended to democratize the state structure of the new Germany, National Socialism was fundamentally opposed to the democratic principle, in both the economic and the political fields. According to the National Socialist Party, reliance upon the majority makes for indecision, hesitation, and cowardice. For it was substituted the principle of leadership. Contempt for democracy and adherence to the primacy of leadership explain the rejection of parliamentary government and the contempt which the Nazis felt for legal procedures and for the whole system of abstract and rational jurisprudence. Love of the nation rather than the protection of the individual motivated the whole Nazi procedure. Neither the person nor the property of the individual was of any importance against the primary interest of the state. The fanatic devotion of the Nazi Party to these principles amounted almost to a religion. It was reversion to the deepest and most primitive impulses and reactions of human beings—fear, hatred, and the use of physical force. With this brief background perhaps we can understand some of the changes that were made in the Constitution of Germany by the National Socialist Party.

As in Italy and Russia, the party in Germany was an organization through

which the political elite of the nation forms the nucleus of the government personnel. As in Italy and Russia, the dominant party destroyed all other political parties. Also as in Italy, the party organization became the model for the political structure.

Within a few months after Hitler came to power he induced the new Reichstag in March, 1933, to pass an enabling act by which absolute power was conferred on him and his cabinet. The office of Chancellor and that of President of the Republic were joined in the person of Hitler, and finally the new office was made perpetual. The unwritten constitution was based on the party program and on the laws codifying its principles. An important official publication stated that in the National Socialist state the task is not that of protecting the individual against the state; National Socialism, on the contrary, undertakes to defend the people as a whole against the individual, whenever and wherever his interests are not in harmony with the commonweal.¹⁷

As a result of the changes following the passage of the enabling act of March, 1933, step by step the unification of the Reich was achieved. This act brought the composition of the diets of the German states into line with that of the Reichstag as elected in March, 1933. In April, 1933, an Act of Coöordination was passed appointing Reich governors for the German states. Finally the Reich Reconstruction Act of January, 1934, decreed that the diets in the German states were abolished, that the sovereign rights of the states were transferred to the Reich, that the state governments were subordinate to the Reich government, that the Reich governors of the states were under the control of the Reich Minister of the Interior, and that the Reich government was empowered to decree constitutional law. So you had a totalitarian state. The National Socialist Party became the embodiment of the German state and was indissolubly united with it.¹⁸

The Nazi Revolution also unified the whole economic organization of Germany. The details are too numerous to include here, but in general the process may be described as the organization of the owners of industry and the laborers into what was called "the labor front." This reminds one of the Fascist program in Italy. Also the various industries were organized for their own self-management in the interest of the Nazi ideals with respect to the purposes of industry and labor—the welfare of the state.¹⁹

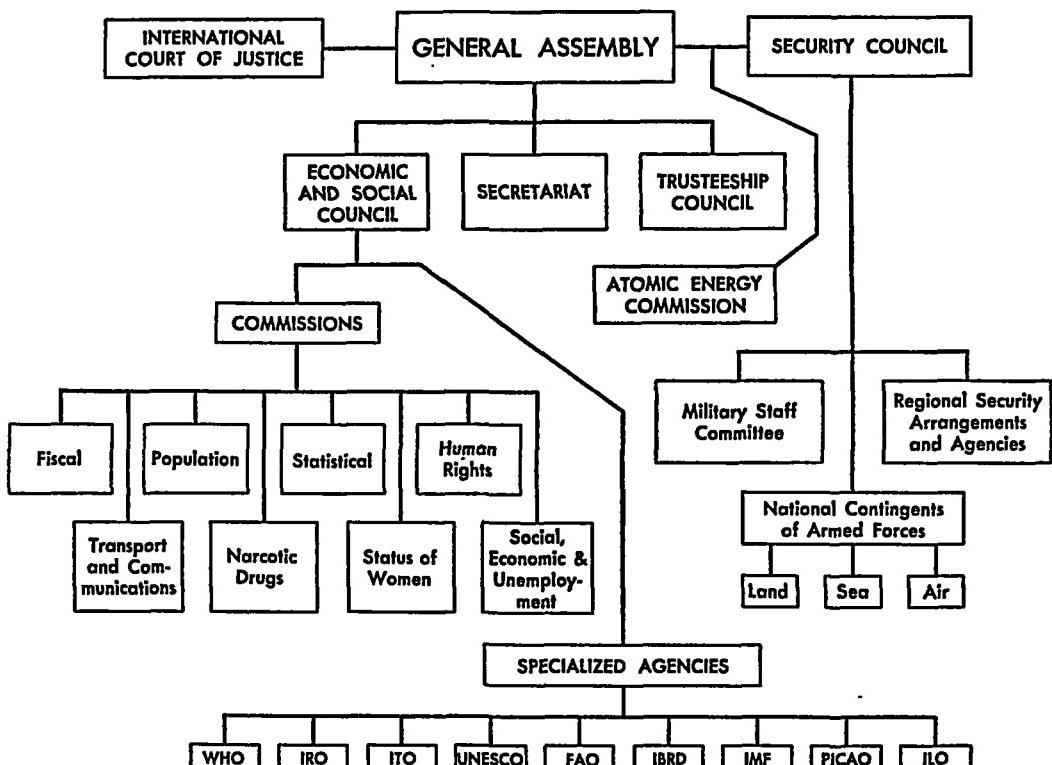
¹⁷ "The Action of the Party on State and Nation in Germany," as outlined in *German Beamten Kalender, 1937*, Friends of Europe Publications No. 58, London, 1938.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁹ For a good description of the background of the Nazi Revolution and for the early stages in the development of the transformation of the German political institutions, see Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, The Macmillan Co., New

The similarities between the Fascist state and the Nazi state are clearly apparent. Though they differed from each other in minor details, they were alike in bringing every institution and organization within the country under the close control of the state for one end—the accomplishment of the purposes for which the dominating party controls the state. Dictatorship characterized Soviet Russia, as it did Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, as well as

THE UNITED NATIONS



Organization of the United Nations

a number of South American countries. The party in these countries controlled the government, and save for Germany and Italy, they still do so. The party through the government in these countries having a dictatorship outlaws organizations which cannot be brought under its dominant ideology, and controls the affairs of private citizens in the interests of its own purposes. Russia places stress upon the public ownership of productive

York, 1933. For a description of the later constitutional changes in Germany under the influence of the Nazis, see "The Action of the Party on the Nation and State in Germany," as outlined in the *German Beamten Kalender*, 1937. For other articles giving in succinct form a history of the development of the Nazi party and of the transformation of the German Government, see *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, "National Socialism, German," Vol. II, pp. 224-226; Arts. "Government," "Germany," Vol. 7, pp. 52-56. For Nazi ideals to be inculcated into the German youth see *The Nazi Primer*, Harwood L. Childs, translator, Harper and Bros., New York, 1938.

goods and the proposed extension of both political and economic democracy to all the population. But emphasis upon physical force to secure conformity of all individuals within the country characterizes all dictatorships.

These new political experiments are of interest to every studious mind. They mark a radical departure from previously generally accepted theories of government and from the political institutions of the last hundred years. To those of us who have been brought up under democratic political institutions they seem at variance with the attitudes and ideals we have learned to cherish.

In the light of what happened in international relations during the rule of Mussolini and Hitler it is clear that the differences in the culture complex of various nations, together with the multiplication of easy and swift means of communication, created a condition in international relations conducive to conflict. The old concepts of international law and morality were of no further value in maintaining peace. They were not adjusted to the new conditions produced by inventions, the development of nationalistic ambitions, the demand for raw materials and international markets, and an intensification of the feeling in each nation of the superiority of its culture. It appears today to some that the world situation demands either a world federation with machinery whereby the conflicting, or at least competing, cultures can be accommodated to each other in the interest of the welfare of all, or else world conquest whereby one nation unifies by power the conflicting interests of the nations and peoples. An effort to achieve the first is represented by the United Nations.

The social functions of political institutions

As we have seen in the early part of this chapter, modern political institutions developed out of critical conditions arising from the efforts of a powerful group within a society to obtain advantages by the control of private property or by war and conquest.

1. We may say, therefore, that the functions of political institutions are to regulate relationships within a society in which custom and tradition are no longer adequate. Such conditions may arise by reason of the introduction of radical changes of any sort which disturb the existing relationships. Great hordes of immigrants, new inventions like those characteristic of the Industrial Revolution, diffusion of new ideas such as occurred in western Europe following the Crusades and the Renaissance, the breakdown of an institution of control like that of the medieval church, important scientific discoveries, and infusion into a society of radically different

scientific, philosophical, religious or economic doctrines may disrupt the established relationships so radically that the customary and traditional ways of adjustment no longer serve. Then the strong state steps in and creates new regulations between the various groups and orders the conduct of individuals along lines supposedly better suited to the new situation. Soon it substitutes educational and propaganda methods for raw force. It encourages the development of new traditions and customs supporting its new order.

2. Increasingly the function of the state, whatever may be its form, is to supplement if not to supplant private individuals and organizations in the regulation and conduct of activities conceived to be of importance to all the people. In endeavors to establish by law universal elements in the culture which custom and tradition had not had time to establish.

Education has largely become a state function because of its recognized importance for all the people, and therefore its conduct could not be left to the uncertainties of private individuals and groups. Health has come to be of such importance to the welfare of the whole society that the state must intervene to care for those inadequately cared for under private systems. The care of the insane, the criminals, the mental defectives, and the economically incapable is coming to be looked upon as the responsibility of the whole people represented in the political organization. In some states even economic services are looked upon as functions of the state. The post-office system is a government service. In some cities municipal water and light are provided by the government. Increasingly even those economic activities which are privately owned are coming to be seen as having such importance for the general welfare that they are regulated by government commissions and boards. Recent illustrations in this country are the state commissions regulating utilities, the Interstate Commerce Commission supervising railroads which do an interstate business, the Securities and Exchange Commission controlling certain aspects of the issuance and sale of securities, and the national, state, and municipal health regulations. Further, private, charitable and educational institutions are subject to some supervision by state authority. Unfair trade practices are subject to the supervision of the Federal Trade Commission, etc.

3. In times of international difficulty the greatest function of the state is to protect its inhabitants against a foreign foe. In times of danger every other function of the political institution is subordinate to this. The rights of private property and the civil liberties of the individual yield to the necessity of the state so to control the property and the persons that the state may survive.

Thus the political institutions have for their purpose the ultimate control of conditions within a society which will insure its continuance, protect its vital interests, and order the relationships between its citizens and its constituent parts in such a way that the values held by the masses of its people or by those in control have a chance to be realized.

Crises and political integration. Political institutions, like all others, change in the face of new conditions. It is no longer true that "the least government is the best government." That theory suited perhaps the conditions which England faced in the early days of Herbert Spencer and the circumstances faced in our pioneering days by the settlers of the vast open spaces of what is now the United States. The growth of industry and the development of great cities showed some of the weaknesses of our emphasis on local political autonomy. The huge concentrations of wealth in industrial and commercial corporations operating beyond local and state boundaries, and even beyond the limits of the nation, clearly revealed the inadequacy of local or state control of such organizations. The huge cities inhabited by a heterogeneous population of many languages, cultures, and without much training in democratic processes, ruled by bosses who knew how to manipulate the political machinery in the interest of their own and their gang's pockets and who were capable in some cases of swinging state and national elections, showed clearly that the democratic machinery of early pioneer conditions no longer met the interests of "the general welfare." The depression of 1929 to 1940 revealed what some earlier ones had suggested, that the old local methods of poor relief were inadequate. The state and the nation had to intervene to prevent destitution for large masses of the population. Unemployment could not be solved by local ingenuity. Hence, in the democratic United States the activities of the Federal government have been expanded since 1933 to a degree never before seen in our history. Political integration was absolutely necessary to survival. War presents the same necessity. New inventions, drawing closer together all parts of our country, creating new conditions which local government is incapable of handling, demand unification of government on a national scale. Whether the democratic process can solve these new problems on a national scale is the question before us.

Pressure groups in political action in the United States. In political life in the United States with its emphasis on democratic methods, the legislators and administrators are supposed to represent the will of the people. A difficulty, however, arises from the fact that in a population as large and as diverse as that of the United States it is a problem for our representatives to know what is the will of a majority of the people they

represent. Moreover, the interests of the people in various geographic sections with their different economic interests sometimes conflict. For example, the economic interests of the largely agricultural South and Middle West are not the same as those of the industrialized sections of the country. The economic interests of the stock-raisers of the intermountain part of the West are at variance with those of all sections of the country who desire the conservation of the national parks, with their recreation facilities and water power. The privately owned utilities are against the Federal development and control of water-power facilities for the generation of electric power and providing water for irrigation.

All this results in the organization of pressure groups formed to press their views upon the legislators. Sometimes this eventuates in disregard of the welfare of all the people. Consequently those with economic interests affected by the legislation of the Federal Government and of the various states bring great pressure upon legislators and administrators to secure legislation favorable to their interests with no regard to the bearing of what they wish upon the welfare of the whole people. Further, there have been instances of corruption of the officials by special interests. Witness the Sinclair-Fall arrangements about an oil field; the fight of the utility interests against the TVA; the acceptance of a bribe by a Federal judge.

Moreover, there has been such concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men controlling great corporations that years ago the Sherman Anti-trust Act was passed by Congress. More recently the 79th Congress appointed a Temporary Economic Committee to investigate the concentration of economic power. The Seventieth Congress directed the Federal Trade Commission to study and report on the economic, financial, and corporate phases of holding and operating companies of electric and gas utilities. Another committee was appointed by the Seventy-fifth Congress directing the same commission to study and report on "the concentration of economic power in, and financial control over, production and distribution of goods and services." The utilities tried to prevent the passage of these resolutions, but with some exceptions, after they were passed, coöperated tardily with the committee or commission. These studies revealed the pressure of some of these groups to secure what they wished without regard to the general welfare.

Other great pressure groups are the big corporations, organized labor, and the farmers. From the beginning of this government the manufacturing interests have exerted pressure to get tariff laws passed in their own interests. As labor became well organized, it exerted at times great pressure on legislators to pass laws in the interest of the workers. Witness the

Wagner Act passed a few years ago. The farmers have successfully urged on Congress the enactment of laws protecting them against competition from foreign producers, and under the New Deal secured the passage of legislation favorable to them.

The practical difficulty has been that the great mass of the consumers have had no organized body to press their claims on the legislators. The consequence has been that our representatives have not represented all the people.²⁰

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²⁰ (*Utility Corporations*, Summary Report of the Federal Trade Commission to the Senate of the United States, Washington, 1935; *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power*, A Study Submitted by the Federal Trade Commission to the Temporary National Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, Part 31, Investments, Profits, and Rates of Return for Selected Industries, Washington, 1941; *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power*, Temporary National Economic Committee, Monograph No. 26, Washington, 1941.)

Exercises

1. In the text the statement is made that there are two types of state—the one behind the constitution, the other revealed through the constitution. Explain.
2. When Gumplowicz says that "states have never arisen except through the subjection of one stock by another," did he describe accurately the rise of the United States of America? Reasons.
3. What part did group conflict play in the formation of a strong politically organized state?
4. Why was it easier in a state formed by conquest to impose a unified will upon all elements of the population than in a society which had developed without intergroup conflict?
5. Discuss in the light of the results of modern warfare Herbert Spencer's statements in his *Principles of Sociology*, Part V, "Political Institutions," Chapter 1, Sec. 438, that "the struggles for existence between societies have been instrumental to their evolution" but that such intergroup struggle for existence will not necessarily play in the future a part like that which it has played in the past, since "the brutality of nature in their units which was necessitated by the process, ceasing to be necessary with the cessation of the process, will disappear."
6. In the light of the discussion of the text explain the origin and development of the English Parliament.
7. What has been the result of World War II on international trade? On the economic and social security of the individual?
8. What was the effect of World War II upon the civil liberties of the individual in Germany? In Italy? In England? In the United States?
9. Compare the democracy of the United States with that of Bolshevik Russia.
10. Point out the chief differences between government in Russia and that in Fascist Italy.
11. What values are uppermost in a totalitarian state? In a democratic state?
12. Is there any evidence that a democratically organized state cannot perform the social functions outlined in the latter part of this chapter?
13. What conditions appear to interfere with the realization of the objectives set forth in the United Nations Organization?
14. Since increasingly the people of every nation are becoming better acquainted with the cultural peculiarities of other nations, what can be done to make international relations peaceful rather than warlike?
15. Do we in the United States understand and appreciate the culture of other peoples? Has the acquaintance of the GIs with the peoples of Europe and Japan made them more appreciative of the culture of those countries? Why?

chapter I 9 Religious institutions

The religious complex

What is religion? Social science does not attempt to deal with the "truth" or "falsehood" of religion in terms of its correspondence to objective reality, but merely to study it as an aspect of social life. Because religion in our society is often highly dogmatized and ritualized and because it is usually presented to us in institutionalized form, considerable confusion exists regarding its fundamental nature. Many anthropologists, comprising the professional class who have had to deal with the most varied manifestations of religion, are in general agreement that *the sociological field of religion may be regarded as including those emotionalized beliefs prevalent in a social group concerning the supernatural, plus the overt behavior, material objects, and symbols associated with such beliefs.*¹ (1) All peoples have beliefs concerning what appears to them to be the supernatural. (2) These beliefs are associated with emotions and psychic states such as awe, fear, ecstasy, reverence. (3) Activities are associated with these beliefs viewed as controls of, as approaches to, or as withdrawals from, the supernatural. (4) Material objects of many types may be involved in these activities (altars, charms, vestments, etc.). (5) Symbols, material, mental, or verbal, play an important part in focusing attention on and giving expression to the feelings and attitudes associated with the supernatural. And (6) the foregoing complex is meaningfully related to the culture and circumstances of the group. This delimitation of the field of religion is very broad, but the elements of the "religious complex" should not be hastily

¹ See Benedict, Ruth, "Religion," *General Anthropology*, F. Boas, editor, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1938, pp. 627-665; Wallis, W. D., *Religion in Primitive Societies*, F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1939, pp. 1-2; Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, Introduction; Goldenweiser, A., *Anthropology*, F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1937, pp. 208-295; Radin, Paul, *Primitive Religion*, Viking Press, New York, 1937, Ch. 1. An entirely different treatment of religion is to be found in von Wiese, Leopold, and Becker, Howard, *Systematic Sociology*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, Ch. 44.

rejected, because they seem to be out of harmony with the reader's preconceived notions regarding the religion of his own group.

A considerable amount of bickering has gone on over such questions as whether magic is to be considered religion or an approach to it, whether theology is religion or the defense of it, whether a supernatural without gods is religion, and so on. Many of these controversies seem to center about words and seem to reflect an emotional attachment to words as symbols of a religious connotation which even many so-called scholars are unable to shake off. We may recall Parson Thwackum's pronouncements in Fielding's novel, *Tom Jones*: "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England."²

It will be noticed that our broad definition of the religious complex says nothing specifically about "good" and "evil," sex morality, monotheism, or heaven or hell. Ethics, morality, the concept of one god, and the belief in the future life are important elements in Christianity and many other world religions, but they are not universal among all peoples. As Benedict has said, religion in many preliterate societies was a technique for success in this life and concerned itself primarily with adjustment of human beings rather than with future worlds and absolute verities. This seems to be what Giddings had in mind when he described religion as a set of practices intended to bring under control certain phenomena of nature (including man), or if control proves to be impossible, to solace the individual and the group in the face of failure. These practices, says Giddings, often but not always have associated with them beliefs intended to explain both the phenomena and the practices and with or without their associated beliefs, such practices may have originated out of an endeavor to sustain that primordial faith in the possibilities of life which was born of success in the struggle for existence.³ We would add that beliefs concerning the supernatural are always present, although they may not be explicitly formulated or clearly organized. Let us now consider each of the components of the religious complex.

Beliefs regarding the supernatural. While some aspect of supernaturalism seems to be present in the beliefs of all peoples, it is impossible to give a specific definition of it in terms of life experiences which will hold in all

² Quoted in Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. x.

³ Giddings, F. H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, pp. 10-11. E. Durkheim explains the origin of religion in the collective life of society which "brings about a state of effervescence" in the individual and thus enables him to conceptualize an ideal world. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915, p. 422.

societies. Practically every area of experience, from hunting to statecraft, has been considered within the realm of the supernatural in some culture, and there is no way of predicting which segment of life a society will choose to emphasize as the principal realm of the supernatural.

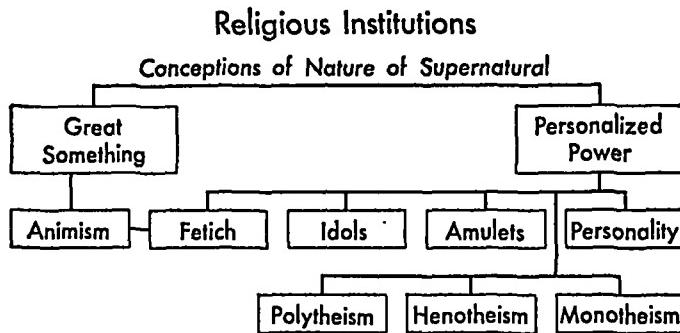
Universally, however, the *supernatural area is believed to be charged with power* which transcends anything known in ordinary life, and this power may be both beneficent and dangerous, somewhat like electricity. Therefore it is not to be regarded lightly, nor is it to be approached without circumspection. It is this awe-inspiring quality of supernatural power which is called *sacredness* or *sanctity*. Those who unceremoniously touched the Ark of the Covenant among the Hebrews were automatically killed as if they had touched a live wire.⁴ Many primitive peoples have words referring to this type of impersonal supernatural power with which the universe is charged to a greater or less extent—*mana* among the Maori of New Zealand and in Melanesia; *orenda* among the Iroquois; *wakan* among the Siouan tribes of North America; *manitou*, among the Algonkian tribes. Somewhat similar concepts are expressed by the *kamui* of the Ainu of Northern Japan, applied to both “good” and “bad” supernatural phenomena, the *chin* of the Chinese, the *kalu* of the Fijians. In our culture *luck* partakes of much of this quality, being either “good” or “bad” and capable of inhering in a wide variety of objects and events.

The second general type of belief regarding the supernatural is that which sees the sacred not as impersonal power, but as *personalized existence and power*. The supernatural world in this type of belief is the abode of extraordinary beings, spirits, souls, ghosts, and the like. The general view which sees spirits in material objects and the phenomena of nature Tylor called *animism*. Thus the Caribs of British Guiana, for example, believe that all trees contain spirits and that when a tree falls down upon a man, it is because he has offended the spirit. Traces of animism are to be noted in our own society.⁵ Another conception is a supernatural world inhabited and controlled by a pantheon of definite supernatural personalities (polytheism),

⁴ II Sam., 6:3-8.

⁵ Parke Cummings has amusingly described a trace of this feeling which must be familiar to many readers in Western civilization: “All my life I have been a thing-smasher. I don’t mean by this that I habitually smash things through unintentional clumsiness, I mean that when things—machines, gadgets, cobblestones, sharp corners, low ceilings—fail to function, trip me up, or come into violent contact with me, I give them a good swift poke or kick or otherwise mete out the punishment that the perversity of inanimate objects so richly deserves. . . . No overhead beam or sharp corner or low ceiling has ever got away with hitting me in the head. I hit right back, and I hit harder—not with my head or my fist but with the nearest available weapon.” Cummings, Parke, “Philosophy of Punitive Action,” *Harper’s Magazine*, August, 1938, pp. 331-332. Quotation by permission of Parke Cummings.

as was the case with the classical Greeks, and these gods may be ranked into a sort of hierarchy with a supreme head. In Polynesia, for example, there are two groups of gods; the exalted creator-beings, practically abstractions; and the lesser gods associated with particular families and localities and usually possessing somewhat human form.⁶ Beliefs in *generalized deities* take many forms: By generalized deities we mean those whose supposed



range of action and power is somewhat wider than that attributed to animistic spirits. The deities may be anthropomorphized, i.e., believed to have human form, as was the case with the inhabitants of the Roman and Greek pantheons, or they may have animal form (e.g., the Thunderbird of the Northwest Coast); they may be identified with certain powerful aspects of nature, such as the sun, the thunder, the wind, etc., or they may be thought of as formless but all-pervading. The deities may be regarded as equally powerful in their respective spheres or as organized in a graded hierarchy with the most powerful in command of the others or it may be believed that only one all-powerful deity exists (monotheism). The gods may be organized into opposing camps representing good and evil, as in the religion of ancient Persia, or conceived of as the God and the Devil of medieval Christianity, or regarded as variable in their attributes. In some religious systems, e.g., Rome, Peru, the gods have no definite moral attributes, their main characteristic being power which can be used for either good or evil. There is to be found also the conception that there are as many gods as there are peoples, but that there is only one god for each (*henotheism*). The strict *monotheism* of Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity has been a relatively rare conception if we consider human religious systems as a whole. "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet," the Muezzin reminds his people. "I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other

⁶ Williamson, Robert W., "Polynesia," *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908, pp. 107-108; *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1937, Chs. 2-4.

gods before me. Thou shalt not make any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God,"⁷ is the statement of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The conception of the supernatural on the one hand is impersonal power and the belief in it on the other as a realm populated by personalized beings are not mutually exclusive. All religions have something of both conceptions, with varying degrees of emphasis and elaboration. One religion differs from another, then, to the extent that it differs in its view of the sacred and how the sacred is to be dealt with.

Psychic aspects of religion. Owing to the fact that the sacred is not precisely the same as the mundane facts of routine, everyday existence, but yet is powerful, it has always to some extent wonderful, extraordinary, and mysterious qualities which call forth emotional reactions from believers. Goldenweiser⁸ has pointed out that a characteristic of true participation in religion is the "religious thrill," a combination of reactions compounded of fear, anxiety, awe, reverence, love, pleasure, or any one of these emotional states. Some individuals are more susceptible to these feelings than others, as James showed,⁹ and even in preliterate societies cynicism and various degrees of indifference are not unknown.¹⁰ Furthermore, societies differ in the amount of institutionalized emphasis which is placed on emotion. The cultural ways of responding range from such mild performances as closing the eyes during prayer to the self-inflicted tortures of the Mexican Penitentes and the sadism of the Spanish Inquisition. The emotion associated with religion accounts for much of the intolerance, fanaticism, and "narrow-mindedness" which has appeared in religious history, but religious emotion has also promoted unselfishness, sacrifices, and social welfare activities of many sorts carried on by religious institutions.

Borderline psychological states are institutionalized in many primitive religions. In Siberia mediumistic gifts and epileptoid tendencies are valued as essential characteristics of religious practitioners.¹¹ Among the Plains Indians, on the other hand, dream experiences and visions were expected

⁷ Exod., 20:1-5.

⁸ Goldenweiser, A. A., *Early Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922, pp. 231-234.

⁹ James, William, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1902, Lecture II and *passim*.

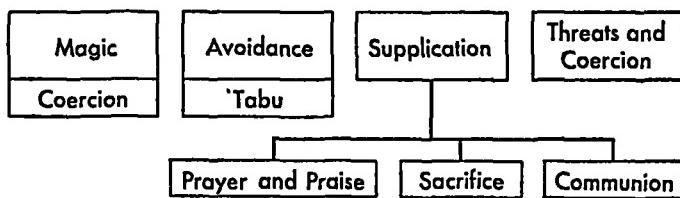
¹⁰ See, for example, Radin, Paul, *Crashing Thunder: the Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1926.

¹¹ Bogoras, W., *The Chukchee*, Jesup Expedition, New York, 1904-1909, Vol. 7, pp. 413-468; Czaplicka, M. A., *Aboriginal Siberia*, Clarendon Press, London, 1914, pp. 166-291.

of every adolescent in his search for a "guardian spirit."¹² Trances have been valued in many religions. In ancient Greece, oracles were the spokesmen of the gods; in some California tribes a woman "called" to shamanism falls rigid; and the history of Christianity is studded with the trances and vision experiences of saints, holy men, and inspired believers. Drugs are used in many societies to induce these desired psychic states; the *piayen* of the Caribs drinks the juice of green tobacco leaves; in some parts of Polynesia *kava*-drinking forms a regular part of the religious ceremonies; *peyote*, a drug-bearing cactus button, has become the center of a cult widely diffused among the reservation Indians of present-day America. Torture, self-mortification, monotonous drumming, and breath control may all be used as aids to attaining the proper emotional condition.¹³

Religious activities. Culturally patterned activities are a universal part of the religious complex and of religious institutions, and if there is one department of social behavior in which it is legitimate to use the term *pattern*, it is in religious life, for in all religious institutions there is a tendency to ritualize and solidify the forms of behavior. The almost infinite variety of religious practices may perhaps be grouped under three heads: (1) those intended to control supernatural powers or beings to the advantage of man, (2) those supposed to promote closer contact of man with the supernatural, and (3) those practices thought to prevent dangerous or otherwise undesirable contacts between the supernatural and man.

Control Techniques



Control techniques. These activities, concerned with the control of religious power, are mostly, but not exclusively, conceived in the impersonal sense. *Magic* is the technical term commonly used to refer to such techniques. Essentially a magical practice is a formula or prescribed series of activities, which if carefully followed, is believed to control supernatural power so as to bring about desired results through the operation of inevit-

¹² Benedict, Ruth, "The Vision in Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 24, 1922, pp. 1-23.

¹³ Gillin, John, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana*, Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1936, p. 170; Spier, L., *The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 16, 1921, 451-527; LaBarre, Weston, *The Peyote Cult*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, New Haven, Vol. 19, 1938.

able supernatural cause and effect. Magic is therefore usually methodical and, granting the premises, logical; it does not involve submission, conciliation, propitiation, or abasement, but rather may be considered a technique of *coercion*. Although magic is most generally used with respect to impersonal power, in some religious systems it may also be applied to supernatural beings. Frazer distinguished two basically different types of magic—contagious and sympathetic. *Contagious magic* takes such forms as burning the nail parings of an enemy in order to cause him to die of fever, or of refusing to wash the track pants one wore while winning a race for fear of washing out the "luck." These practices are predicated upon the implicit, usually unconscious, belief that an effective, if invisible, line of power may be established between things which have once been in contact. *Sympathetic magic*, on the other hand, operates on the implicit premise that a similar line of power may be established, though proper use of formula or ritual, between objects which have some similarity. Thus ritual mutilation of a wax image which looks like a man may be believed to be automatically followed without other human activity by mutilation of the man himself. The Caribs tie large round snail shells to the branches of calabash bushes as a means of making the latter produce well-developed calabashes.

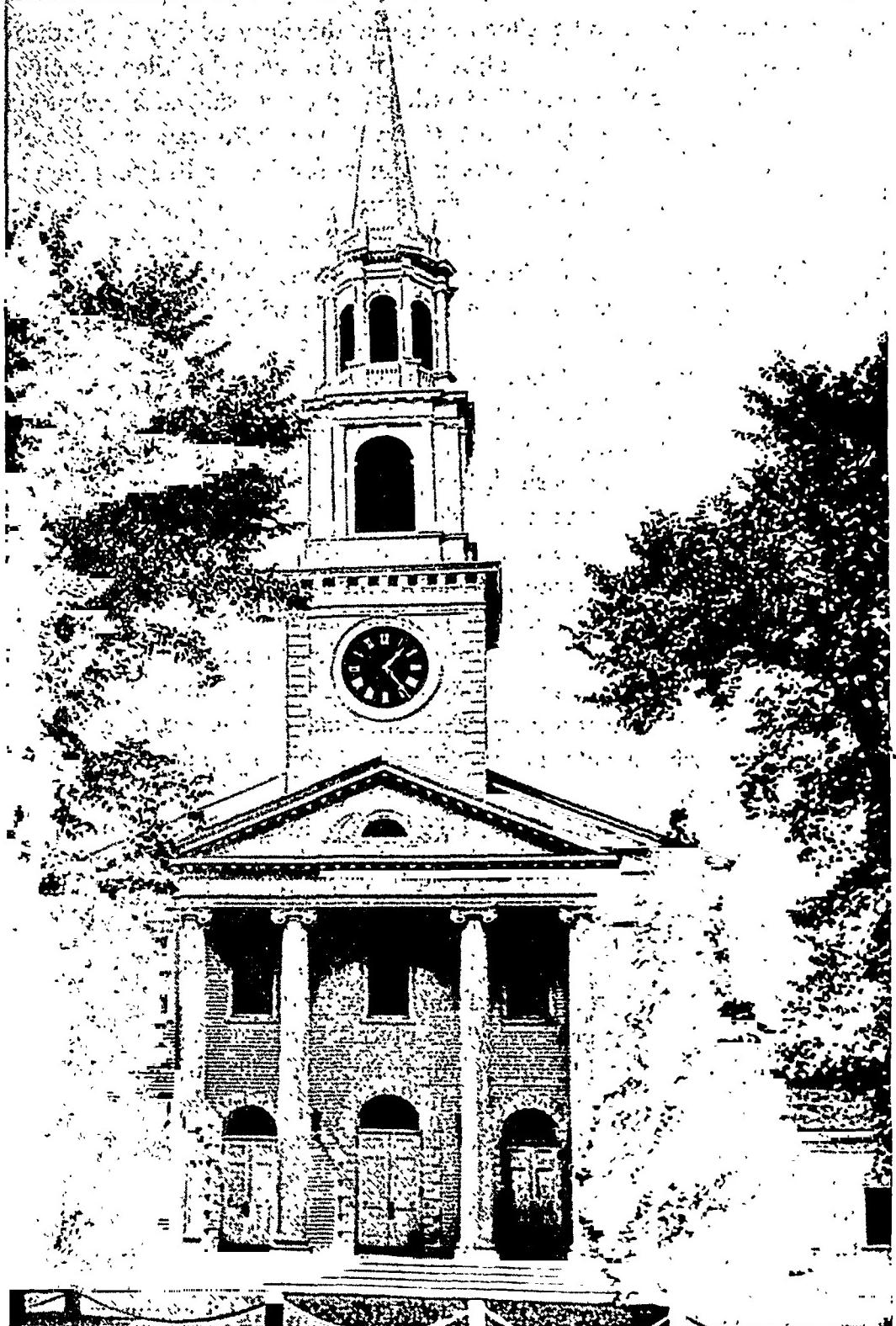
Magic or coercion of the supernatural is frequently practiced by individuals in solitude, but it may form part of communal ceremonies, as when the Hopi villagers sprinkle water on the ground before the populace as a means of producing rain.

Other forms of magic include *divination* by examining the entrails of animals, casting lots, the use of ordeals, and the like, and *cursing* and other forms of verbal formulae for controlling and directing supernatural power.

Control activities may of course be either positive or negative, the latter aspects being exhibited in the use of various amulets, signs, and formulae for deflecting supernatural danger from the individual.

Approaching techniques. Activities of this sort are not usually predicated on the assumption that the proper formula will automatically produce desired results from the supernatural, but rather on the view that the deities or powers must be induced, rather than forced, to take notice of man and to grant his desires.

We may mention *sacrifices* which may be thought of as either satisfying some appetite or desire of the gods, or indicating the good faith of the worshipper by showing that he is willing to part with something of value. *Prayer* is of course a means of seeking contact with the supernatural. The singing of *praises*, repetition of phrases of adoration, bodily prostration by kneeling, groveling on the ground, are activities used in various religions for



Religious institutions

The Congregational church of Old Lyme, Conn. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

propitiating the gods and establishing favorable contact with them. Associated with general theism are *communions* and *sacraments* of various types, as well as those activities having to do with "ceremonial cleanliness" of body and mind, and all measures taken to place man in proper condition for approach to the "Great Dreadful."

Identification with the deity is not uncommon, especially in the more highly elaborated religions, and to desire to "be like Him," as expressed in the hymn, or to "lose oneself in the godhead," is a powerful motivation for approach.

Withdrawal or avoidance techniques. There are in all societies times and places where certain powers or beings are better left alone or induced to stay out of human affairs. *Tabus* of all sorts upon food and various activities are everywhere present in greater or less degree. *Disguises* may be used to deceive the powers or spirits. Elaborate precautions are widely taken to prevent the return of ghosts, in many societies going so far as to necessitate the abandonment or destruction of the house. On the other hand scolding or castigation of the gods is not unknown in certain societies, and as Benedict points out, almost any method of behavior useful for avoiding or approaching human beings may be institutionalized in religion.¹⁴ Withdrawal activities of religion are widely used among preliterates in what our society would call the field of medicine.¹⁵

Material objects in religion. Utilitarian traits are numerous in religious institutions and are connected mainly with the overt behavior patterns. The altar is frequently a utilitarian as well as a symbolic trait, especially when it forms a necessary part of the equipment for sacrifice. The meeting place or structure where worship takes place usually conforms to a definite pattern forming part of the religious complex. Among the Caribs the *toakai*, or consulting shack of the medicine man, is built according to entirely different architectural principles from those employed in dwelling houses; so also ecclesiastical architecture is specialized in our own culture. Other material objects used in the practice of religions extend over a wide range; prayer wheels turned by water power and containing slips of paper inscribed with prayers which are recorded in heaven to the credit of the suppliant with each turn of the wheel are a regular part of the religious equipment of Tibet; long obsidian knives used for opening the chest and excising the heart of the live human sacrificial victim were used by the Aztec priests of Mexico; the communion cups and services, the pews, choir lofts, organs, and other church furnishings of our own culture come under

¹⁴ Benedict, *op. cit.*, pp. 640-641.

¹⁵ Maddox, John Lee, *The Medicine Man*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1923.

this head. It is always difficult to distinguish rigidly between the utilitarian and the symbolic in religious culture, because all material traits of the complex carry symbolic connotations, but certain traits, such as those just mentioned, are predominantly utilitarian, while others are equally predominantly symbolic. *Amulets* are portable objects in which power is concentrated, as the "lucky piece," rabbit's foot, or sacred relic. *Fetishes* are material objects in which a god has taken up residence, while *idols* may be viewed as the materialistic representation of the god itself. Costumes, apparatus of all kinds, candles, lights, incense, are all examples of material objects which may form an integral part of a religious institution.

Religious symbolism. Symbolism attaches to all traits of religious institutions; yet certain elements may have more symbolic importance than others, and some of them may have little other function. Symbols in material form we have already mentioned: idols, amulets, fetishes. Costume usually plays an important symbolic role, not only for the worshippers in general, but even more significantly for the specialists and officials. The paraphernalia and decorations of priests, of places of worship, of sanctuaries, are almost universally regarded as sacred, i.e., signifying power which may not be defiled. Costume may also be used as the symbol of a whole sect, as with the Quakers and the Amish. The Eucharist in Protestant Christianity serves as symbolic ritual. Candles, bells, incense, baptismal fonts, and the like are usually valued more for their symbolic than their utilitarian functions.

Not only material objects symbolize the mystery and power of a religion but also words and actions. A significant feature of all religions is their tendency to ritualize behavior. In magic the rigid performance of the formula is of the utmost importance to the success of the undertaking. In other forms of religion, deportment in general and all other activities tend to be highly ritualized, and the possibility of punishment is constantly held before the individual who would deviate. The working specifications of the institution are always embodied in some form of tradition; among preliterate peoples this is, of course, entirely oral and is passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth. Mythologies, liturgies, and theologies do not by any means have to be written down. Among literate peoples a sacred book, such as the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, containing the principal traditions and beliefs, plays an important part in the institution. Connected with the sacred books or scriptures, which provide the mythology or theology associated with some religions, are usually hymns and chants, prayer books, commentaries, and theological interpretations, and a vast amount

of other literature, expanding, interpreting, and making more precise the details of the beliefs and practices.

Social relations of religion. Although the religious institutions are oriented toward the sphere of the supernatural, they are always to some extent related to the social life of the group and to the cultural system as a whole. Religion, like all culture, is a social means of adjustment. Religion is expressed in cultural terms of the society and thus reflects the cultural and social development. Religion frequently offers interpretations of the environment and social relations which motivate, at least in part, activities connected directly with those fields. Religion may be used for purposes of social control, and it frequently provides a view of the universe, a cosmology, and a set of values¹⁶ which justify and strengthen the other values and attitudes current in the culture. Certain aspects of this feature of religion will be considered in the following section.

Religion and society

Religion reflects social development. In the simple tribal life of the Semitic nomads each rock, tree, and spring possessed its *jinn* or spirit. Mythology enabled them to account for every act of the tribe by reference to the deeds of ancestral spirits and every phenomenon of nature as produced by some spiritual being. The origin of the earth and the universe were thus accounted for. Thus developed numberless gods with different powers, capabilities, and services.¹⁷ Numerous stories or myths concerning the actions of gods and their relations to mankind arose. These stories occupied the minds and influenced not only the beliefs but the actions of men. With the settlement of the Hebrew tribes in Canaan, there developed a syncretism, i.e., the Hebrews took over Canaanitish sanctuaries, beliefs, and gods. Religious beliefs and religious ceremonies grow more complex with the development of social relationships and complexity of social organization. When a strong central government was imposed upon the separate, independent tribes, there grew up a national religion at Jerusalem, the capital, and the local sanctuaries were finally banned. With the appearance of the Assyrian world empire and their subsequent experiences in the Exile, the Hebrew leaders conceived of their god, *Jahweh*, hitherto

¹⁶ See King, *The Development of Religion*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1909, Ch. 2; Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Chs. 2-5.

¹⁷ In the temple of Kali in Calcutta we saw numerous images, each representing a god devoted to a particular function. One, an elephant god, we were told, was the god of business success.

theirs exclusively, as a universal god. Universal empire prepared the way in their thought for the conception of a universal deity. That that god should be theirs rather than the Chaldean's was but a natural reaction to their experiences in exile and the teachings of the eighth-century prophets that their sufferings were due to their sins. The terror of the experience which resulted in the carrying off of the northern tribes into captivity, drove the southern tribes to centralize their religion at Jerusalem, strengthen it in every way, organize it more thoroughly, drive out the local cults, and raise the concept of Jahweh from that of a tribal god, or even a national divinity, to that of a universal god. The Exile in 586 B.C. selected for death or assimilation among the Babylonian population all those of weak faith, purged all the idolatry out of those that returned, and further clarified their conception of the nature of Jahweh. Their assertion that in spite of their inferior social, economic, and political position Jahweh is a universal god who will bring all nations to the feet of the Jews was simply compensation for their disappointment. That terrible experience and those following for five hundred years fastened that conviction the more firmly in their minds.

The old desert religious conceptions suffered under the rise of a new agriculture and what was then a new commercialism. Out of the tragic social injustices in Hebrew society consequent on these changes, and the national tragedy consummated in the Babylonian Exile, the ethical religion of Judaism was born. To the prophets of the eighth century Israel owed the development of such a religion. It was they who declared that Jahweh, their god, was more pleased with them for restoring the pledge to the poor, ceasing oppression, doing justice with loving kindness, and walking in humbleness than for giving their first-born to redeem their transgressions, offering the fruit of their bodies for the sin of their souls. With an assurance that carried conviction and an insistence which brooked no gainsaying, Amos urged Jahweh's ethical claims with, "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream."¹⁸ The same conviction inspired Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah.¹⁹ Growing out of the insistence of these prophets and their followers was the development of the legal-ethical religion of the Hebrew, in which the duty of individuals one to another finally is formally stated in the law of the people. Out of the prophetic Hebrew religion came a humanitarian, ethical religion in which the law of love was emphasized.

¹⁸ Amos 5:23, 24.

¹⁹ See Hos. 2:11, 4:1-3, 10:12; Isa. 1:10-17; Mic. 3:9-12, 6:6-8.

If space permitted, the same thing could be shown for the history of the Christian church. Social experience is reflected in the changes in theology, in social organization, and in ceremonies of the church. The simple group organization of the primitive churches gave way to the hierarchical organization after the church was tolerated under Constantine. Conflict with heretics gave rise to the creeds which were aimed at shutting out those who were Hellenizing Christian doctrine too rapidly. The exigencies of keeping the organization intact led to a rapid concentration of power in the hands of the bishop of Rome. The mysteries of the Greek and Roman *collegia* were assimilated to the Christian rites. These changed the whole concept of the nature of the simple ceremonies of baptism and of the Lord's Supper characteristic of the early church. The assumption of sovereignty by the church was a response to the decay of civil government on the breakdown of the Roman Empire. In short, the whole development of the church from the days of Jesus to the present reflects the social changes going on around the church.

Niebuhr in his *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* has shown that the sects and churches that developed after the Reformation both in Europe and in the United States grew out of the social and economic conditions. He points out the influence of the frontier in the United States in modifying the organization of the churches and sects that sprang up in the frontier settlements. He shows that the sects usually began as organizations of the poor, but became churches for the middle class as the population became more prosperous. In this analysis he followed Max Weber's theories.

Religion as a socializing agency. Every primitive culture is closely interwoven with religious beliefs. Associated with every time of crisis in the life of primitive man, religion has been not only a most important spur to mental and physical activity, but has kept alive and stimulated that will to live born of the long struggle for existence mentioned in Giddings' definition at the beginning of this chapter.

Moreover, religion on the one hand often bound the energies of the savage which were being expended in antisocial ways, and on the other loosed those energies in mental and physical activities which ministered to the welfare of the group. For example, by causing him to act in a crisis religion spurred him to a series of experiments with nature which have not yet been exhausted. While the hypothesis with which it supplied man has been modified many times, by proceeding upon it he laid in experience the basis of a better one. It provided him, furthermore, with a foundation upon which he began his significant attempts to alter the environment for the welfare of his group and of himself, and to bend other men to his will,

not by physical force, but by spiritual devices. While from the modern standpoint it enthralled him in activities which later impeded his progress, in his early history it gave spur to his otherwise undeveloped tendencies to help his fellows. The feelings, thoughts, and activities of primitive people clustered around religious life. The well-established customs of primitive society were all interwoven with religion. While we may consider much of this religious belief false and, in many instances, degrading, nevertheless, it called forth feeling and action in the struggle for existence and for social solidarity.

What has been the influence of religion in the development of social organization? ²⁰ In the control of families, tribes, groups, and even nations, religion has played an important part. Religion has lent a powerful sanction to virtue and morality, for it has regulated the relationships of individuals in the home in the interest of order. Long before politics and civil law could be established, religion had sanctified customs that preserved the equilibrium of the social group. It has sometimes fostered a belief in immortality. Whether in its crude form as held by the primitive savage or in its perfected state, that belief has had more or less influence in the control of the groups which held it. In its early form it inspired fear and thus controlled social action, while in its later development the idea of immortality inspired hope and faith and courage—important elements in social development. Again, it has strengthened patriotic feeling on account of its local character. The religion of the family developed family pride and glory, relating ancestors to gods. When some tribes expanded into a nation, the god of the nation led the hosts in battle, preserved their lives and integrity. And thus religion became an inspiration to patriotic life. In upholding the central authority of the head of the family, social order was developed. There was established on one side the governing class; on the other, the governed. Thus people learned to rule and to obey, to command and to serve.

One must never forget, moreover, that some of the mightiest revolutions have been inspired by religious innovators. The Hebrew prophets, Jesus and Paul, the non-Hebraic Mohammed and Buddha—who shall say of them that they did not start movements of the greatest social significance for their times and peoples?

The antisocial results of religion. On the other hand, religion has at times been a coercive weapon of reaction and has opposed social developments which had for their aim the betterment of society. What aspirations

²⁰ See Ward, L. F., *Dynamic Sociology*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1883, Vol. 2, p. 279.

of earnest souls struggling to express a newly discovered truth has it not tried to crush! How often have religious institutions been found on the side of reaction in the struggle for freedom! Even in ancient Israel, as Cornill²¹ has remarked, the outcome of the Prophetic religion was to crush the free spirit of the common people and to bind upon them the rites and ideas of the religion of the narrow party of Jerusalem. It paved the way for the priestly domination of the following centuries and had a share in preparing for the narrow spirit of the Pharisee. In early Christian times ecclesiasticism crushed the free spirit of the Montanist; drove into ecclesiastical exile that early forerunner of untrammeled thought, the Gnostic; under the leadership of such men as Cyprian and Calixtus, narrowed the church to a sect and bound it with the hard bonds of a party domination. It throttled free inquiry in the Middle Ages, making independent thinking a heresy, and laid the foundation of a revolt which has rent the world into hundreds of warring factions. It forced Galileo to recant his carefully established convictions that the earth moves around the sun, retarded the development of science, threw water upon the flaming aspirations of scholars, and stifled the democratic longings of the common people. Clothed with the garments of ecclesiasticism men in more recent times have anathematized such truth-seekers as Darwin and Huxley, and have belittled God's records written in the rocks and in the bodies of animals and men. Too often through its well-meaning but benighted representatives, religion has mocked the findings of careful and conscientious scholars, stood with the representatives of arrant wrong against those who in love of the truth have battled for the rights of the people. Nevertheless, such an attitude represents but one side of the work of religion, the conservative side. Even that side is needed in society as a stabilizing force.

As Niebuhr suggests, the sects and denominations in Western countries, reflecting the other divisive forces in the culture and in their turn strengthening those forces, have failed to function as socially unifying influences, except to fortify the cultural elements of honesty, family loyalty, and the common ethical decencies. By emphasizing the salvation of the individual in the next world they have forgotten the other half of the Christian conception, the Kingdom of God—a society of brothers of all classes, colors, and conditions—here on earth. The Christianity of these divisions was a class, caste, or national religion, not the Christianity of Jesus of the Gospels.

Yet, in spite of these inconsistencies, development towards the realization of the social implications of the Gospel has occurred. A sketch of that development will reveal some principles of institutional growth. The teach-

²¹ Cornill, C. H., *The Prophets of Israel*, Monist Press, Chicago, 1904, pp. 83-90.

ings of Jesus as found in the Gospels were in part rejected by the Jews of his day because they were so at variance with the culture of the Scribes and Pharisees. Even his disciples adopted only parts of those teachings, the parts which were not too far removed from the ideas and attitudes prevalent among the common people from whom his disciples came. Paul, for example, made only those portions of the teachings of Jesus a part of his ideology and way of life that fitted into his cultural complex and personality. As the missionaries carried "the Gospel" out among the communities of the Roman Empire, they met people with a cultural complex at variance in many respects with the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. These converts adopted only such parts of the teachings as were not too incompatible with the prevalent attitudes, values, and ideology, and which met needs that the prevailing culture did not satisfy. The simple philosophy of the teachings, based upon the relationships of the family extended to others, gave way to a theology shot through and through with the prevailing Greek philosophy. The social organization, originally a simple company of disciples very loosely organized and looked upon as the agency for the proclamation of the imminent coming of the Kingdom of God—an ideal social organization or theocracy in which God was conceived of as a father and the members as brethren—became increasingly modeled upon the Roman political organization. In time the simple symbolic acts of baptism and the Lord's Supper became sacraments carrying new meanings. The officers of the church, originally servants of equal rank even in Paul's thinking, became a hierarchy. The church in Augustine's thought became the City of God, to which all secular political organizations were subordinate.

A similar process of synthesization took place when the church undertook the conversion of the invading barbarians. Holding to many of the teachings of the Master, it took over a number of the ceremonies of the tribes, such as the Easter rites, and modified some of its practices and customs in accordance with those prevalent in the tribal culture. On the other hand, in its accommodation to the secular culture, the church either sloughed off or changed the meaning of some of the teachings. Thus, whereas during the early history of the church in the Roman Empire it did not allow its members to be soldiers, after the recognition of Christianity as one of the religions of the Empire, it gave its blessings to the soldiers in the army of the Empire. In the medieval period of the church's greatest power it substituted the *Pax Christiana* for the *Pax Romana*. It did its best to lessen the plundering and fighting of the warring barons through the operation of the Truce of God. This regulation refused confession and

absolution to those who warred and plundered on certain days each week and on holy days. In economic relationships it did not attempt to enforce with its sanctions the exhortations of the Gospel: "Give to him that asketh of thee and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away" and "If anyone take away thy coat give him thy cloak also." But it did attempt to establish a "just price," to outlaw the taking of interest, and to inculcate the milder virtues. To this day no Christian church or sect, save the Dunkers, Quakers, and Mennonites, has insisted that its members shall not go to war. Nor so far as we know has any insisted that the profit motive in business is anti-Christian.

However, in spite of these inconsistencies between ideology and actual practice, progress towards the realization of the ideals has gradually been made. The historians testify to the mollifying effect of even the medieval church upon the savagery consequent upon the breakdown of the Roman Empire. The monasteries in many cases were the refuge of the oppressed. The church taught and practiced charity towards the poor. It suppressed the widespread practice of infanticide among the decadent Romans. It established institutions for the care of the sick, of orphans, of the aged. It awed the ruthless plundering of the barons. In the churches the Scriptures containing the Gospel and the equalitarian doctrines of St. Paul touching Jew, Greek and Barbarian, male and female, bondsman and free-man, were read and commented on. The exaltation of womanhood was promoted through these teachings and the glorification of the Virgin. Childhood was lifted up in the person of the exalted Child. In spite of its authoritarian organization and practices, the Church was the carrier of the ideals of its Founder inculcating humility, equality, and love of fellow men. It preached peace between peoples and individuals despite its support of warring princes. And ever in its Scriptures there stood the figure of the Nazarene, and his words echoed from the pulpit reminding men of his revolutionary teachings. Gradually that figure and those words emerge from the trappings of cultural accretions, challenging the age-old customs, the hoary traditions, and calling to the social impulses of men. Gradually the historic churches, as well as the pacifistic sects, are condemning war and supporting the efforts to establish world-wide peace.

Why has religion survived? Science has superseded religion in some respects and among some people, as an explanation of the nature of the universe. Magical practices to control nature have given place to applied science. Crowded out of its old place as a natural philosophy, and compelled to give up its early claims as a method of bringing the hostile forces of nature and men under control, what is there left for religion? Socio-

logically religion has survived because it is a part of the warp and woof of man's culture. Like many another element which has come down from the past it persists because it is a part of the institutional complex; it cannot be torn out without destroying other elements which are highly valued. It is so interwoven with cherished social values that, even when it loses some of the functions it once served, it tends still to share the regard given to the others. For example, in historic Christianity are tied together diametrically opposing interests—the selfish interests of officials and laymen for domination with the perpetuation of the status quo, and the interests of those who dream of "a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." Tradition and fear try to reconcile these conflicting values—and succeed, as shown by the survival of religion in a rapidly changing social order.

But religion survives also because of its pragmatic psychic and social functions in assisting the individual to meet the complexities of life.

As a scientific explanation of the universe, religion has lost some of its old dominion. As a philosophy giving meaning to the universe and to the social relations it has only begun to come into its own. Its chief function has ever been not explanation but action. It has been a faith primarily, having only enough mythology attached to it to give an excuse to the rational faculty for the action. Therefore it has survived because it has provided man with a working program by which to adjust himself to the universe and the world of nature. It is the expression of man's faith that there is a way whereby he can bring under his control and for his purposes the forces about him. That faith has released for experiment the energies otherwise paralyzed by fear and doubt. Oftentimes the means used were not adapted to his purposes, but the drive of religious faith was still there to find another and a better way. Through the ages from primitive to civilized man, religion—the belief that there is a power greater, wiser, and usually kindlier than himself—has stimulated the will to overcome difficulties and has thus aided in survival. Such belief had what the biologists call "survival value." Since the man who believed survived, religion survived. Historically religion has produced what has come to be called in these latter days "morale." It gave the fighting edge to life.

Will religion continue to give an advantage in the struggle for existence? It all depends on whether present-day religion is as well adapted to make modern man adjust himself to the circumstances of his world as primitive religion was to the primitive man. If he believes as earnestly as the savage that the ideals he has can be realized, that belief will help him to realize them. Today man may not need religion to enable him to be successful in

raising crops or securing a food supply, but he certainly needs a faith, which may be described as "assurance of things hoped for" and "a conviction of things not seen," to enable him to wax valiant in the fight against organized wrong entrenched in hoary institutions. Only such faith has made the world in which we live better than that in which our fathers lived. In spite of organized religion's relative failure to adapt itself to the rapidly changing culture pattern of our time, it still is possible for it to command the energy to help bring about a social order wherein increasingly "dwelleth righteousness."

And in fairness it must be added that notwithstanding the failure of the sects and denominations to emphasize the fundamental teachings of Jesus, and in spite of their divisive activities, they have been influential in correcting some of the evils of the social order. Consider what religion did to end slavery, to exalt womanhood, to uplift the position of childhood, and to fortify the family relationships. Moreover, although it was inconsistent in many cases in its preaching and its practices, it was the carrier of the record of the life and teachings of the Hebrew Prophets and of Jesus. There stood those words of social righteousness to prod the consciences of those who would soften their meanings. Twisted as they sometimes were by those who wished to suit their own convenience, there the words shone like lights in dark places, revealing the inconsistencies, the selfishness, and the triflings of the ecclesiastics intent on preserving their special privileges.

In fine, to answer the question as to why religion has survived, we must say that it is, not only because of the weight of tradition, of ignorance, and of fear, but also because it contributed to the needs of the individual who was conscious of the failure of his social order to provide the satisfaction of some of his fundamental needs.

Some aspects of changing contemporary religious institutions

Numerical strength in America. It is not our purpose here to subject all the religious institutions found in contemporary American society to a rigid analysis. The most familiar religious institution is the church. Diversity of sects and denominations has been a characteristic of American religious institutions since colonial times. In 1928 there were over 200 religious denominations and about 230,000 local church groups in this country.²² Only twenty-four denominations, however, claimed more than 200,000 mem-

²² Fry, Luther P., "Changes in Religious Organizations," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934, Ch. 20.

bers each, and in them were included 90 per cent of the nation's adult church members. The Roman Catholic Church, with over 13,000,000 adult members (thirteen years of age or older) was the largest single denomination. Among the Protestants, the Methodist Episcopal church with 3,700,000 members was the largest, but taken all together the Protestants outnumber the Catholics about 2 to 1. Approximately 4,000,000 Jews, not all of them members of organized synagogues, however, live in the United States. It was estimated that in 1930 the value of all wealth owned by religious bodies in the country was about \$7,000,000,000.

The situation in 1943-44 is summarized in the following table from a report published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:²³

Grand total of membership in all religious bodies and groups, 1943-44	72,492,669
Membership thirteen years of age and older	52,405,659
Per cent of population churched, 1943-44	52.5%
Per cent of population churched, 1926	46.60
Per cent of population churched, 1890	22.5

In 1944 it was estimated that sixteen Protestant denominations gave \$16.15 per capita membership to their religious bodies. We have no comparable estimates for Catholics or Jews.

These figures indicate a fairly steady rise in church membership and show that the depression has been a period of turning toward religion rather than away from it.

Belonging to a church is, however, a very different thing from actively participating in its program. Unfortunately we lack comprehensive statistics bearing upon this problem, for most churches do not take attendance at services. A study in 1934 of attendance in Congregational Christian churches concludes that "on the average, only 30 per cent of the seats in our churches are being used and that perhaps only 25 per cent of those shown as members of our churches are supporting their churches with their personal attendance and active encouragement."²⁴

The local church. Although there are many local variations, the traditional pattern of the local church includes the following elements:²⁵ (1) public religious services, formal and informal; (2) religious instruction

²³ *Information Service*, Department of Education and Research, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York, Vol. 13, No. 22, June 2, 1934; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, September 8, 1945.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, No. 41, December 12, 1936.

²⁵ Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 1053.

in Sunday Schools and parochial day schools; (3) supervision exercised by the pastor and by organized laymen's groups on behalf of the adherent individuals and families; (4) subsidiary organizations and patterns within the church usually organized along age and sex lines; (5) social life organized for the benefit of the church as a whole; (6) service activities, the most important being the administration of charity and the support of foreign missions.

The most significant recent changes in the program of the local churches may be summarized as follows: (1) There has been a tendency toward more ritual in Protestant churches. This has taken the form of robed choirs and pastors, greater orderliness in conduct of the service, improved aesthetic decoration of the church buildings, better music, and so on. (2) Preaching and worship has tended to give more attention to social and economic problems of everyday life, and less emphasis to dogma, theological discussion, and scriptural authority. (3) Improved methods in religious instruction, with specially trained teachers in Sunday schools, young people's groups, and the like, have characterized the recent programs of the churches with regard to the younger generation. An expansion of the program to include athletics, evening parties, and entertainments of a secular nature has taken place in many churches as a means of holding the interest of the young. (4) Modernization of appeal along many lines has been thought necessary to hold the interest of the adult group in competition with the attractions of automobile riding, golf-playing, and other diversions of Sunday morning. A declining emphasis upon such tabus as those relating to smoking, dancing, card-playing, and discussion of secular philosophy has been noticeable. (5) In urban communities the pastoral relationship has tended to become impersonal. With large congregations and several assistants, the pastor of a city church often knows only a small fraction of his congregation and is called upon to perform marriages, christenings, and other ceremonies for persons he has never seen. At the same time, a tendency toward specialization of the pastorate and better training for its members has grown up. Thus, young ministers are specially trained as leaders of religious education, as administrative officials, as financial experts, and so on, in addition to acquiring the traditional qualifications of the all-round pastor.

Some functions of religious institutions in contemporary culture.

1. It cannot be denied that the church always has performed and still is performing the important function of providing solace and comfort for individuals troubled by the problems of their daily lives. Even for those who do not believe fully in the supernatural aspects of the dogma, the

advice and counsel of pastors and other church members versed in human problems is an invaluable aid to many a confused individual in modern complex society.

2. The church still offers an institutionalized pattern for the attainment of individual distinction and a stage upon which the individual may play a social role. It is doubtful that the special position of the church with respect to this function is as strong as formerly, owing to the decline in supernatural beliefs among the population and the competition of other institutions which offer similar opportunities. Nevertheless, the institution still provides organized group background for many individuals, thus aiding in their social development.

3. Philanthropic activities form a part of the church's functions. Although the churches alone are no longer able to cope with all of the many social problems of a complex capitalistic society, as they were expected to do in earlier days, they still do their share. Orphanages, homes for the aged, hospitals, schools and colleges, "rescue missions," and other types of welfare work on the part of church organizations, in spite of depression and increasing governmental response to social needs, are actively supported by the religious bodies. The support of foreign missions has some effect in the promotion of internationalism and better feeling between our own and other societies. Owing to the rather narrow interpretation of their functions, however, and to insufficient training, the missionaries have not been an unmixed blessing. A realization of the prior claim of backward groups in our own society has led to considerable questioning of late years of the value of foreign missions, with some indications of a general change of policy. Whether good or bad, however, there can be no doubt that the religious institutions of our culture, through foreign missions, have had considerable influence *in diffusing that culture to other societies*. The fact that many missionaries have been better students of religion than of sociology and anthropology or of human nature has resulted in some unfortunate effects of this part of the religious program.

4. The church can be a significant factor in social control and also in unifying the social system. But in the United States the numerous sects and churches have until recently been divisive organizations. Reflecting the atomistic divisions of cultural universals in the United States due both to the differing economic and social conditions that grew up in the widely scattered settlements of a new land and to the differing elements of culture brought here by various immigrant groups, a segmented religion stimulated diversity rather than unity in the culture complex. These different religious organizations formed subgroups which carried cultural alternatives that

diminished the scope of the universals. But recently there has been a trend towards the unification of some of the larger religious groups. The control of its members through supernatural sanctions and social pressure has long been a recognized function of the church. At present it appears that, in the Protestant churches at least, the patterns of social pressure are becoming increasingly dominant over those involving supernatural sanctions. With all the diversity of creeds in America, there has nevertheless been a common agreement on such cultural universals as decency, morality, honesty, courage, unselfishness, and the like, which practically all churches have endeavored to inculcate into their members along with the varying theological dogmas. The result has been a strong influence in character formation and in maintenance of the common mores, which has had its effect upon the social system. The basic attitudes of right living, preached by the churches, while not always put into practice in other fields, have nevertheless been recognized and have influenced to a considerable extent human behavior in politics, economics, education, and social relations. This religious background has thus pervaded the society, albeit at times in attenuated form, and has provided a certain unity of pattern. Of recent years, a trend toward mergers and coöperation of the various denominations has set in which promises greater unity of religious effort and social activity. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, consisting in 1945 of twenty-five denominations, is perhaps the outstanding example of Protestant co-operative effort.

Parallel to the church have grown up various quasi-religious institutions committed to the furtherance of religious objectives, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, analogous Hebrew organizations, the Jewish Welfare Board, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the like. Generally speaking, these organizations do not emphasize the propagation of any one creed or dogma characterizing the various denominations. Rather they emphasize belief in certain very general principles of supernatural belief (Jewish or Christian as the case may be) and of social living, and have developed extensive programs whereby these general tenets can be put into practice in everyday life.

In the last seven chapters we have discussed the institutionalization of human relationships in five different areas of life. These are only samples, although they are probably the most important social institutions. They reveal the tendency of human beings to regularize their relationships in patterns which for groups are analogous to habits for individuals. In fact, the individual in the course of his development learns to respond to situa-

tions in accordance with these patterns. They define for him the social situation and make easy the mode of his reactions to his fellows. We turn next to the problem of how the individual is brought to conform his conduct to these patterns.

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Exercises

1. According to the definition of religion given in this chapter, are the following religions: Buddhism, Mohammedanism, witchcraft, voodooism, Ethical Culture, Confucianism?
2. Of the three types of technique discussed under religious activities, to which of them do the following belong: The wearing of amulets, the Mass in Catholic churches, the Eucharist in Protestant churches, the ikons in the homes of the members of the Russian orthodox church, the planting of crops in certain signs of the Zodiac, turning back to the starting point of a trip and beginning again if a black cat crosses your path, fasting before going into battle, fortune-telling, whirling a prayer wheel in Tibet, praise offered to God, enduring persecution for righteousness' sake?
3. Of what is the cross a symbol? The vestments of a vested choir? The sign of the cross by individuals as they enter a Catholic church? Kneeling or standing as a posture in prayer? The tone of voice of the priest as he celebrates the Mass? The wearing of hats by the men in an orthodox Jewish synagogue?
4. Wiese and Becker (see reference in footnote 1, this chapter) say that there is a difference between the church as an organization and the ideals and principles which it upholds (p. 622). Discuss this statement in the light of the discussion in this chapter under the heading of "Religion and Society."
5. If it is true, as contended in the text, that religion in its doctrines and its organization is affected by the other elements of the culture, account for the fact that religion is usually critical of many other elements in the cultural configuration. (See Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 622.)
6. Had the early Christian church adopted in its entirety the culture of the Roman Empire of that time, would it probably have survived as a distinct organization?
7. Since so frequently religion in its ideologies is at variance with the common modes of life among a people, why has it survived?
8. Do you think that the church is increasing or losing its influence? Give reasons.
9. What should be the attitude of the church towards war? Why?
10. Should the church take any active part in the relations between capital and labor? In a public program for the relief of the distressed? In measures for the promotion of health? In the treatment of a prisoner? In international relations? In politics—local, state, and national? Give reasons.

part 5 Dynamics of social organization



chapter 20 General social process: interaction

Structure and function. In the earlier portions of this book we discussed groups, culture, and institutions. These aspects of society may be described as the *structure* or *morphology* of the social order. In Part VI and in this part on "Social Processes" the functional aspects of human association are considered.

The cultural anthropologists have not given much specific attention to the processes involved in social relationships. Sociologists, however, have given considerable heed to this matter. The latter have felt that we need to know, not only the structure of society, but also the various processes of interaction. In the chapter entitled "Socialization" attention will be given to the psychological processes by which the individual makes his own the customs, attitudes and values of the group to which he belongs. In this chapter we will examine the processes of group interaction.

At the very beginning of this chapter we should define the term *social processes*. This is necessary because some sociologists have designated what we have called *social change* as "the social process."¹ This usage was the result of an attempt to get away from the practice of early sociologists of discussing society from the standpoint of morphology or structure. These early sociologists followed the practice of the botanist and other scientists. Such an analysis gives one the picture of a static society very much as a still picture of an individual provides the beholder with only one aspect of the person, that existing at the moment the camera is snapped. In the study of all living things a better conception of the organism is obtained if one can see how they act under different circumstances. Social processes enable one to get a dynamic picture of society, or society in action. Hence the tendency today in sociology is to consider both *structure* and *function*.

¹ Ross, *The Foundations of Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905, Small, A. W., *General Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1905, Cooley, *Social Process*, Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1918. See also article, Lerner, Max, "The Social Process," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1934, Vol. 14.

True, society has its structural forms—groups and institutions—but it is also a dynamic, living organization constantly changing and presenting different types of behavior under varying conditions. Even its structure is undergoing modification. In this respect society is like a living thing. Social relationships in a given society may seem as firm and enduring as the eternal hills, but over periods of time modification is apparent. The study of the interactions of human beings leads to a consideration of the processes which occur when groups are formed, when systems of relationship are being established, when different groups and cultures meet and consolidate, or when changes for any reason are occurring within a society. In studying a functioning society, then, we are led to an examination of the social processes. Hence by *social processes*, we mean those ways of interacting which we can observe, when individuals and groups meet and establish systems of relationships, or what happens when changes disturb already existing modes of life. Society in its dynamic aspect consists of individuals and groups in interaction. These processes are phases of interaction.

Scope of individual interaction. As we have seen, individuals live in groups. These groups range all the way from the rather simple association in a family or in a neighborhood to the complex associations of communities, of states, and of nations. One person may belong to scores of different organizations—perhaps to a family, to a neighborhood group, to a church, to a lodge, to a tennis club, to a ladies' aid society, or to a men's club. Only certain individuals belong to each of these various types of groups, but to some of them—the family, the neighborhood, the state, and the nation—practically everyone belongs.

Intensity of individual interaction. There are different degrees of intensity with which individuals identify themselves with various groups. Some participate with great enthusiasm, join almost every group at hand ("joiners"), and others have merely a nominal relationship to the group. Some are enthusiastic participants in the organized life of the community; others take very little interest in community affairs. Some are 100 per cent patriots while others seem to manifest very little appreciation of the privilege of citizenship. In between these two extremes, of course, lie the great mass of the members of social groups.

Character of individual interaction. Two antithetical attitudes appear in the behavior of human beings: (1) that which is the outgrowth of their egoistic impulses (Freud's "id" and "ego"); and (2) that which develops out of their desires to conform to society's demands or out of their own sense of right, growing out of their making their own the social norms (Freud's "super-ego," Mead's "me," and Durkheim's "conscience collec-

tive").² Individuals differ with respect to each of these categories. This double character of the individual as a member of society has a bearing upon the function of the individual as an innovator of social change, upon the problem of social control over the divergent individual, upon socialization, and upon the subject here under discussion—social processes. Simmel has called attention to the importance of this double character of the individual in society.³ Here it enters into the picture of the social processes because the individual has these two ambivalent characteristics of asserting his own feelings, attitudes, and values against those common to his group (competition, contravention, and conflict) and also of expressing his acceptance of common feelings, attitudes, and values (accommodation, coöperation, and assimilation).

Social interaction.⁴ The most general type of social process is social interaction, and in fact it might be called *the social process*, because interaction is a necessary prerequisite for social activity of any sort. All of the other so-called social processes are only more specific forms of social interaction. By *social interaction* we refer to social relations of all sorts in function—dynamic social relations of all kinds—whether such relations exist between individual and individual, between group and group, or between group and individual, as the case may be.

When two individuals meet, interaction begins. Greetings may be exchanged, hands shaken, and conversation made. Such activities are forms of interaction. But even should the individuals say no word, make no overt movement, interaction usually takes place nonetheless, for every sense is alert; every feature, every detail of appearance, odor, and sound of the one elicits some response, even though covert, in the other. In all these signs each receives an impression of the other, and this impression forms a basis, if only temporary, of ensuing social relations between them. The kind of impression made determines the reaction..

Similar reactions occur when an individual faces a group and they "size him up," while he likewise forms an impression of the collective membership. Public speakers and actors are familiar with the interaction which exists between an audience—not any single member of it, but the group as a whole—and themselves, and they train themselves to analyze rapidly the

² See Catlin's discussion of the fallacy of Durkheim's theory in the former's Introduction to the English translation of Durkheim's *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, published by the University of Chicago Press, 1938, under the title *The Rules of Sociological Method*.

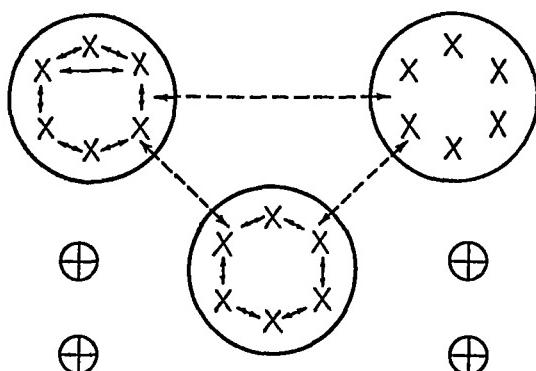
³ Spykman, Nicholas J., *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, Ch. 7.

⁴ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, Ch. 6.

sort of give and take which develops between themselves and such a group, so that they may use it or change it to their advantage.

Interaction of many sorts between groups is also familiar to most full-fledged members of society. Perhaps the most striking illustration of such interaction—involving groups, but usually not individual members of the groups as such—is to be found in modern warfare. It has become a commonplace to describe the lack of personal animus which the modern soldier feels toward individual members of the enemy forces. Special techniques of propaganda, "morale-building," and training in hate are required to induce the ordinary member of the ranks to react in a sufficiently hostile manner to enemy soldiers when met in battle, and one of the problems of modern commanders is to keep the private soldiers of opposing forces from fraternizing during the lulls in the fighting. On December 7, 1939, a dispatch was carried in American papers from one of the large news services telling of the capture of three German prisoners by a French patrol, one of the

General Social Process: Interaction



In this graph the fact that individuals tend in their interaction to segregate into groups of like individuals is indicated by the separate circles.

- ⊕ Isolated Individuals
- X Individuals
- ↔ Contact and communication-direct
- ↔ Contact and communication-indirect
- (X) Like Individuals in contact and communication

Germans having been shot through the hand during the skirmish which took place at night. When the German prisoners arrived behind the lines and their captors could see them in the light, the wounded man and the poilu who had shot him suddenly recognized each other and embraced. They had been friendly rivals in professional bicycle-racing events for many years, friends of long standing who a moment before were engaging in hostile interaction, not against each other as persons, but as members of groups. Group interaction is thus by its nature impersonal. The American nation

moves to assist the British; an industrial corporation coöperates with the corporations which supply it with raw materials and outlets and competes with its rival; the Rotary Club joins with the Lions' Club for a temporary welfare project; the Ohio State library borrows books from the University of Michigan library and also lends to it. Interaction between groups is present in any society and becomes an increasingly important feature of modern, complex societies composed of many groups.

Interaction is the most general process in social relations. But the reader may raise a question. If social interaction is merely a matter of reacting to "something" (action or characteristic) of other persons or groups, why limit it to persons and groups? Do we not react to sunsets and the weather? Do we not often tend to kick back at the obtrusive chair which trips us and sends us sprawling when tiptoeing through the living room in the dark? In short, do we not have social interaction with things, as well as with persons and groups? The answer is perhaps obvious. We, of course, react to things, to all things which stimulate our nervous systems. But do they react to us? Does the weather change in response to our imprecations and lamentations? Does the chair on which we stub our toe mend its ways for all our kicking? Not outside of myths and fairy tales. Not only actions, not only reactions, but *interactions—actions which are initiated by their authors yet are capable of reciprocal modification—form the foundation of social process and social life itself.*

Conditions of social interaction. Social interaction is impossible unless two conditions exist: (1) social contact and (2) communication.

Contact.⁵ The word *contact* is derived from the Latin words *con* or *cum* ("together"), plus *tango* ("touch") and therefore etymologically means "to touch together," or to be in immediate juxtaposition. When speaking of physical masses we use the term *contact* to refer to actual touching together in physical space. In the field of social phenomena, contact also means "to be in touch with," but the "touch" does not necessarily have to be exclusively of the physical type, because human beings, unlike inert physical masses, are sensory beings capable of establishing effective sensory contact even when separated by some distance in physical space. Such contacts across physical distance may be within limits set by the unaided organs capable of receiving impressions conveyed by smells, light waves, and sound waves, but still further extensions of contact are possible for men through the invention and use of cultural means of extending the range of the senses—the telephone, telegraph, radio, postal service, and many other communication and transportation devices.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. 5.

Social contact, therefore, is the first phase of interaction. We say that one army has "contacted" another, meaning that each has become aware of the other's location and that both are in a position for action. On the other hand, an expedition lost in the wilds of the Amazon Basin may reach its headquarters in New York by radio, and we say that "contact" has been established between expedition and headquarters, meaning that they are now ready to interact with each other, perhaps by giving and receiving orders and reports and exchanging plans for the future. Salesmen of all types know that the first thing to do in planning to "sell" a customer is to establish "contact" with him. Contact is a necessary prerequisite for interaction of any sort.

Though physical touch is not a necessary aspect of social contact, it should be noted that it is frequently employed and often is regarded as a great stimulus to social interaction. Physical touch is a very common aspect of rules of etiquette, which are largely directions in themselves for smoothing the way to contacts and for preserving them—handshaking, rubbing of noses, mutual washing of feet, embracing, and kissing may be mentioned. Where such "touch systems" of establishing contact are in vogue, it is not uncommon for a refusal of such physical touch to be regarded as a sign that the refuser desires no further social interaction with the individual involved. And the rule requiring that the lady be the first to offer her hand when a gentleman is introduced to her indicates that she may reserve judgment as to the extent and intensity of the future interaction,

Even though physical touch plays so large a part in the establishment of social contact, we should not overlook the fact that almost any medium of conveying sensory impressions will suffice. While perhaps not always acceptable in certain circles, a smile, a wink, a wave of the hand, a bodily posture, even an unintelligible cry may serve to establish social contacts. It must be noted, however, that the establishment of contact implies not only initiation through some sign or action but also response. One may shake hands with a statue until fatigued and wink at a blind man until exhausted without establishing a social contact. Unless response of some sort is forthcoming, subsequent interaction is of course impossible. It is this aspect of the matter which distinguishes social contact from that mere physical juxtaposition which may obtain between inert physical masses.

Mark also that social contact may be either positive or negative. Positive social contacts are those which are accompanied by responses leading to subsequent associative interaction. They are the beginning of relationships of the tolerative, compromising, cooperative, or assimilative sort. Negative social contacts are those which lead to dissociative interaction or no inter-

action at all. The insurance salesman enters a business man's office. If his appearance is attractive, his talk appealing, his "approach" interesting to the business men, he may form a contact leading to his writing a policy. On the other hand, his "prospect" may receive him coolly, refuse to shake hands, decline to listen to his sales talk, and within a few minutes may "throw him out" of the office. The contact is broken, or the resentment resulting therefrom may lead to retaliatory or conflict interaction at some later date. In a field perhaps more familiar to college students, it is well known that in fraternity and sorority rushing "many are called but few are chosen." Many more prospects are invited to rushing functions than actually receive bids. Rushing functions are prearranged situations for making contacts, which may be either positive or negative, depending upon the nature of the impression made by the rushee and the judgment, however skewed, of the active members of the organization. To take another example, some daring souls, usually of the male sex, have discovered that the wink may be a double-edged approach. The gentleman so bold as to wink at an unknown lady *may* receive an encouraging response, or more likely, a rebuff. In either case contact has been established, even though momentarily; in the one case positive contact, in the other negative.

We must also note that social contacts may be either *primary* or *secondary*. Primary contacts are those which involve face-to-face confrontation. In this type of contact the impression of the one party is made directly upon the senses of the other and *vice versa*. One sees, feels, smells, touches, or hears the individual or group with whom he is making contact and is able to respond to these primary sensations. Secondary contact, on the other hand, involves the interposition of some intermediate agency in the making of the contact. Such an agency may be either another individual or a cultural artifact. For example, Joe tells you personally that Betty, whom you have never met face to face, admires your play in last Saturday's game. Has a social contact been made between you and Betty? Certainly, because both of you respond in one way or another, yet the contact is secondary, involving the intermediate agency of Joe. On our desk lies a letter from a Mr. Smith, asking for a reprint of an article which he says he has read and admired. Is there a social contact between ourselves and Mr. Smith? To be sure, even though it has involved the instrumentality (agency) of the United States mails. Assuming that we send the reprint to Mr. Smith and that the contact is of a positive type, he becomes a personage to us. We may follow his work and write him for reprints of his articles, even arguing with him by mail concerning his views for months or years before we meet him face to face. A student may call his father and mother on the long-dis-

tance telephone, thereby establishing contact with them through the agency of the telephone system. Secondary contacts are distinguished from primary social contacts in that their potentialities of sensory impression are restricted. The interacting parties must depend more upon their imaginations in secondary contact than is necessary in the primary variety. In a contact by letter one has only the evidence of sight and touch which conveys to him the words, the form of the handwriting or typing, the texture of the paper. (In the more romantic epistles, scent, to be sure, may add to the effect.) In contact by phone, by radio, or by intermediary person one usually relies principally upon the auditory sense. Thus secondary contacts, by reason of the restriction placed upon them from the sensory point of view, may and usually do suffer in intensity, in intimacy, in rapprochement as compared with the primary type.

Secondary contacts may be further classified into two types—*direct* and *indirect* contacts, depending upon the nature of the intermediary agency involved. Direct secondary contacts are those which involve only the use of artifacts capable of conveying direct sensory stimuli, whereas indirect secondary contacts involve the intervention of third persons, groups, or artifacts incapable of conveying direct sensory stimuli. For example, one may get in touch directly with a person by calling him on the telephone, in which case the direct impression of the voice is conveyed. Or, on the other hand, one may establish the contact by asking a friend to act as intermediary or by publishing a notice in the "personal" columns of the newspaper.

*Communication.*⁶ It is obvious that all social contacts imply sensory interaction of some sort. If such interaction were purely of the reflex or of the instinctive type, human social life would present an entirely different picture. If, in other words, the presence or activity of another individual or group produced merely an automatic reaction from the individual or individuals with whom the contact had been made, most of the study of human social life could be included among the branches of the science of mammalian neurology; a knowledge of the structure and reactions of the nervous system to various types of stimuli would supply a complete explanation of the interaction of individuals and of groups. In the human animal, however, each contact involves *meaning*—sense, implication, connotation. Each contact is open to interpretation by the parties involved, and the meaning or interpretation of the contact controls in large part any social interaction subsequent to the contact. The assignment of meanings to

⁶ Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-389; Sapir, Edward, "Communication," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, pp. 78-80; Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1924, pp. 435-442.

actions and to things is apparently one of the functions which is more or less exclusive with the human brain. At all events, one of the apparently distinctive aspects of human social interaction is that it is generally oriented to interpretations of situations in terms of objectives and ends. Such interpretations may be unconscious or almost automatic, as a result of persistent training, or they may be fully conscious and deliberate. In this place we shall not enlarge upon the subject of meanings and how they are developed in society, a subject which is treated on other pages of this work. Here it is sufficient to point out that interaction subsequent to social contact is determined in the vast majority of cases by the interpretation which the parties to the contact place upon it. Hence the *communication* of meanings and the interpretation of them are an important aspect of social interaction.

By means of communication the attitudes and intentions of one group or of one individual are brought to the knowledge of another group or individual, and response is in part, at least, thereby determined. Yet one may ask: Is not communication an inseparable part of social contact? Is there any reality in attempting to separate these two conditions of social interaction? In answer, let us first remind ourselves that contact is merely a prerequisite of subsequent interaction, positive or negative, and then let us reflect that contact may take place without the communication of meanings. For example, one may shake hands with an idiot or call up a non-English-speaking Pole on the telephone. Contact is made in each of these cases, but few, if any, intelligible meanings are intercommunicated in either case, and social interaction is smothered at the start because of their lack. Contact without communication, then, avails little so far as social interaction is concerned.

Although the most distinctive and far-reaching type of human communication is verbal—by means of words—let us not overlook the fact that meanings may be conveyed by many other types of signs in addition to verbal symbols. Any aspect or activity of an individual or group may communicate a meaning—gestures, facial expressions, bodily postures, dress, and ornaments, as well as words. It is true, of course, that the interpretation put upon such communications varies with the “background” of the other party—the definition which he gives to the situation, to use Thomas’ term. A smile, for example, may be interpreted as a sign of friendliness and coöperation or may be regarded as an indication of skepticism, ridicule, irony, or triumph. A straight glance into the eyes may be accepted as a token of frankness and honesty, or as an attempt to “cast an evil eye.” The phrase “*tengo mucho gusto conocerle*” (Spanish, “pleased to know you”) may communicate the hope of future friendly relations or may be regarded as mean-

ingless or suspiciously sinister "double talk." Communication, then, depends upon signs of many sorts and their interpretation.

To the extent to which the parties involved in interaction agree upon the meaning passing between them, we may speak of *perfect communication*, and to the extent to which they disagree regarding such meanings, we speak of *imperfect communication*. Obviously there are many degrees of such understandings or misunderstandings.

In succeeding chapters we shall contrast certain forms of social interaction which tend toward social unity with those which tend toward social disintegration, speaking of them as associative and dissociative processes, respectively. At this point we should bear in mind that there is no inevitable positive correlation between perfect communication and associative interaction, nor is there a universal positive correlation between imperfect communication and dissociative processes. For example, we are told that when Cortez, the Spanish conqueror of the Aztecs, appeared in the Valley of Mexico, his blond coloring was interpreted as a sign that he was the incarnation of the god, Quetzalcoatl, whose coming from the East in human form was prophesied in the native myths, and whose advent was to inaugurate a golden age on earth. This misinterpretation of his appearance was a welcome surprise to the conqueror because it led the natives temporarily into coöperative and submissive interaction with his forces. That well-known type of swindler, the confidence man, likewise depends upon a similar, if more deliberately planned, misreading of his motives by his victims. When one party for any reason fails to understand the true or complete meaning of another party's actions, communication has been imperfect. Such imperfections may be due to deliberate deceit by one party, to faulty reception of signs, or to faulty reading of signs due to preoccupations, prejudices, or other unfavorable conditions in the situation. Whether perfect or imperfect, however, communication plays a necessary part in all social interaction.

*Isolation.*⁷ The importance of contact and communication in interaction may be appreciated by a consideration of social isolation. Complete isolation is characterized by total inability to establish contact or communication with others, and such isolation naturally removes all opportunity for interaction. A completely isolated individual may of course *act*, and he may react to his natural surroundings, but he is incapable of interacting, with other individuals or groups. There are all degrees of isolation, ranging from complete to slight.

Isolation may occur because of *physical remoteness* from others for any reason whatever. People develop personality in contact with others. Some

⁷ Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Ch. 4.

instances of children who from an early age have been denied contact with other human beings have been recorded. These individuals grew up as animals without the ability to speak the human language and without learning how to behave as human beings. Such feral creatures are human beings only in physical appearance. They may have the hereditary basis on which human nature develops, but because of the lack of association with others, they have failed to develop those traits which are dependent upon association.

The effects of isolation are to be seen in groups of people who have been segregated from outside influences by being marooned on an inaccessible island, such as the survivors of the wrecked ship, *The Bounty*, or it may be observed among the inhabitants of the remote valleys in the Appalachian Mountains. The latter have a culture which is more like that of Elizabethan England than that of contemporary American society. Group isolation as a rule leads to cultural "backwardness" and to social stagnation because of deprivation of stimulation normally provided by contacts and communication.

Isolation may occur also to individuals by reason of the *absence or impairment of one or more of the senses*. Helen Keller, for example, was deprived of sight and hearing at a very early age. The deprivation of these two senses isolated her from most of those influences which produce a human being. Only one avenue remained open by which she might receive the heritage of culture of her time and place—the sense of touch. Miss Sullivan, with infinite patience, used this one avenue for the communication to Miss Keller of that rich heritage. Even with the loss of one of these senses the individual is partially isolated from the influences about him. It has often been observed that the personalities of the sightless and the deaf suffer from such isolation. The blind are deprived of the ability to see the facial expressions, the movements of the body, although they can hear the voices of persons about them. Lacking the ability to see these signs, they often draw erroneous conclusions as to the attitude of others. The deaf, while they can see these physical signs which enable them to form an understanding hardly possible to the blind, are shut off from those subtle inflections in the tone of the voice which often mean more than mere words for a comprehension of the other person.

Likewise, the *mentally deficient person*, because of his inability to understand the meaning of the symbols of the communication, often suffers from isolation. He feels a sense of remoteness from normal people unless they express by signs, which he can understand, a friendliness and sympathy. By reason of his defect he is isolated from those elements in the culture which

give him status in society. His personality does not properly develop, and often he feels as completely apart as if he were outside of society.

Also those who are so *mentally* deranged that we call them *insane*, suffer from social isolation. The dementia praecox case shuts himself away from the world of reality and lives in a world of fantasy. While all about him flow the influences which make other individuals social personalities, the dementia praecox case builds a wall around himself and keeps them out.

Falling short of the more or less complete isolation of the dementia praecox or psychotic forms of mental aberration, other *emotional disturbances* sometimes so shut off the individual from his fellows that he is looked upon as queer. He thus fails to achieve status in the group and misses that full development of the personality which would give him satisfaction and make him a useful member of society.

Another type of isolation which may affect individuals and groups is that which occurs by reason of *racial and cultural differences and prejudices*. On the personal side consider the isolation of a foreigner in a strange country. If he does not understand the language, he may be quite alone in the midst of a great city. The culture may be quite alien to him, and he will be very readily recognized as an outsider. For example, an American who first goes to Japan or China feels very much alone, because of the difference in language and culture. Likewise the Jew in countries where anti-Semitism flourishes is isolated because of prejudice against him. In the United States the Negro, in spite of the fact that he speaks the English language and is thoroughly familiar to the whites, is cut off by racial prejudice from the intimate contacts which otherwise would make him a fully functioning member of our society. In like manner in some countries religion serves as an isolating factor. In India, for example, Hindus and Moslems are shut off from each other very effectively by the tenets of their respective religions. In Western civilization often Protestants and Catholics are cut off from each other by certain differences in belief and practice.

Wherever a caste system of great strictness prevails, *caste serves as a barrier*. In India, for example, the Brahman shuts himself off from the lower castes as completely as if they did not exist. When we were traveling in India, our "boy," who was an untouchable, had our baggage carried into a compartment on the train in which a high-class Hindu was riding. That gentleman's luggage was scattered around the compartment, and when our "boy," Manuel, asked the gentleman whether he could move his luggage in order that ours might be placed in the opposite berths, he did not reply. The very presence of this untouchable in the compartment contaminated him, and he retreated into the farthest corner of the compartment.

Thus in numerous ways individuals and culture groups lack contact and communication with each other. The isolation of the individual prevents his proper socialization; the isolation of the group prevents that cross-fertilization of cultures which often leads to the enrichment of each.

To summarize, we may say that any condition, either in the human parties involved or in the total situation in which they find themselves, which prevents or impedes contact and communication, produces some degree of isolation.

Differentiation and resemblance

We must next consider the fundamental biological and psychological mechanisms on the basis of which these divergent responses to a situation are made by human beings, explained in an earlier chapter on the factors in human behavior. Here it is necessary only to summarize as briefly as possible the elements in the total situation which may help us to understand why we have a stratification of a population into groups, why we have a striking degree of resemblance in certain respects within any group, and how we get the interactions which result in social conflict and social agreement.

One of the revelations of modern science is that no two individuals in a population react exactly alike, and that therefore the student of society must always consider the *individual differences*. If we should take any given characteristic of all the individuals in a population and plot their frequencies upon coördinate paper, we should probably find that they arrange themselves in what is known as a bell-shaped or normal curve. Those with the greatest degree of difference with respect to any characteristic would be found at the opposite ends of that curve. If we should make a composite curve of all the characteristics of a population, these likewise would range themselves on a normal curve. The great bulk of the population would lie between the lower 25 per cent and the upper 25 per cent (quartiles). These individual differences, whether the result of the constitutional nature or of the different experiences of individuals, play their part in accounting for the social differentiation to be seen in the various groups within a population.

Individual differences are due (a) to inherent biological variations and (b) to different experiences during the process of growth. It is only when by contact and communication they become conscious that they play a part in social differentiation and resemblance.

These differences do not become conscious, however, until the various

individuals come into *contact* and *communication* with each other. Language, gestures, ideas, and behavior become the signs of differences and resemblances between the communications individuals. The recognition of difference by two individuals may lead them to a more or less intense dislike of each other, or the recognition of resemblances between them may lead to efforts at closer association. The recognition of likeness, or what Giddings called the "consciousness of kind," leads to the formation of closer association. On the other hand, the recognition of unlikenesses, often generating a feeling of strangeness or dislike, interrupts any attempt at further and more intimate association.

Characteristic of human beings is the difference in capacity to suggest certain courses of action in others. Some possess the capacity to suggest ideas, attitudes, and courses of action so skillfully and forcefully that others are moved to a given course of conduct. Giddings called these "instigative" personalities. Others do not possess this power to an equal degree. Likewise some people are more open to suggestions than others. Here again this difference of skill in making suggestions and the difference in suggestibility accounts for certain people coming together in a group and for others refusing to associate with each other.

Similarly people differ in their ability to set an attractive and forceful *example* in behavior which stimulates a like action in others. Some people, by reason of what we describe as a dynamic or a pleasing personality, so commend their behavior to others that they become foci of attention and are imitated. Likewise some by their inheritance and their early conditioning are more prone to imitate the behavior of admired individuals than others. Certain individuals experience a satisfaction in supposing that they are not imitators of anyone. These differences in response to a shining example again help us to understand why people fall into groups.

Suggestions and examples are some of the *cultural stimuli* which all of us experience. Many others—education, ceremonies, traditions, attitudes, ideals, and ideas—are included among what we may call the cultural stimuli. Not every individual experiences the same stimuli. Some grow up in one nation with its culture; others in another with quite a different culture. Some are reared in well-endowed homes, others in homes with fewer advantages. Some are taught to appreciate music, art, literature, and genteel manners, while others have been reared in an atmosphere of illiteracy, of vulgarity, if not obscenity. Some had the advantage of a good education, others the disadvantage of no education. Thus people with even the same constitutional equipment may develop quite different likes and dislikes and quite differ-

ent forms of behavior. Differing cultural stimuli make for differentiation and resemblance among the population.

Because of these variations in the behavior of individuals and of their grouping described in Chapters 9 to 13, the interactions occurring between individuals and between groups take various forms. These interactions occur according to certain patterns that Park and Burgess call the social processes of *association* and *dissociation*, which underlie the institutions and systems of control analyzed in Parts V and VI. To a certain extent they are analogous to what occurs when certain chemicals are mixed together. If the chemicals are of such a nature that they will combine with each other, there is often more or less violent interaction between them. Certain elements are released to combine and form a new compound. If one pours vinegar onto bicarbonate of soda, there is a bubbling, and a gas is released. What is formed by the union of these two substances is neither one nor the other but a new combination. Something analogous occurs when two different individuals or two groups with variant backgrounds come into contact. In the case of the chemicals the reaction is often instantaneous, but sometimes slow. The slow process is illustrated by the time it takes for iron exposed to moist air to become rusted.

The processes analogous to conflict, contravention, competition, accommodation, and assimilation would be described by the chemist in terms appropriate to his science. The analogy would not be perfect between the reaction of chemicals and the interaction of individuals and groups. Both with chemicals and with human beings in contact, certain processes mark their interaction, and these processes help us to understand better our systems of social relationships. They result in what Giddings called "discriminate association." We call them *social processes*.

Processes in human interaction

With this general background in mind let us turn to examine more carefully the social processes growing out of individuals interacting to each other in associated life.

The fundamental social processes may be divided into two classes: (1) processes of association and (2) processes of dissociation. The latter are divided into two subclasses: (a) competition and (b) contravention and conflict. The former also are subdivided into two classes: (a) accommodation and (b) assimilation and acculturation.

This classification of the social processes is not intended to be exhaustive

since there are probably dozens of different processes involved in social interaction. It is meant only as a simple outline of the broad types of social processes involved in those interactions between individuals and groups to be seen in a dynamic society. The classification is intended to aid beginning students in sociology to see the broad lines of what occurs in social interaction in order not to confuse the discussion with two great amounts of detail. Some of these require more extended discussion than others.

One further step in this discussion should be taken in order that we may understand why these processes occur. Most individuals in the course of their development work out a system of habits and of attitudes satisfactory to their desires. We may say that thus an equilibrium between the individual's drives and the social demands of his family or class is arrived at. Similarly a group of individuals arrives at a system of relationships fairly satisfactory to the members of the group. Also in this case equilibrium within the group has developed. Now let two or more individuals unlike in their attitudes and habits be thrown together, or let two groups which have different systems of social relationships come into close contact, and disequilibrium results. Illustrative of this point for individuals is to consider what occurs when students from different families with different cultures meet in a boardinghouse at the beginning of a school year. Each is somewhat disquieted by the behavior of some of the others. The personal equilibrium is more or less upset. In "getting acquainted" processes of selection and adjustment begin. One "likes" certain of these new acquaintances and "dislikes" or is indifferent to others. Association grows up in the first case and dissociation in the second. The struggle is for a restoration of personal equilibrium. So when two groups with different cultures—say, a group of Irish and a group of Bulgarian immigrants—are thrown together in a mining community, the equilibrium of each group is disturbed by that contact. The boys from the Irish families fight those from the Bulgarian.

One group contends with another—Republicans with Democrats, Catholics with Protestants, immigrants with natives, Negroes with Whites, Occidentals with Orientals; groups pursuing one set of interests conflict with those seeking other interests.

Among the elements of this contrary attitude between individuals and groups are (1) the constitutional make-up of the individual, (2) different training during childhood which gave rise to varying attitudes and habits, (3) interference with the realization of the desires of one individual or group by another, (4) differences in culture to which individuals and groups have been exposed and according to which their attitudes and patterns of behavior have been formed.

The dissociative social processes occur in the development from a condition of equilibrium to one of disequilibrium, while the associative processes operate to transform social disequilibrium into that of equilibrium.

Social processes in operation. In discussing the social processes we differentiate them as clearly as possible in order to enable the student to recognize each of them. Such differentiation is the result of careful analysis of what one observes in a living, changing society. In any society these processes are going on at the same time, now one predominating and then another, each one shading off into another. It is only by careful observation that the characteristics of each can be recognized and described. Competition often is mixed up with contravention and sometimes develops into conflict. Sometimes the struggle of one class with another, one ideology with another, is called *conflict*, when the contest should be called *contravention* or *competition*. Likewise the associative processes—accommodation, assimilation, acculturation, and amalgamation—shade off into each other. Fundamentally each is different from the other, and the difference can be recognized only by keeping clearly in mind the distinctive characteristics of each. Hence the necessity of clear definitions. In the following chapters we have tried to define and illustrate each process, although sometimes an example may seem to be on the borderline between two of the processes. If this fact is kept clearly in mind, confusion will be obviated.

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504 General social process: interaction

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Exercises

1. Why is the study of the structure of society inadequate for its understanding?
2. In what respects may the study of the functioning of human beings in association be important for an understanding of society?
3. Is interaction in operation in the following situations: (a) when two nations are at war; (b) during the peace conference at Versailles; (c) when a robber holds up a victim; (d) at a church service; (e) when a man goes into a bank to make a deposit or to get a loan; (f) when two acquaintances meet on the street and pass the time of day; (g) when a drunken man bumps up against the same tree several times along the sidewalk, finally sits down on the curb and exclaims, "Lost, lost, in the midst of an interminable forest"; (h) when a mother nurses her child; (i) when a mother goes into the room of her sleeping child to see whether it is all right; (j) when you write a letter applying for a position and receive a reply; when you do not get a reply because the letter was not delivered; when you do not get a reply although the letter was delivered?
4. Illustrate by examples the positive, negative, direct, indirect, primary, and secondary contacts.
5. What is the meaning or the interpretation usually given to the following: (a) you meet a friend on the street and he does not speak; (b) a speaker is greeted with applause; his remarks are met with a dead silence; (c) an employer and a representative of a labor union meet in a conference over a difficulty in their relationship, and the employer, after hearing the statement of the employes' representative, looks at the floor and then gets up and rapidly leaves the room; (d) a boy makes a date with a girl and later calls up saying it is impossible for him to keep the date?
6. Illustrate the various types of isolation.
7. Cite examples of how resemblances and differences between individuals and groups result in the operation of (a) dissociative processes and (b) associative processes.

chapter 2 I *Associative process: accommodation*

Definition. *Accommodation*¹ is the term used by sociologists to describe a process in the field of social relationships analogous to the term *adaptation* used by the biologists to describe the process by which living things become adjusted to the environment. By this term the sociologist means the process by which competing and conflicting individuals and groups adjust their relationships to each other in order to overcome the difficulties which arise in competition, contravention, or conflict. The term *adaptation* applies to the organic changes transmitted by heredity whereby living organisms become adjusted to their environment and thus are able to survive and perpetuate their species. Doubtless adaptation in this sense applies to the human species in its early stages. Perhaps even today it applies when human beings go from one environment to another, a markedly different one, let us say from the Temperate Zone to either the Arctic or the Torrid Zone. The human organism adjusted to the physical environment of the Temperate Zone through many generations, when subjected to the quite different environment of the Arctic or the Torrid Zone, sometimes sickens and dies. Natural selection in this case is doing its work of eliminating those whose organisms do not have capacity to adapt themselves to new conditions. However, human beings, to a degree not to be found in any other species of animals, have learned to adapt the environment to themselves and thus have modified the rigid operation of natural selection found generally operative in living things below man. Keep clearly in mind that adaptation applies only to those organic changes which are transmitted by heredity. Accommodation applies to those social changes such as habits, attitudes, patterns of behavior, techniques, institutions, traditions, etc., which are handed down from one generation to another by example and precept. If these points are kept in mind, the distinction between adaptation and accommodation will be clear.

Origin of accommodation. Contrary to the opinion of some sociologists,

¹ Wiese and Becker prefer the term *adjustment*. See *Systematic Sociology*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, pp. 200, 201.

it appears to us that accommodation grows out of conflict, contravention, or competition instead of out of conflict alone.²

Certainly the process of accommodation appears when two business competitors find it convenient to agree to submit similar bids for a contract, or having combined either into a partnership or a corporation, accommodate their respective points of view and methods of doing business to those of each other in the new organization. Is it not accommodation when the physicians adopt a code of medical ethics, or when several hitherto competing doctors agree among themselves to organize a group clinic, with the understanding that each will follow one special line of practice and thus accommodate to each other and coördinate their activities? So with two competing plans of education—each will accommodate to the other by agreeing upon a division of labor, or one will adopt certain features of the program of the other, or suppress certain features of its own. So also with competing religions. Is it not accommodation when the Protestant denominations on the mission field get together and divide the field in order not to compete with each other? It is well known that after Christianity was introduced into the Orient, Buddhism and Hinduism borrowed some of the features of Christianity in order the better to compete for the loyalty of their adherents. Christianity gave up its demand that Christians should not serve in the army after it became the religion of the Roman state. Hence in competition, as in conflict, accommodation is a process by which the individual and the group adjust their antagonistic activities in the interest of associated unity.

Types of accommodation

In general there are two types of accommodation: (1) coördinate and (2) superordinate-subordinate.

Coördinate accommodation. In the coördinate type of accommodation those who have been in conflict or in competition are practically equal in power. Two competing business firms equally successful unite on the understanding that each shall have equal control in the future conduct of the business. Two conflicting nations of practically equal power appoint representatives which sit around the council table and work out a treaty whereby the claims of each are compromised by a give-and-take method. This type of accommodation is sometimes exemplified when husband and wife get into difficulties over domestic problems. Each yields on some points

² For reference to the opposite position see Reuter, E. B., and Hart, C. W., *Introduction to Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933, Ch. 13.

of difference, and thus the family is saved from disruption. In most cases this compromise or accommodation occurs without the intervention of a third party. The sober second sense of husband and wife suggests that they can adjust their relationships in the interest of family harmony. Sometimes, however, the struggle between the two reaches such a point that a third party must intervene. In some states divorce counsels act as mediators between the husband and wife. Courts of domestic relations perform the same function in other states. Through this process of accommodation many homes are saved from disruption.

An illustration from contemporary society in the United States in the economic field is provided by the negotiations between corporations and their unionized employees. Most strikes are settled by the representatives of the corporation and of the union sitting down together and talking over their differences, each yielding some points in dispute until an adjustment fairly satisfactory to each side has been reached. In the international field the process is illustrated by the intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt in the Russian-Japanese War. He proposed a compromise settlement which resulted in the Treaty of Portsmouth. This type of accommodation is only possible when the two sides are practically equal in power.

Superordinate-subordinate accommodation. In the superordinate-subordinate type of accommodation we see the results of competition or conflict between unequal parties. One business concern is so much stronger than another with which it is competing that it is able to dictate the terms to the other as to the division of territory or of function, or if they combine, to control the combination. Likewise parties unequal in conflict are likely to accommodate themselves to each other with the conquerors dictating the terms of the peace and the status of the conquered. The conquered, on the other hand, in the treaty of peace, endeavor to get the best terms possible and submit for the time being to the demands of the more powerful conquerors. Illustrations of this type of accommodation are to be seen in the adjustments worked out between the conquering Normans and the conquered Saxons in England following the conquest in 1066, in the settlement of the Civil War of the United States in 1865, in the settlement of World War I by the Versailles Treaty, and in the absorption of various smaller oil companies in the closing years of the last century by the Standard Oil Company. In the economic field this type of accommodation is exemplified in the settlement of strikes in which either the corporation or the union is the stronger. In such a case the one side virtually dictates the settlement to the other, and accommodation is usually only an armistice. The weaker side usually takes steps to alter conditions in order that at the next trial of

strength it may be on an equal footing with the opponent or in a position of superior power. If the union is weak, it endeavors to increase its numbers or to make arrangements with other unions to coöperate with it in the next strike. If the corporation is the weaker, it will endeavor to bring the issue again to trial when the union is in a disadvantageous position, e.g., when there is a slack in business or when the union has been disrupted by internal quarrels.

In the case of both types of accommodation the compromise arrived at is usually more or less temporary according to the situation existing at the time. If, however, the relative strength of the two contending groups remains practically the same as at the time the compromise was made, custom in time will lead to the establishment of that accommodation as a recognized status which tends to become in the absence of striking changes a part of the established order. The adjustments worked out after the Norman conquest of England by the conquerors and the conquered remained relatively stable until the Industrial Revolution, which created a new unbalance.

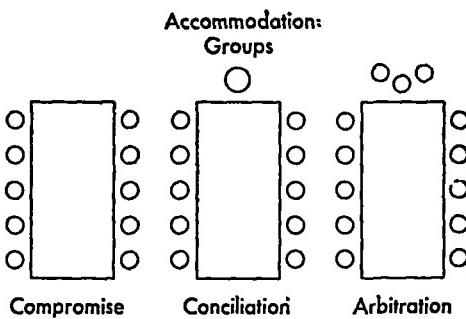
Each of these types of accommodation is subject to change according to developments that take place after the arrangement is made. In the illustration of the two business competitors of equal strength who accommodate to each other by forming a new organization, one may secure control over a larger proportion of the stock than the other and in the course of time may come to dominate the policies of the concern. Likewise, in the super-ordinate-subordinate types of accommodation, the relationships in the course if time may change. Witness the difference in the type of accommodation just following the close of the Civil War and the forms of accommodation which have gradually been worked out between the North and the South since that time. A more recent example of this change in type of accommodation is to be seen in what has occurred in Europe since the Versailles Treaty in 1919. Entirely new forms of accommodation rose between Germany and the other nations of Europe under the aggressive activities of Hitler. At present the process of accommodation may be seen in operation between the conquerors and the conquered in Germany and Japan.

Methods of accommodation

The methods by which accommodation is brought about are various. They develop according to the types of relationships already discussed—coördinate or superordinate-subordinate, and according to the culture of a

people. In a group in which face-saving is an important element, the processes of accommodation will be somewhat different from those having a culture in which face-saving is not of such importance. Processes also differ in a community in which individuals and subgroups are coördinate in power from those which obtain in, let us say, a dictatorship in which the ordinary relationships are superordinate-subordinate.

The chief methods of accommodation are: (1) yielding to coercion, (2) compromise, (3) arbitration and conciliation, (4) toleration, (5) conversion, (6) sublimation, and (7) rationalization. These are not mutually exclusive. For instance, sublimation and rationalization may occur in connection with any of the other five. Likewise, compromise may be the outcome of conciliation or toleration. It is through these processes singly or in combination, however, that accommodation occurs. Let us consider each of them briefly.



1. *Yielding to coercion* is characteristic in the superordinate-subordinate types of accommodation. Coercion may be either physical or mental; one may yield to the wishes of an armed foot-pad and deliver up a purse or a watch. Czechoslovakia yielded to Hitler because of the fear of what he would do to the country with his army and airplanes, should it refuse. One competitor may yield to the demands of another for fear that the more powerful may destroy his business if he refuses. This mode of accommodation usually leaves more resentment than any other method in the person or group which yields to the demand of superior force.

2. *Compromise* is that form of accommodation in which each party to a difference yields something to the other. Usually the parties to the dispute are more nearly equal in power than under the process of yielding to coercion. Both sides usually demand more than they expect to get. On certain points each is willing to make concessions, but they use these points for trading purposes. For example, the demand of the CIO on General Motors in 1945-46 for a 30 per cent increase was for more than they expected to get. One party in a legislature makes numerous proposals, on

some of which it is prepared to compromise. This was illustrated in Congress at the outbreak of World War II in the debate between those who favored President Roosevelt's plan to repeal the embargo on arms and munitions, with proviso that the weapons were to be delivered in the United States to belligerents on the cash or ninety-day-credit plan of settlement, and the opponents of the repeal of the embargo, who tried to separate from the repeal bill that part relating to settlement. Finally Senator Pitman, the author of the repeal bill, agreed to amend it to a purely cash-and-carry proposition and thus make it easy for the opponents of the repeal of the embargo to consent to its passage. A more remote instance in the Congress of the United States was the Missouri Compromise concerning the extension of slavery in the territories of the United States.

Compromise occurs in labor negotiations, in treaties between nations of equal power, in political platforms, and, in every group, large or small, in which differences develop but in which unity is finally achieved.

3. *Arbitration and conciliation* are often employed to bring about accommodation. They involve the entrance of a mediator or an arbiter in the dispute, usually after the two parties at variance have failed to compromise in direct negotiation. These devices are almost always employed in connection with conflict rather than competition or contravention. They are perhaps best exemplified in labor disputes, although attempts have been made at arbitration and conciliation in the case of international conflicts, either actual or threatened.

Arbitration has a somewhat different meaning than either mediation or conciliation. It usually signifies that the two parties to the dispute refer it to a third party whose decision they agree to accept. The earliest modern instance of the use of conciliation in labor disputes was in France. Prior to the French Revolution the guilds had boards of conciliation, but not until 1806 was a council of experts set up in Lyons to settle disputes between employers and employees in the silk industry. Soon afterwards such conciliation bodies were established in other industries in various parts of France. France did not provide, however, for legislative establishment of conciliation councils until the passage of the Act of 1892 providing machinery for voluntary conciliation and arbitration. By the latter half of the last century such boards were established either voluntarily in manufacturing industries or by legislation in practically all the industrial countries of western Europe. In the United States the movement arose later. Effective legislation in this country was first passed in 1886 by Massachusetts and New York. However, for a decade before that date voluntary conciliation had been practiced in the coal and iron industries. Private con-

of the Department of Labor, and any of the state mediation and conciliation services aid the parties to the dispute to attempt to settle the difficulty.

There are other features of this Act that do not concern the subject here under discussion. These may be easily learned by consulting the brief statement of the main essentials of the Act in *The World Almanac, 1948*, The New York World-Telegram, New York, 1948, p. 403.

Commercial arbitration to decide a case is the procedure by which business men submit disputes which arise out of their business transactions to an arbiter or arbiters selected by the two parties interested. This is a substitute for court litigation. Its modern development is connected chiefly with trade associations and Chambers of Commerce. These organizations since about 1920 have incorporated into their articles of membership and bylaws standard contract forms, clauses providing for arbitration in future disputes. On January 1, 1928, more than 150 national or interstate trade associations had such procedures. Some of the states have legislation enforcing the acceptance of the arbiter's decision.⁵

Industrial arbitration, or what is sometimes called compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, was first tried out in New Zealand and other Australasian commonwealths. New Zealand adopted this system in 1894. Four of the six states of Australia adopted such a plan in the first years of the century. Several European countries, including Norway, Germany, and Italy, had such plans.⁶

Arbitration in international disputes is an old device. It was employed from time to time by the Greek city states and played some part throughout the Middle Ages in the settlement of international difficulties. The Hague Convention of 1907 defined international arbitration as "the settlement of disputes between states by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." In 1920 the Permanent Court of International Justice was set up by the new League of Nations. This was intended to be compulsory upon all the nations summoned before it on complaint of another nation. It did not exclude mediation in international disputes by third parties or by voluntary negotiations between nations. As a matter of fact, however, in actual practice compulsory arbitration between nations has not been very successful.⁷ In spite of the failure of compulsory international arbitration it is generally recognized that arbitration in some form is one of the most promising means of preventing war. On a voluntary basis

⁵ Sturgis, "Arbitration, Commercial," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York., 1930, Vol. 2, pp. 151-153.

⁶ Goodrich, "Arbitration, Industrial," *Ibid.*, pp. 153-156.

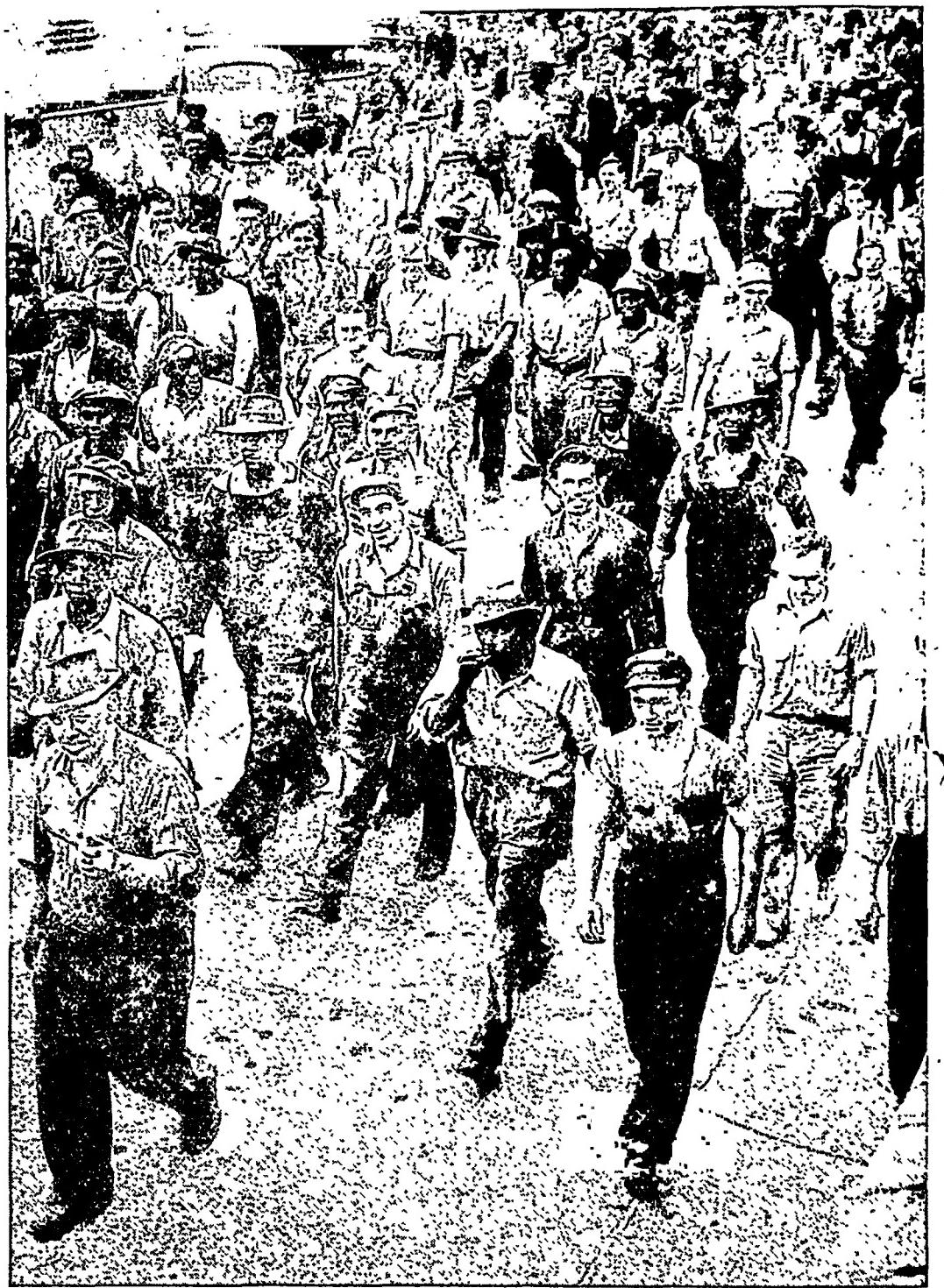
⁷ Borchard, "Arbitration, International," *Ibid.*, pp. 157-162.

it has been so used in many instances in the past and probably will continue to be more widely extended in the future.

4. *Toleration* is another mode of accommodation. In many cases individuals and corporations have differences which for some reason cannot be, or are not important enough to be, adjusted by the various methods thus far discussed. In such cases they may tolerate the differences without any definite settlement. Ross calls this process "regulated avoidance." Kimball Young has called it "tolerant participation."⁸ Illustrative of this type of toleration is the early Christian church which accepted into its membership people of all sorts and conditions, each member putting up with the idiosyncrasies of others in the hope that in the end all would be assimilated to a common culture. Witness the toleration between religious sects in the United States under the theory that everyone in this country is privileged to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and the toleration accorded to foreigners in most countries in spite of the differences between their culture and that of the culture in which they are located. A good illustration of the toleration of races even when one is subject to the other is provided by the Negroes in the southern states of the United States. Certain aspects of Negro culture and individual peculiarities are tolerated because of the necessity of coöperation between whites and blacks on the economic level. The whites are quite dependent upon the blacks for services. In international relations toleration is exemplified, on the one hand, by the capitalistic countries tolerating Russian Sovietism and establishing treaties with Soviet Russia and, on the other side, by the willingness of the Bolshevik authorities to have relationships with capitalistic nations in spite of the fact that they heartily dislike capitalism and all its works.

5. *Conversion* is another mode of accommodation. The term usually means the sudden acceptance of another culture pattern than that to which the individual or group has been habituated. This process has been studied most carefully in connection with religion. It appears most frequently in the individual during adolescence, but is not unknown in adulthood. While confined chiefly to religion and morals, it is to be found also in politics and economics, in the fields of art, education, and manners. In religion it is illustrated strikingly by St. Augustine and St. Francis of Assisi. Augustine was born to a pagan father and a Christian mother. When he grew up his father sent him to the best teachers of rhetoric to be found in order

⁸ Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd ed., D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1938, p. 330; Young, *An Introductory Sociology*, rev. ed., American Book Co., New York, 1939, p. 460.



Racial toleration
(Photo by Brown Bros.)

to prepare him for either a legal career or that of a teacher of rhetoric. He followed the manner of the educated young men of that time, had a mistress by whom he had a son. Apparently the early teachings which he received from his mother clung to him through the early years of his manhood and created in him an intense emotional struggle. In the endeavor to find peace for his inner life he joined the Manichaeans, a sect the beliefs of which were a compound of pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine, but found no solution for his emotional unrest. He began to attend the services in the church at Milan at which Ambrose was the speaker. His interest in Ambrose's addresses were aroused by their finished rhetorical form, but the ideas expressed sank into his mind and added further to his emotional disturbance. Finally one day, while sitting in the garden of his house reading a copy of the Gospels, his eyes fell upon certain passages which seemed to provide an answer to his questionings and to give him direction. He sought out Ambrose for further counsel and instruction, was baptized, and found in the Catholic Church of his time the solution of his emotional conflict and the means whereby the integration of his values was accomplished.

St. Francis was the son of a rich man of Assisi who as he came into manhood became associated with a group of gay and dissolute young men. His father tried without avail to have him settle down, marry, and take up a business or profession. Suddenly he became very sick and thought he was going to die. On his recovery he changed his whole manner of life. He traded his fine clothes to beggars for their rags, dumfounded all those who had known him previously, gave himself up to religion, and became founder of an order of monks. These two are only instances of a great many examples of individuals who experienced this process. In all such cases there are two competing and sometimes conflicting ways of life presented to the individual, who usually feels impelled sooner or later to make a choice.

That this process takes place not only in religion but also in the realm of economics and politics is to be seen in the sudden change in loyalty and allegiance of individuals who have grown up under capitalism and have suddenly become confirmed Communists, Nazis, or Fascists.

Although this process operates more upon individuals than upon groups, there are also cases of group conversion. Illustrations: Clovis and his Saxons were all baptized into the Catholic Church at one time; a large-scale conversion of Catholics to Lutheranism took place at the time of the Reformation in Germany, and similar conversions to Zwinglianism occurred in Switzerland; the swing of large numbers of Democrats to the Republican

Party or *vice versa* in political campaigns is common in the United States. Sometimes conversion is permanent, but often there are many backslidings and reconversions from one party to another.

6. *Sublimation*⁹ is the type of accommodation whereby an individual or a group substitutes for competitive or conflict activities other reactions which obtain at least a degree of approval from actual or potential opponents. Sublimation also usually serves as an outlet for emotions generated in opposition. Its operation is to be seen most clearly in conversion. One set of values and the resulting attitudes displace another set. This process is illustrated in St. Paul's description of the struggle between the "flesh" and the "spirit." Describing his struggles he says, "For that which I do I know not: for not what I would, that do I practise: but what I hate, that I do. But if what I would not, that I do, I consent unto the law that it is good. So now it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but to do that which is good is not. For the good which I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I practise. . . . For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members. Wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."¹⁰ That is sublimation on the individual level.

On the group level sublimation is illustrated by certain religious bodies, e.g., the Quakers, who in war sublimate their nationalistic feelings and extend aid to even the enemies of the country. The passion of hate and the desire to see the ruthless dictator crushed into the earth is overcome by humanitarian and Christian values. Thus accommodation is brought about.

7. *Rationalization* is the next type of accommodation which we shall discuss. By this term we mean the process by which a person or a group finds justification for a given attitude or course of behavior. However, rationalization may be nonaccommodative. For example, persons sensitive about their inferior status frequently explain it to themselves on the basis that others are envious of their superior qualities, or they excuse their failure to secure promotion or advancement by the assertion that they depend upon merit alone while others rely upon "pull." On the other hand, an individual may rationalize his failure to succeed in some effort or ambition by saying to himself, "I am not as capable as I thought," and thus

⁹ A term borrowed from Freudian psychology, but used here in a different sense.
¹⁰ Rom., 7: 15-25.

bring himself to accept defeat, when as a matter of fact his failure was due to circumstances. Or he may explain his failure by thinking that particular circumstances interfered with the realization of his ambition, when actually the reason lay in his own incapacity. In any case he acquiesces and accommodates himself to the situation without any injury to his self-esteem. That is accommodative rationalization. Groups rationalize their courses of conduct as well as individuals. Illustrative is Hitler's assertion that Poland started the recent war and that Great Britain entered into the conflict in order to destroy Germany, its greatest competitor. There was something of the same process in Wilson's asserting that the United States entered World War I "to end war" and "to save democracy." By rationalization the real reasons for action are camouflaged.

Accommodation thus prepares us for the next step in social process, assimilation.

Results of accommodation

1. Checking conflict and competition. The general trend of accommodation is toward checking the disruptive processes of conflict, contravention, and competition in the interest of social unity. When the Normans conquered England in 1066, they imposed quite a new culture upon the conquered Saxons. Norman French was made the official language; a system of feudal relationships worked out by William the Norman in France displaced the old feudal relationships of England. Instead of each vassal swearing allegiance to his immediate superior, he was required to swear first allegiance to William, thus lessening the possibility of a strong lord rebelling against the king. Many new laws were promulgated regulating the relationships between the conquered and the conquerors. In the course of time codification of these regulations occurred; amalgamation between Normans and Saxons took place through marriage and concubinage; Saxons were elevated to the nobility and thus the social distance between conqueror and conquered was lessened; feudal relationships in the course of time were modified to fit an altered situation. Likewise in competition, accommodation between competitors tends to check the wastefulness of intensive competition either through combination or through a division of labor and function.

Another example, this time in the field of industrial interaction, is furnished by the United States Government during World War II. Faced with the necessity of producing the implements of war, the President and the Congress provided an instrument for the prevention of industrial strife

by creating the National War Labor Board. Both employers and employees had pledged that production would not be interrupted if any dispute arose between them, and they agreed that if they were unable to compose their differences through negotiation, arbitration, or conciliation, they would refer their dispute for settlement to the board. On this board and on all the regional divisions of it were representatives of the employees, of the employers, and of the public. Without going into details as to how its decisions were enforced it is sufficient to say that in the vast majority of cases both sides accommodated themselves to the decisions arrived at in the regional and national boards. The war did not last long enough to establish in custom this method of settling disputes, but it suggested what might be done by the accommodation process when backed by the power to enforce decisions.

2. Strangling of opposition. Often competition is strangled in the interest of one group (e.g., producers) to the disadvantage of another (e.g., consumers). This result of accommodation between competitors cuts down waste and thus should allow the goods and services to be sold at a lesser price, but may actually, by controlling the market end in a higher price to the buyers. This result is illustrated again in the accommodation effected between employers and laborers, often necessitating a higher cost of the product. The accommodation effected between Germany and Austria, between Germany and Czechoslovakia, and between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other in the settlement at Munich, had the result of building up in Middle Europe a power strong enough to challenge, with the aid of Italy and Japan, the other countries of the Eastern Hemisphere, if not of the whole world.

3. Coordination of variant personalities. Another result of accommodation is the coördination of clashing personalities in groups through a social division of labor.¹¹ Illustrative of the results of accommodation between two clashing or competing personalities is what happens frequently when two men are competitors for nomination to office in the primaries of the same political party. One is nominated; the other is not. They may have said rather harsh things about each other in the primary campaign. After the campaign is over, frequently they get together, compose their differences, and coöperate in the endeavor to secure the election of the person nominated. Often if the person nominated is elected, he will then secure the appointment of his erstwhile competitor for a position in the government service. Again, two banks may combine in a reorganization. The

¹¹ Durkheim, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933, Book I.

Presidents and cashiers of these banks have been competing with each other, but in the reorganized institution one of them becomes president or cashier while the other may be appointed to the position of chairman of the board.

4. Modification of institutions. Another result of the process of accommodation is the modification of institutions to fit each new situation. Illustrative of this point are the modifications which have occurred in the economic system following the rise of the mercantile system and again following the Industrial Revolution. The old relationships of status natural to the feudal system did not fit the situation when feudalism began to give way to widespread commerce, and the domestic system of manufacture to large-scale production for a market. Neither did the system of relationships which had grown up preceding the Industrial Revolution fit the situation when workers were gathered together in large aggregates, and factories and machines took the place of human hands. *Laissez faire* as a theory of relationships had to yield to state regulation.

The control of property by its owner was modified by laws intended to control that property in the interest of the general welfare. The personal contract between the wage workers and the employer was modified to an agreement between the employer and the union of laborers. The family under the domestic system of production was the central unit of production and of education. Under the factory system the family yielded the former function to the factory and shop and the latter to the school. Moreover, certain institutions decayed—the community market, the role of custom in the establishment of a just price; and some new institutions arose—the corporate form of business organization to supplant individual ownership and partnership in certain lines of business, and legislation to protect the workers against the rapacity of the employers.

A religious denomination may claim that it is unchangeable. But the history of every religion bears witness to the fact that after a lapse of time its founder would not recognize it as the organization he founded. It has accommodated itself to the clashing personalities within it carrying alternative elements of culture. The church was once the center of culture. In accommodating itself to new conditions it has yielded at least a part of this function to the school, to the library, to the newspaper, and to the radio. In these and many other ways accommodation is a process whereby not only the individual but the institution is adjusted to new conditions.

5. Modifications of status. Accommodation results in the reestablishment of status for individuals and groups. Conflict, contravention, and competition are the processes by which established status is disturbed.

Accommodation is a means whereby the status of individuals and of groups is once more settled. For example, the long-established relationships of feudalism were disrupted by the rise of commercialism, which gave free rein to competition and as a consequence of which individuals, classes, and institutions lost status. Feudal lords became subordinated to a king; the knights became business men or soldiers. The burghers, a new class, supplanted in wealth, power, and prestige the old feudal upper classes. In the accommodation which took place between individuals and groups, the status of each in the new social order gradually became clearly recognized. For example, individuals whose ancestors had been serfs under the feudal system were able to rise through trade and industry to positions of prominence in the towns and become members of the bourgeoisie; this same bourgeois class was recruited also by some who had been members of the nobility. In England many of the successful merchants were made peers. Hence, accommodation tends to establish new classifications of the population and to give individuals and groups a new status.

6. Preparation for assimilation. Accommodation prepares the way for assimilation. As conflict, contravention, and competition become modified by accommodation, individuals come to know each other, groups become more tolerant of each other, and the way is paved for the assimilation of cultures. This is true even when conflict has established stratification of population into castes and widely separated classes. When the relation of caste to caste in India became so rigidly established that the member of one could not marry into another and could not partake of food prepared by another, the relation of caste to caste became so fixed by the "cake of custom" that the members of each accommodated themselves to each other and felt quite satisfied with the relationship established. However, even across these rigid caste lines the accommodations prepared the way by which certain elements of culture passed over from one to the other and in the course of a long time became completely assimilated to each other. Even when the will of the conqueror is imposed upon the conquered, most of the accommodation has to be made by the conquered at least during the early period of contact. In the course of time there is a transition from one-sided to mutual accommodation. The subordinate class because of its greater numbers, its closely knit culture, and frequently its unity under repression is able to obtain concessions. And sometimes the constant contact of its members with the children of the conquerors as servants, nursemaids, and teachers, enables it to exercise an influence upon the second and succeeding generations entirely out of proportion to its position in the social order. In spite of the fact that the Manchus who invaded China

were superior in military power, eventually through accommodation they took the first step toward assimilation and their culture was finally absorbed in the general Chinese culture. The same was true of the conquering Normans in England. Despite the fact that Norman French was the official language of the country, today Saxon words compose the major part of the English language. Similarly in our southern states, where the Negro slaves were for some three hundred years a subject race, they exerted an influence on southern culture evident even today.¹² Thus accommodation is an intervening step between competition, contravention, and conflict on the one hand and assimilation on the other. Let us turn now to the next process—that of assimilation.

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¹² Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

522 *Associative process: accommodation*

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Exercises

1. How does the process of accommodation among human beings differ from the process of adaptation among plants and animals?
2. Show by example how accommodation develops from competition and contravention as well as from conflict?
3. Give examples of coördinate accommodation, of superordinate-subordinate accommodation.
4. Classify as to type of accommodation the following: (a) the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties in the presidential election of 1940, (b) the agreement between the automobile workers' union and the Chrysler and General Motors companies in 1939.
5. What subprocess of accommodation was most important in the following cases: (a) Munich agreement between Chamberlain and Hitler, (b) the Versailles Treaty, (c) the arrangement between Hitler's Germany and France following the invasion of France by German troops in 1940, (d) the settlement of the claims between Germany and the United States following the close of the first World War, (e) the cases coming before the National Labor Relations Board, (f) the settlement of the Vultee Airplane Company strike in California in 1940?
6. Show that what is taking place between the various Protestant denominations represents the process of accommodation.
7. Provide illustrations to show that sometimes the process of accommodation is merely temporary in its results and sometimes leads to the stabilization of relationships over a long period of time.

chapter 22 Assimilation, integration, and associated cultural processes

Assimilation

Assimilation is an advanced social process characterized by decreasing differentiation between individuals and between groups as well as by increased unity of action, attitude, and mental processes with respect to common interests and goals. As individuals become assimilated to a group or to a society they lose those distinctions which set them off as outsiders, and in their own eyes they come to identify themselves with other members of the group and with the interests and goals held in common by them. As two or more groups assimilate to each other, the boundary lines between them tend to fade away, and they tend to unite into a single group or society, at least for certain purposes. In short, the assimilative process is characterized by the development of common attitudes, often emotionally toned, making for unity, or at least for integrated organization, of thought and action.

Examples of assimilation. No one has pictured this process better than Franklin K. Lane, an immigrant from Canada, who rose to be Secretary of the Interior of the United States. He himself said, "The land that I love is the land in which my spirit, my life, my ambition, can find expression." He continues:

America is a land of but one people, gathered from many countries. Some came for love of money and some for love of freedom. Whatever the lure that brought us, each has his gift. Irish lad and Scot, Englishman and Dutch, Italian, Greek, and French, Spaniard, Slav, Teuton, Norse, Negro—all have come bearing gifts and have laid them on the Altar of America.

All brought their music—dirge and dance and wassail song, proud march and religious chant. All brought music and their instruments for the making of music, those many children of the harp and lute.

All brought their poetry, winged tales of man's many passions, folksong and psalm, ballads of heroes and tunes of the sea, lilting scraps caught from

the sky and field, or mighty dramas that tell of primal struggles of the profoundest meaning. All brought poetry.

All brought art, fancies of the mind, woven in wood or wool, silk, stone or metal—rugs and baskets, gates of fine design and modeled gardens, houses and walls, pillars, roofs, windows, statutes and painting—all brought their art and hand craft.

Then, too, each brought some homely thing, some touch of the familiar home field or forest, kitchen or dress—a favorite tree or fruit, an accustomed flower, a style in cookery or in costume—each brought some homelike familiar thing.

And all brought hands with which to work.

And all brought minds that could conceive.

And all brought hearts filled with home—stout hearts to drive live minds; live minds to direct willing hands. . . .

These were the gifts they brought.

At the Altar of America we have sworn ourselves to a single loyalty. We have bound ourselves to sacrifice and struggle, to plan and to work for this land. We have given that we may gain, we have surrendered that we may have victory. We have taken an oath that the world shall have a chance to know how much of good may be gathered from all countries and how solid in its strength, how wise, how fertile in its yield, how lasting and sure is the life of a people who are one.¹

Eaton adds to Lane's analysis the following:

As we see the immigrant struggling to gain an economic foothold in the new world, his first step toward citizenship, his cultural gifts are not always easy to discern. He has helped to clear the land, till the soil, tend the herds, shepherd the flocks, cut the timber, work the mines, fish the waters, build the roads, man the ships, labor in mills and factories. But he has done more—much more. Wherever he works he carries with him the traditions, the folkways, the wisdom based upon the race experience of his homeland. These are his heritage; they are the roots which feed his growth in American soil. Upon these and the manna he receives in the new land he builds his spiritual life.²

This process is not a modern thing. In order to show how this process of assimilation worked in former days consider the two following cases. The first is a description of assimilation between the Huguenot immigrants and their English neighbors, when the former fled to England upon the persecution of the Protestants in Flanders.

Although three hundred years have passed since the first religious persecutions in Flanders and France compelled so large a number of Protes-

¹ Foreword to *The Book of America's Making Exposition*, 71st Regiment Armory, New York, October 29 to November 12, 1921.

² Eaton, Allen H., *Immigrant Gifts to American Life*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922, pp. 28, 29. (Quoted by permission of the Russell Sage Foundation.)

tants to fly from those countries and take refuge in England, and although nearly two hundred years have passed since the second great emigration from France took place in the reign of Louis XIV, the descendants of the 'gentle and profitable strangers' are still recognisable amongst us. In the course of the generations which have come and gone since the date of their original settlement, they have laboured skilfully and diligently, for the advancement of British trade, commerce, and manufactures; while there is scarcely a branch of literature, science, or art, in which they have not honourably distinguished themselves.

Three hundred years form a long period in the life of a nation. During that time many of the distinctive characteristics of the original refugees must necessarily have become effaced in the persons of their descendants. Indeed, by far the greater number of them before long became completely Anglicised, and ceased to be traceable except by their names; and even these have for the most part become converted into names of English sound.

So long as the foreigners continued to cherish the hope of returning to their native country, on the possible cessation of the persecutions there, they waited and worked on, with that end in view. But as the persecutions only waxed hotter, they at length gradually gave up all hope of returning. They claimed and obtained letters of naturalisation; and though many of them continued for several generations to worship in their native language, they were content to live and die as English subjects. Their children grew up amidst English associations, and they desired to forget that their fathers had been fugitives and foreigners in the land. They cared not to remember the language or to retain the names which marked them as distinct from the people amongst whom they lived; and hence many of the descendants of the refugees, in the second or third generation, abandoned their foreign names, and gradually ceased to frequent the distinctive places of worship which their fathers had founded.

Indeed, many of the early Flemings had no sooner settled in England and become naturalised, than they threw off their foreign names and assumed English ones. Thus, as we have seen, Hoek, the Flemish brewer in Southwark, assumed the name of Leeke; while Haestricht, the Flemish manufacturer at Bow, took that of James. Mr. Pryme, formerly professor of political economy in the University of Cambridge, and representative of that town in Parliament, whose ancestors were refugees from Ypres in Flanders, has informed us that his grandfather dropped the 'de la' originally prefixed to the family name, in consequence of the strong anti-Gallican feeling which prevailed in this country during the Seven Years' War of 1756-63, though his son has since assumed it; and the same circumstance doubtless led many others to change their foreign names to those of an English sound.

Nevertheless, a large number of purely Flemish names are still to be found in various parts of England and Ireland, where the foreigners originally settled. They have been on the whole better preserved in the rural districts than in London, where the social friction was greater, and rubbed off the foreign peculiarities more quickly. In the lace towns of the west of England

such names as Raymond, Spiller, Brock, Stocker, Groat, Rochett, and Kettel are still common; and the same trades have continued in some of their families for generations. The Walloon Goupes, who settled in Wiltshire as clothmakers more than three hundred years since, are still known there as the Guppys, and the Thunguts as Dogoods and Toogoods.

Among other notable Flemish immigrants may be numbered the Houbllons, who gave the Bank of England its first governor, and from one of whose daughters the late Lord Palmerston was lineally descended. The Van Sittarts, Jansens, Courteens, Van Milderts, Vanlores, Corsellis, and Vanneeks were widely and honourably known in their day as London bankers or merchants. Sir Matthew Decker, besides being eminent as a London merchant, was distinguished for the excellence of his writings on commercial subjects, then little understood. He made an excellent member of Parliament; he was elected for Bishop's Castle in 1719.

Among artists, architects, and engineers of Flemish descent we find Grinling Gibbons, the wood-sculptor; Mark Gerrard, the portrait-painter; Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect and play-writer; Richard Cosway, R.A., the miniature-painter; and Vermuyden and Westerdyke, the engineers employed to reclaim the drowned lands in the Fens. The Tradescants, the celebrated antiquarians, were also of the same origin.

One of the most distinguished families of the Netherlands was that of the De Grotes or Groots, of which Hugo Grotius was an illustrious member. When the Spanish persecutions were at their height in the Low Countries, several of the Protestant De Grotes who were eminent merchants at Antwerp, fled from that city, and took refuge, some in England and others in Germany. Several of the Flemish De Grotes had before them settled in England. Thus, among the letters of denization mentioned in Mr. Brewer's *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, we find the following:—

"Ambrose de Grote, merchant of the Duchy of Brabant (Letters of Denization, Patent 11th of June, 1510, 2 Henry VIII).

'12 Feby., 1512-13.—Protection for one year for Ambrose and Peter de Grote, merchants of Andwarp, in Brabant, going in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Talbot, Deputy of Calais.'

One of the refugee Grotes is supposed to have settled as a merchant at Bremen, from which city the grandfather of the late George Grote, the historian of Greece, came over to London early in the last century, and established a mercantile house, and afterwards a banking house, both of which flourished. Mr. Grote was also of Huguenot blood through his mother, who was descended from Colonel Blosset, commander of "Blosset's Foot," the scion of an ancient Protestant family of Touraine. He was an officer in the army of Queen Anne, and the proprietor of a considerable estate in the County of Dublin.³

³ Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1906, pp. 315-318.

Another instance of assimilation is that between the Dutch and the English inhabitants of Albany during the early days.

Albany was a Dutch Colony; and, until within a few years, the inhabitants have been, almost without an exception, descendants from the original settlers. From this fact it has derived its whole aspect, and character. The houses are all built in the Dutch manner; standing endwise upon the street; with high, sharp roofs, small windows, and low ceilings. The appearance of these houses is ordinary, dull, and disagreeable. The house, first erected in this town, is now standing; and was built of bricks, brought from Holland.

Since that period, an essential change has taken place in Albany. A considerable number of the opulent inhabitants, whose minds were enlarged by the influence of the Revolutionary War, and the extensive intercourse which it produced among them and their countrymen, and still more by education, and travelling, have resolutely broken through a set of traditional customs, venerable by age, and strong by universal attachment. These gentlemen have built many handsome houses in the modern English style; and in their furniture, manners, and mode of living, have adopted the English customs. To this important change the strangers, who within a few years have become a numerous body of the inhabitants, have extensively contributed. All these, from whatever country derived, have chosen to build, and live, in the English manner.

The preference, given to the customs of the English, must descend with increasing influence to their children. In the English language all accompts, instruments of conveyance, records, and papers employed in legal processes, must be written. The attainment of this language has, therefore, now become indispensable to the safety, as well as to the prosperity, of every individual. Urged by this necessity, and influenced by the example of their superiors, the humblest classes of the Dutch must, within a short period, adopt the English language, and manners. Within two generations there will probably be no distinction between the descendants of the different nations. Intermarriages are also becoming more frequent; and will hasten this event.⁴

Assimilative interaction. From the foregoing it is clear that assimilation involves the development of certain common attitudes and ideas. But what of the type of social interaction which characterizes this process?

As is the case in all associative processes, the interaction leading to assimilation is of (1) the approaching type, anticipatory of rewards, rather than of the withdrawing type, anticipatory of punishment or unpleasantness. You and your group of friends find it difficult to assimilate a surly, unmannered, and hostile individual, even though you may tolerate him or

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 309-310.

accommodate to his living in the same dormitory or rooming house with you. Negroes are not assimilated into most white groups because of the obvious signs of hostility and punishment which the whites manifest when a Negro becomes "too familiar." The interaction must be friendly and approaching and it must be mutual—exhibited by both sides—if substantial approach toward assimilation is to be made.

(2) Another characteristic of assimilative interaction is that it is typically unblocked and unrestricted. The interaction of accommodation is also of the approaching type—but only up to a point, at which place a block of one sort or another occurs that prevents interaction which would bring the parties any "closer together." Protestants and Catholics in some communities accommodate readily to each other if they attempt no interaction in the religious field. Masters and servants may live together for a lifetime without being assimilated into each other's group. In such cases the patterns of interaction may be very intense and so intricately interwoven that neither party can carry on normally without the other. Yet the field of permitted and expected interaction is so narrowed that the groups and statuses remain distinct and the true sharing and mutual identification of assimilation never takes place. Assimilation requires free interaction both as to scope and degree.

(3) On the whole, other things being equal, assimilation is speeded up if the interaction is of the direct rather than the indirect type, and if it is primary rather than secondary. One of the principal obstacles to the creation of a World Government, which for many reasons would be highly desirable as a solution for some of the international problems of our time, is the difficulty of producing even that minimum degree of assimilation among the various peoples of the earth which is now expected within a nation-society. A chief source of the difficulty lies in the seeming impossibility of providing conditions for primary, direct contacts between substantial numbers of the members of the various nationalities who would participate in such an organization. Even with the best will in the world a certain amount of intimate interaction seems to be required to produce and maintain the necessary unity. As a step in this direction, persons and institutions interested in world unity undertake to promote exchanges of students, professors, and workers as well as to stimulate travel by all ranks of citizens. To take another example, the assimilation of new "pledges" into a fraternity group, is promoted by the direct, primary contacts enjoyed. So also the assimilation of a local independent fraternity into a national organization is usually preceded by a considerable amount of personal interchange,

mutual visits, and so on, and is subsequently maintained by direct, primary contacts at periodic conclaves and conventions.

(4) As a general rule assimilation is enhanced if the *rate of interaction is relatively high and constant, and if the pattern is well-balanced*. This means that mutual stimulus and response between the parties should take place at relatively short intervals and that a certain equilibrium should be developed. Back country and isolated communities in our own land sometimes show relatively poor assimilation to the current trends of the society as a whole, simply because their members do not have opportunity for a high or steady rate of interaction with more centrally located members of the society. It is for this reason likewise, that clubs frequently have rules requiring their members' regular attendance at meetings, lest the new members become insufficiently assimilated and the old members lose the common interest through slow and inconstant interaction. Furthermore, assimilation requires that both parties interact at a more or less balanced rate. In other words, assimilation will not ordinarily take place if one party does all the stimulating (or "originating," to use Chapple's term) while the other does all the responding (or "terminating"). "Passive assimilation" is, in short, a contradiction in terms, for, only to the degree that the assimilated party participates fully and freely in balanced mutual interaction with the assimilating party, is he truly assimilated in the social sense. It is for this reason that assimilation by force, properly speaking, is impossible, if the force employed has the effect of hindering full interaction. This matter has to be appreciated, for example, in such matters as the assimilation to society of discharged convicts. If a society takes the position that an ex-convict's "record" forever stands in the way of his full interaction with "respectable" persons, it is doubtful that the society can expect to assimilate him to approved circles or the accepted mode of life. In such a case, it is not surprising if the ex-convict after a time elects to consort once again with the criminal classes who, at least, permit him full interaction.

Some conditions favoring assimilation. Among the factors which may be cited briefly making for assimilation are: (1) toleration, (2) equal economic opportunity, (3) recognition of the foreigner and his culture and sympathetic response to him, (4) broad exposure to the dominant group, (5) similarities in cultures, and (6) amalgamation.

1. *Toleration* of people with a different culture from that of ourselves may result only in accommodation. However, in so far as that toleration operates to accelerate communication and association, it speeds up the process of assimilation. The early English settlers to this country made rather

easy the assimilation of the culture of the later Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants because these, like themselves, had fled from religious persecution. Even the Protestants of New England were more prone to tolerate the Catholics in Maryland, because both had fled from persecution in England. Likewise the early German settlers in Philadelphia were welcomed, because they, like the Quakers before them, had been the victims of religious oppression. In 1848 when large numbers of Germans emigrated from Germany because they resented the political pressure being exerted upon them, they found a welcome everywhere in this land devoted to the ideal of providing a refuge from tyrants.

2. Every extension of *economic opportunity* between those of different cultures hastens the process of assimilation. If the lines between occupational classes are sharp, assimilation is retarded. Any economic system which allow individuals to advance on the basis of merit breaks down the cultural walls which separate people. That widening of opportunity in North America and Australia in the past has been one of the foundations of democracy and has hastened the "melting pot" process.

3. Whenever the time comes in the interaction between two cultures that *each recognizes something of merit in that of the other* and each shows a sympathetic response to the other culture, then the process of assimilation is accelerated. The admiration of the whites for Negro poetry and Negro spirituals has done something to break down the barriers which have separated Negroes and whites in this country. Those missionaries and anthropologists who have lived long enough with people having a different culture to appreciate and admire their ways, and have come back loud in their praise for certain elements of the foreign culture, help those of us who have never come in contact with these people to have a sympathetic response toward them and their way of life. In the 1880's large numbers of college graduates in this country went to Germany for their postgraduate work. Living among the Germans they learned to like them and their ways. They came back fully convinced that the German universities followed methods which were very much superior to those in vogue in this country. They had learned to like the German people. They did something by their praise of German culture to hasten the process of assimilation between the "Yankees" and the German settlers here.

4. *Broad exposure to the dominant culture* is another factor making for assimilation. The immigrants in this country at the beginning of the century were too often isolated in colonies with their own institutions to make for rapid assimilation. However, the compulsory school laws requiring the attendance of the children of these immigrants at the common schools, the

establishment of social settlements providing for the intermingling of the foreigner and the native, the activities of understanding charity workers among the distressed immigrants, the founding of educational alliances in which the immigrant was exposed to the dominant culture, the establishment of immigrant protective associations by the natives, the growth of community centers, health centers, etc., were conscious efforts on the part of the people of the United States to assimilate the foreign and the native cultures. Too often the attempt was made by the native Americans to impose their ways upon the immigrants; to despise and crush out imported elements of great value. Many of these agencies, however, proceeded upon the theory that these foreigners brought with them elements of value to American life, such as folk dances, insurance and burial societies, mechanical skills, and music and art. They realized that these contributed to the enrichment of our ways of life. Appreciation by our people of the arts and crafts of the American Indian, of the fine rugs of the Turks, of the porcelain of the Chinese, and of the cloisonné of the Japanese has lessened the social distance between us and them.

5. *Cultural similarities* promote assimilation. When two cultures coming into contact with each other are in many respects similar, the process of assimilation is hastened. Already the two peoples have many points of likeness. On the basis of these common elements they recognize resemblances which at once provide a bond between the two groups. The process of assimilation was very much more rapid in the case of the immigrants from northern and northwestern Europe than in that of those from eastern and southeastern Europe. While there were elements of difference, they were not as numerous or striking. The northern immigrants and the native Americans borrowed more readily from each other because of these similarities. The consciousness of kind, as Giddings has called it, develops more easily in such a case.

6. *Amalgamation* is a most favorable condition of the operation of the process of assimilation. This occurs by intermarriage between the individual members of two peoples. It occurs when two different groups come into contact either by migration or conquest. Amalgamation may be a step toward assimilation of two cultures, as in the conquest of one people by another, or it may occur as a result of greater or less degree of cultural assimilation. In the long run biological fusion greatly aids cultural assimilation. In the case of a conquest, amalgamation is often delayed at the start, especially if there is a striking difference of race or of culture. The conquerors interdict intermarriage, and the process of assimilation is slowed up. If, however, there is no barrier between the alliances of the two peoples, then assimila-

tion goes forward rapidly. After a conquest the conquerors often take as wives or concubines the women of the conquered. If the conquered are enslaved, from among them come servants, secretaries, and trusted subordinates who mediate between the two cultures—taking on that of the conquerors and passing it on rapidly to the rest of the conquered, while commanding to their masters certain elements of their own culture. The mothers hand over to their children their own culture. In some cases such alliances between peoples of even different races place no stigma upon the children. In others, as in the case of the whites and Negroes in this country, the mulatto children are considered as Negroes and have social barriers erected against them just as high as those separating the full-blooded Negroes from the whites. In Middle and South America the conquering Spaniards and Portuguese, and in North America, the French, while insisting upon their superior position both politically and culturally, drew very little color line. Hence the mestizos, children of the conquerors and the Indians, did not suffer the same cultural disabilities as did the mulattoes in this country. Amalgamation was much more widespread in such cases than in that of the English in India or the English settlers in North America. Today in Mexico there is very little pure Spanish blood. Consequently, except in isolated communities, the culture in Spanish modified by an infiltration of elements from the Indians. Thus in the course of time when two groups of differing ways of life associate with each other, there is a fusion of the different elements into a new culture.

Factors hindering assimilation. Sometimes assimilation occurs with great rapidity and sometimes very slowly. Among the factors which hinder assimilation may be noticed the following: (1) isolation, (2) attitude of superiority, (3) wide divergence of skin color and culture, (4) persecution.

1. One of the reasons accounting for the slow pace at which assimilation occurs among immigrants to this country is the *isolation* of these immigrants in colonies of their own countrymen and the isolation of nationality minorities in conquered territories. Illustrations of this factor of culture isolation is provided by the Poles in Germany, the Jews in many countries where they have been segregated in ghettos and limited as to their occupational and cultural activities and the Negro and Indian in the United States. The Indian by being segregated upon reservations has been very much more isolated culturally from the whites than the Negro. Since emancipation from slavery the urban Negro has been isolated in the black quarters of cities, and culturally both in the South and in the North has been cut off to a certain degree from white culture. Likewise two Indian tribes cannot borrow from each other's culture unless they are in close contact.

2. Another factor hindering assimilation in an *attitude of superiority* by the dominant group. Such an attitude limits communication between the superior and the inferior groups to that absolutely necessary in any economic or social relationship, and even then in relationships of superiority and subordination. The servant class is not admitted to the drawing room; the employees of the corporation, to the Association of Commerce. Usually the superior group and the inferior group have separate churches. Frequently the children of the dominant group are sent to different schools from those attended by the children of the inferior group. Even under these conditions some assimilation takes place, but the pace of the process is slowed down.

3. When two peoples of widely divergent races indicated by *difference of color and other physical differences as well as by differences of culture*, come into contact the process of assimilation is retarded. Both the skin color and the culture of the African Negro are quite different from those of the white in this country. Hence, while after four hundred years some assimilation has occurred, the process is not yet complete. The physical characteristics and the culture of the Japanese are different from those of the English and of the American; consequently assimilation between the culture of the Japanese on the West Coast of the United States and that of the native Americans has been very slow. Both color and culture make possible a much more rapid assimilation between the Japanese and the Chinese.

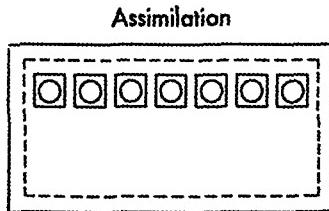
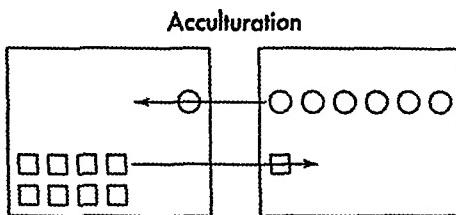
4. When *persecution* of the members of an inferior group within a population by the members of the dominant group occurs, another factor hinders assimilation. Persecution merely drives the persecuted closer together and enhances the cherished values in their culture. The persecution of Jews for two thousand years has played no small part in preventing assimilation between the culture of the Jews and that of the Gentiles in the same country. It even distorts the culture of both persecutor and persecuted.

A recent example is furnished by the treatment of the Japanese on the West Coast at the outbreak of the war. They were moved bodily from their homes and businesses to "relocation camps" in the interior. The Issei (those born in Japan) and especially Nisei (those born in this country and rapidly adopting its culture) were shocked by their treatment. The processes of acculturation and assimilation were slowed up by the persecution of these people. They felt that there were elements of culture here which they detested, and many Americans were suspicious of elements of culture among the Japanese which were alien to ours. The process of assimilation was slowed up.

Cultural factors in assimilation. Up to this point we have been considering assimilation as a strictly social process. The effect of assimilation is therefore a change in social relations toward greater unity of action and sentiment. But since human beings usually act in social situations according to cultural patterns, assimilation may likewise involve, not only a change in social relations, but also a change in the patterning of custom and interaction. This is a cultural process called *acculturation*, which involves a mutual modification of custom or cultural pattern when persons or groups of distinct cultures come into contact with each other; it will be discussed in connection with assimilative processes in the following section. Although some slight modification of cultural patterns is perhaps always involved in assimilation, we may recognize two general types of situations in which assimilation may take place: (1) that in which the factor of acculturation is insignificant and (2) that in which cultural modifications or acculturations are essential to the success of the assimilative process.

In the first type of assimilation there is no significant difference in the cultural patterns of the parties involved; the process consists essentially in the development of mutual understanding of personalities and situations plus practice and acquaintanceship in interaction. For example, a family may adopt the orphaned child of another family of similar social status and cultural background. In the process of assimilating the new member to the adopting family it is seldom necessary to teach any significantly new patterns of custom, but both sides must gradually develop understanding of various individual quirks and peculiarities and must develop a certain level of mutual respect and affection. Likewise when middle-class people move from one residential suburb to another neighborhood of the same general status and background, the problem of cultural change or adjustment is usually not of great importance.

On the other hand, assimilation of parties with diverse cultural backgrounds always involves some change in culture if the process is to be successful. And as a rule, the greater the divergence in original culture, the longer and more difficult the assimilative process will be. For many years one of the principal "social problems" of the United States was the assimilation of immigrants, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, who came to this country with cultural patterns considerably different from those dominant in the life of the United States. Likewise the assimilation of such groups as American Indians and the Mexican-Spanish population of the southwestern border states has been complicated by the problem of acculturation.



- Culture traits borrowed from each other by peoples in relatively close and long contact.
- New culture traits growing out of the mingling of different traits from two peoples in close and long contact, but the resulting traits are different from either borrowed.

Biological parallels. Strictly speaking, acculturation and assimilation refer in the present sense only to social and cultural processes. Yet as these processes go on in actual life, they are often accompanied by biological parallels, so that we see *race mixture* taking place along with acculturation; and *race absorption* occurring concomitantly with social assimilation. It is very rare for the close and continued social contacts which are necessary for both acculturation and assimilation not to result in some interbreeding between the societies involved. But we must recognize the fact that acculturation may and does take place without biological mixture, whereas complete assimilation never occurs without interbreeding sufficient to remove the socially recognized and socially significant stigma of physical difference. Thus the customs of the Australian aborigines have been strongly modified (acculturated) during the past few decades through white influence, although the amount of interbreeding in most tribes is almost negligible. With respect to the Negroes in this country, on the other hand, it is doubtful that we can speak of them as being completely assimilated until such time as (1) interbreeding results in their absorption into the general population or (2) until American mores and attitudes no longer regard negroid physical traits as a bar to full social participation.

Acculturation

As we have just stated, acculturation is a cultural process which in certain types of situations may accompany the social processes of association, particularly assimilation. From the point of view of cultural theory, acculturation is one aspect of cultural change, which has been previously touched upon in Chapters 6 and 7. In this section we shall deal with it mainly with respect to the process of assimilation and shall not attempt an exhaustive discussion of acculturation as a general cultural process.⁵

Definition. We mean by *acculturation* the processes whereby societies of different cultures are modified through fairly close and long-continued contact, but without a complete blending of the two cultures. Thus all the Indian tribes at present in the United States are "acculturated" in that their aboriginal cultures are no longer pure but have been modified through contact with the civilization of the whites. Some of these tribes, or remnants of them, for example, the Cherokee of Oklahoma, as well as the Negroes of this country, who have lost all but a small remnant of their ancestral African culture, are highly acculturated; others, such as the Hopi of the Southwest who still live in their ancient pueblos, are less so.⁶

Acculturation is sometimes regarded as a process which "works only in one direction," that is, we tend to think of primitive peoples undergoing this process only through loss of their aboriginal cultures and taking on new customs and meanings from Europeans. This tendency of thought is not surprising, because European culture has in many cases been much more vigorous than the so-called native cultures, but we must not overlook the fact that acculturation is a two-way process, that two societies very seldom indeed come into contact without the cultures of both being mutually modified to some degree. Thus it is only necessary to recall the numerous Indian place names in modern America, the Navajo blankets and silverware which grace so many American homes, the southwestern pottery designs which have been so widely introduced into modern American decorative art, and the food plants such as maize, cassava, cocoa, and potatoes (sweet and "Irish"), to grasp at least part of the modifications in European culture which have occurred as a result of contact with American Indian societies.

Diffusion has much in common with acculturation in that social contact

⁵ For such discussion see Hallowell, A. I., in Linton, Ralph, Ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945; Herskovits, M. J., *Acculturation*, Augustin, New York, 1938; Gillin, J., "Acquired Drives in Culture Contact," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 44, 1942.

⁶ See Herskovitz, *Acculturation*, especially Ch. 1; Linton, Ralph, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1940.

between societies is necessary for both. Yet for purposes of description we prefer to regard *diffusion* as a more general term and to use the word primarily to refer to those cultural transmissions which occur between societies not in close physical juxtaposition and between societies which are not always in continuous and direct contact—for example, the diffusion of tobacco throughout the world. Acculturation, on the other hand, as we have said, refers to the process of cultural modification which goes on when societies are closely and relatively permanently in contact. It is the preliminary step to assimilation, but stops short of the latter.

Although in acculturated situations elements of the original diverse cultures are usually readily discernible (e.g., *maize* as Indian corn; *coulee* as French Canadian for "valley"), when the process is complete, the blend of elements and patterns is usually so perfect that their respective origins are not readily apparent to the outsider nor known to the members of the society. In our culture, for example, the handshake, the general style of costume for men, the business corporation, are shown by historical research to have been originally assimilated from the outside, but scarcely anyone who practices or participates in these traits is aware of this today. Assimilation is analogous to the processes whereby food reaches the stomach: changes go on from there until the chemical elements in the food and those in the digestive tract combine into new compounds eventually incorporated into various bodily tissues. When that occurs, we say that they have been completely assimilated.

The process of acculturation may be illustrated by situations in which (1) two peoples are in sufficiently close and continuous contact to enable them to become acquainted with elements in each other's culture; (2) immigrants first settle among people with a different culture; (3) conquerors impose their culture upon a subjected people.

Acculturation in friendly contiguous groups. Acculturation in the first instance is evidenced by one or both of the groups borrowing certain cultural elements. Kroeber has pointed out that contact, not directly but through a series of other tribes, between the inhabitants of Central America, the original agriculturists in this country, and the Indians of our Southwest resulted in the spread to the latter from the former of the cultivation of maize, beans, and squashes, and the art of pottery-making.⁷ But Linton has observed that close and long-continued contact between groups does not insure adoption of a trait from another culture and cites in evidence the fact that while the cultivation of maize spread from Mexico to the Southwest and to the Northeast, it was not adopted by the Indians of

⁷ Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1923, p. 185.



Indian Children (Mescaleros) New Mexico. (Photo by American Museum of Natural History, New York.)



Assimilation

Immigrants at Ellis Island. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

southern California.⁸ Some of the factors discussed under diffusion in Chapter 6 and under social change in Chapter 28 explain why acculturation sometimes fails to occur. Also even when groups in contact adopt some of the culture of each other, they seldom if ever accept the whole of it. Witness the adoption of the dress, the whiskey, and the firearms brought to natives by the early traders, but the rejection of practically all the other elements of the alien culture. Consider also the adoption of certain parts only of the culture brought to native peoples by missionaries. That is acculturation, not assimilation.

Acculturation of an immigrant group. Acculturation is illustrated also by the interaction which occurs when a group of immigrants settles among a people with a different culture. The history of the United States provides an instance. The interaction between the later immigrants and the original settlers provides an example of acculturation unique in its magnitude and complexity.

During the first century and a quarter of the history of the United States approximately thirty million immigrants entered the country. The original colonists to this country were almost entirely from the north of Europe—English, Scotch-Irish, Dutch, Germans, and Scandinavians. After 1880, however, the character of the immigrants changed. The majority was no longer coming from the north and west but from the south and east of Europe. Most of the earlier immigrants were either farmers or craftsmen of some sort. Comparatively few of them were unskilled laborers. The immigrants from the south and east of Europe were for the most part unskilled laborers and brought with them quite a different culture. Instead of scattering themselves on the farms of the frontier as did the earlier immigrants, since the frontier had for the most part vanished, they congregated in the slums of great cities or in mining communities and there formed little cultural islands more or less isolated from the rest of American society. Yet, Americans were learning to eat spaghetti and Hungarian goulash. The "foreigners" were learning the English language. But the members of each nationality still felt and acted in most respects as their countrymen abroad. They were national groups with their foreign culture still intact, but modified at points by the adoption of American ways necessary to their existence here. It is clear, therefore, that up to 1930 the process of acculturation was still going on.

Acculturation in conquest. Again the process of acculturation is to be seen in the interaction between a conquering and a conquered people. The first phase of interaction is accommodation, described in the preceding

⁸ Linton, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, pp. 330-331.

chapter. Soon accommodation is displaced by acculturation. Both conquerors and conquered begin to borrow some elements from the culture of each other. The language of the conquerors begins to show the presence of words taken from that of the conquered, and the conquered adopt terms from that of the conquerors. So other elements are borrowed from each other's culture, but the core of the culture of both conquerors and conquered remains the same.

The history of England after the Norman conquest, before assimilation became complete, illustrates the process of acculturation. Here one may see in operation over a period of time competition, conflict, contravention, accommodation, acculturation, and assimilation. William the Conqueror imposed upon the conquered English the culture of his own country. But even during his lifetime there is clear evidence that he took over into the scheme of government and mode of life a number of features of social life prevailing among the conquered. As example, English terms crept into the official Norman French language, and some of the judicial and administrative organization of the English people was adopted into William's scheme of government. Under William's successors further acculturation occurred. Henry I in his coronation charter relaxed the harsh exactions imposed by his predecessors, restored to the church some of its former rights, and guaranteed to the common people many of their ancient privileges which had been taken away during and immediately following the Conquest.⁹

Results of acculturation. Since acculturation is logically a process midway between accommodation and assimilation, difficulties in adjustment are inevitable, with consequences (1) to the personalities and (2) to the cultures in contact. The less flexible personalities are likely to be disturbed by the introduction of alien elements. The more flexible are selected by the process and become the leaders in social change. The cultures by the exchange of elements compatible with the existing configuration of each become enriched. But if the elements borrowed do not fit readily into the core of the culture, the new elements are either changed in purpose and meaning in order to serve some already existing purpose, or for a time there are confusion and disorganization. Let us illustrate these results in concrete situations.

Results on personalities. Because the immigrants with an alien culture are a minority group, an "island" within the area occupied by a larger group, the pressure upon them is heavy. In that respect the situation is

⁹ Green, *A Short History of the English People*, American Book Co., New York, no date, pp. 83, 87-91.

quite different from that in which two groups each with its own culture come into friendly contact. In the latter case each can borrow slowly from the other and freely reject any elements in the other's culture not to its liking. In the immigrant group the necessity of making a living, of escaping from derision and contempt, and of achieving status among those with the dominant culture demands quick adjustment and often involves the adoption of ways at variance with elements in their own ways of life. The immigrant to succeed must be flexible and quick in making his adjustment.

That situation puts a strain upon the less agile personalities. If the less flexible individuals are adults, they have already established their patterns of behavior, their attitudes and habits. They are probably quite settled in their ways of life. The ways of their group seem to them to be proper because they have already adjusted to it. Hence contact with an alien culture brings about some degree of shock, excites resistance, and arouses a good deal of emotional disturbance. Frequently acculturation is imperfect; often even accommodation is not achieved, and the individual stops at the social process of conflict or of contravention. He may then become an example of the foreign-born criminal. If the individual is a child or an adolescent with habits not yet fixed, he is subject to a conflict of loyalties, sometimes resulting in delinquency. For both the foreign-born adult and his children this emotional strain probably also has a bearing upon the fact that in the United States the insanity rate of the foreign-born white is to that of the native-born white as 6 to 5, age and sex being taken into consideration.

In addition to these results, partly because of the difficulties of adjustment, some individuals become discouraged, lose their ambition, and sink down into hopeless incapability to meet the responsibilities of life. The undue proportions of the immigrants to be found among the transients and dependent families are evidence of this result.¹⁰

The first thing the immigrant adult does is to try to adjust himself to the situation as he finds it in this strange land. He adopts American clothes and learns as much as possible of the language to enable him to get along in an occupation. He prefers to live in a community of his own people where he may enjoy the language, the cultural institutions, and the associations familiar to him. If he is a common workingman the first language he is likely to pick up consists of the merest rudiments of conversation to enable him to do his work. If he is employed by a large

¹⁰ See Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1937, p. 279; Park, Robert E., and Miller, Herbert A., *Old World Traits Transplanted*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, Ch. 4; Stonequist, Everett V., *The Marginal Man*, Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1937.

corporation, his boss is likely to be one who has been here longer, understands the language and the customs better, and can talk with him in his own tongue. Bit by bit he picks up American ways. He may try to read and write the English language sufficiently to enable him to become naturalized. Gradually he picks up from his fellow countrymen who have been longer in this country certain other elements of our culture. He learns something about the laws and customs, and if he is in an occupation where he associates with Americans, he gradually absorbs more and more of the American culture. He may have two patterns of behavior—one adapted to his place of business and to his contact with natives of the United States and the other appropriate to contacts with fellow immigrants. Usually, however, his old-country customs and traditions stick to him more or less like the brogue in his language. The wife of the immigrant is more isolated from American contacts than her husband. Therefore she is slower in acquiring the ways of the natives and usually never acquires as much of the American culture as her husband. Exceptions, of course, occur in the neighborhood in which are found social settlements, charitable agencies, community centers, child-welfare and health units, and adult-education classes for foreigners. There are instances, as Thomas and Znaniecki have shown, in which the women have accepted American ways more quickly and completely than the men. Frequently this difference in parts of the culture acquired by husbands and wives leads to domestic difficulties.¹¹ Experience shows that by the methods employed up to the present time, only a small proportion of the immigrants who came to this country as adults ever become completely Americanized; probably it is impossible for them to supplant the emotional tones and values developed in another culture with those of the country of their adoption. That is a result on adult personalities of the process of acculturation.

The personality maladjustment of the children of immigrants is different from that of their parents. From the time that they begin to play upon the streets and go to school, they are subject to two different cultures—that in their own homes and that presented in the school and on the streets. In those immigrant communities in which there are wide-aware social centers, social settlements, and playgrounds in charge of Americans, acculturation of the child goes on apace.

One further phenomenon seen frequently in foreign settlements is such perfect adjustment of the young people to the culture of the foreign community and so little adjustment to the culture of American society that

¹¹ Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1927, pp. 1703-1752.

there is no emotional disturbance because there is no consciousness of a conflict of loyalties. Codes and traditions of behavior grow up which are adjustments to the situation in the foreign communities, yet at variance with the codes and patterns of behavior approved by the great society of which they are a segment. But when these children reach adulthood and are exposed to the culture of the greater community, there is conflict between the moral code of the foreign community and that of American society. Their modes of adaptation either conflict with constituted authorities of the law or are sly evasions of the requirements. They are adjusted to the prevailing code of their group and acculturated by the adoption of English and certain American characteristics, but are quite unassimilated with respect to the accepted patterns of behavior of American society because they are still controlled by the values and meanings of their ancestral culture. After two or three generations, however, these conflicts of two diverse cultures tend to melt away in accordance with the process next to be described. Thus both individuals and subgroups long exposed to over-



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SOME POINTS IN ACCULTURATION

Sociology in cartoons

whelming common stimuli tend to become adjusted to the culture of the larger society. For the most part the children of immigrants, when they become adults and have absorbed more of the culture of the country, become more completely assimilated to American patterns of life than their parents; adopt American standards of living; slough off more of the old-country ways, attitudes, and values; and accept in their places those of the country of their adoption.

Likewise the more flexible adults adopt quickly the ways of life of the people among whom they have settled, find a spur to their ambition in the new country, often become leaders of their people, and frequently attain distinction in business, in education, and in the professions. They are the individuals who give prestige to certain elements of the foreign



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"Like it?"

ACCULTURATION IS USUALLY A TWO-WAY PROCESS

Sociology in cartoons

culture and are the media through which parts of that culture are introduced into that of their adopted country. To mention only a few such individuals in American life, we may name Carl Schurz, the German-American statesman, orator, journalist, and Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes; Francis Lieber, German-American educator and author; Charles P. Steinmetz, German-American electrical engineer, who for many years was the chief consulting engineer of the General Electric Company; Edward W. Bok, born in Holland, and for many years the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*; Michael I. Pupin, a Jugoslav, who became director of the Phoenix Research Laboratory of Columbia University, and who made many important inventions in the electrical field; A. A. Michelson, born in Poland, who from 1892 to 1929 was head of the department of physics in the University of Chicago, famous for his invention of methods of measuring the velocity of light; and Jacob A. Riis, the Danish-born author and social reformer.

Results in the cultures. When two peoples with differing cultures come into contact with each other on a basis of equality in numbers and prestige, each may borrow from the other certain elements. A process of selection occurs. These new elements may displace old ones or may be merely added. The core of each culture is not affected. In illustration of this point is the following incident which came under the observation of one of the authors. An old Pennsylvania "Dutchman" was a deacon in a certain church. At the prayer meetings of this group this old man frequently was called upon to lead in prayer. Pennsylvania "Dutch" was his native tongue, although he had learned to use the English language quite well. Often he would begin his prayer in English. However, after a short time, he would interrupt his prayer by exclaiming, "Ach, it's for no use," and then would continue his prayer in Pennsylvania "Dutch" with ease and fluency. What is the meaning of this? He had borrowed the English language to meet the necessities of ordinary life, but the rich emotional tones which were connected so closely with his religious experience clustered around the Pennsylvania "Dutch" words which he had learned as a child. He felt in "Dutch." The core of this man's "Dutch" culture was not affected by the English language he had borrowed.

A case showing the process of acculturation passing over into assimilation is provided by what happened in a particular situation in Asia as described by Ekvall¹² when Chinese came into contact with the Mongols and Tibet-

¹² Ekvall, Robert G., "An Instance of Sinō-Tibetan Race and Culture Contact," *Bulletin, The Society for Social Research*, December, 1938, pp. 11, 12; also, *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939.

ans in West China. In this section of the valley of the Tao River there is a sharply defined side-valley. The Chinese of the region were descended mainly from early military colonists. The Tibetans residing there were descended from migrants from Central Tibet about five hundred years ago. While both groups were Mongoloid in race, the two languages were different. The Tibetan population was dwindling on account of the absorption of many of the Tibetan men into a monastic society, while the Chinese population was growing rapidly. The Tibetans were Buddhists, to which faith some of the Chinese also adhered, but the Tibetans were much more fanatical and devout. The Chinese drifted into this Tibetan valley because owing to the monastic system just mentioned there were many unmarried women among the Tibetans and also because this territory had been a refuge for the Chinese from bandits and Mohammedan rebels. Thus the contact of cultures took place entirely within Tibetan territory. In the first stage of acculturation the Chinese immigrants tended to take on the Tibetan characteristics. In the second the Tibetan village became transformed into a Chinese village. The first of these stages—the Chinese immigrants tending to adopt Tibetan culture—was involved in the intermarriage of Chinese men with Tibetan women. In such marriages the Chinese husbands either entered the Tibetan family as "called-in-sons-in-law," or set up their own separate establishments. Chinese boys were readily adopted by the Tibetans whose sons had been placed in a monastery. The Chinese, even when they did not enter Tibetan families, shared in the Tibetan communal life as artisans and laborers. They accepted Tibetan ways of thinking, of doing things, and adopted Tibetan speech and clothing, not only in matters of material convenience, but also of culture expediency in order to win favor and tolerance from the Tibetans. The degree of Tibetanization varied from that of the Chinese boy adopted by a Tibetan family to the Chinese immigrant family which sought to maintain its own Chinese culture.

In the second stage of acculturation occurred a Sinification of the Tibetans in the villages into which the Chinese came to live. This came about by cultural and populational pressure continued through arrivals from the Chinese side. The Tibetan borrowing of Chinese culture extended from the acceptance of Chinese trousers to the adoption of surnames. The consequence in the long run was the emergence of a Chinese village somewhat different in its general culture from that of the Chinese villages deep in Chinese territory. This change from Tibetan culture was signalized by the establishment of a Chinese burial ground, indicative of the unwillingness of the Chinese to follow Tibetan ways of disposing of the dead, and the growing prevalence of the Chinese cart. However, in these Chinese villages

of Tibet there remained certain elements of the Tibetan culture such as the arrow quiver; shrines of the mountain gods, tended and repaired by the population year after year; and the acquisition by the Chinese of some of the religious fervor of the Tibetans.

In the case of immigrants, especially if they are fewer in number than the people among whom they settle, if their culture is widely different from that of the native group, and if they are in occupations of lower social status, fewer elements of their culture are likely to be borrowed by the native-born while a relatively larger number of elements will be lost by the immigrants through displacement by elements of native culture. For example, since the arrival of large numbers of Italian immigrants in the United States, Italian opera and spaghetti have had widespread acceptance; with the arrival of the Hungarians, Hungarian music and goulash; with so many continental Europeans settling in the cities has come the "Continental Sunday." But in the long run only those features of the foreign culture which do not interfere with social acceptance and which do not too seriously threaten established values in the host society will, with modifications appropriate to the total cultural configuration, appear as permanent additions. Hence when the number of immigrants is small, acculturation is likely to be one-sided and partial. When the number of immigrants is large, and they continue to live side by side with the natives, the extent of acculturation depends on other conditions.

Some conditions of acculturation. Mere contact between two groups of different cultures does not necessarily produce acculturation,¹³ although it is one of the necessary conditions. We may set forth, therefore, certain other conditions which are also conducive to acculturation.

(1) Contact between the groups is, as already mentioned, a necessary condition of acculturation. In psychological terms this means that the cultural features of the groups involved must be presented to each other as *stimuli* and *models* for response and imitation. There are several factors which may condition effective presentation of this sort. (a) The cultural and social positions of the individuals between whom contact is made are of importance. Culture does not exist apart from individuals, but no individual participates completely in the culture of his own society. Hence individuals involved in the contact can transmit only those aspects of their own culture with which they themselves are familiar, and the degree of acculturation depends in part upon the completeness with which the indi-

¹³ For an instance of seemingly arrested acculturation, see Gillin, J., "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatemalan Community," *Social Forces*, Vol. 24, 1945, pp. 1-32.

viduals involved in the contact represent their respective cultures. A male government agent, for example, might induce the men of an Indian tribe to adopt American male costume, but he probably would not be able to teach the women the technique of needlework employed by American women, the preparation of American food, or the details of the American customs of caring for babies; nor would the average American man be able to teach Indians the more technical processes of such culture complexes as machine industry. Thus if only men form the contacts, the female aspects of the respective cultures may expect little modification. (b) Culture elements vary in what has been called *inherent communicability*. Customs which involve artifacts which can be easily and clearly demonstrated, such as firearms or sewing machines, serve as relatively effective stimuli, because such customs need only to be observed and imitated. Cultural complexes, such as religion, which necessitate elaborate verbal explanations and the development of emotional tones, values, meanings, and ideologies are relatively difficult to communicate and are consequently transmitted comparatively slowly between one group and another. Such cultural elements are more readily accepted or taken over in modified form if they fit in with the previous experience of the individual or group to whom they are presented.

(2) Desire for change is another essential condition of acculturation. If a group is completely satisfied by the operations of its own culture, it will not normally attempt to modify such a mode of life by absorption of elements from the outside. For example, so long as the bulk of Americans feel that their wants are fairly well satisfied by the capitalistic system, they will refuse to take over patterns of Soviet communism, regardless of how effectively the latter are presented. The relatively modest wants of the immigrant Japanese farmers of California were for a long time satisfied by their native agricultural methods of intensive handwork, a factor which led them to resist acculturation to the more mechanized culture of American farming and which made difficult their assimilation. However, the wants of a group can be changed. One of the simplest ways, if least effective in the long run, is the use of force. All people "want" to escape pain and other forms of punishment and therefore can be induced to accept modifications in their culture if thereby they will escape pain. As already pointed out, however, the continued use of force will not bring about assimilation, properly speaking, mainly because it discourages approaching and balanced interaction. Another method is the cultivation of new wants and desires of a positive type. For example, few of the North American Indians previous to the coming of Europeans knew the use of alcohol and hence they had no desire for it. European traders, however, were not slow in

developing this new desire among the natives on the basis of which they induced the Indians to modify many of their other customs. *Prestige* is an important cultural drive which may be developed in various ways to foster acculturation. Among immigrants to this country, the members of the first generation are usually motivated by the prestige system of their original homelands; but the second generation, growing up among American boys and girls, quickly learns the value to them of prestige in American terms, and in order to enhance and bolster their social standing, they reject the customs and ideas of their parents and hasten to adopt American culture. The respective social positions and prestige of the individuals and groups involved in cross-cultural contact is likewise an important factor affecting the form and direction which acculturation will take. The lower-class individual engaged in "social climbing" is of course driven by a desire for prestige to modify his own system of customs in conformity with that of the class to which he aspires. The prestige and power of Americans and Europeans have, at least until recently, greatly impressed many peoples of outlying parts of the world. In various parts of the tropics, for example, one finds members of the local population insisting on wearing tightly tailored suits, erecting poorly ventilated buildings, importing automobiles, and making various other somewhat ill-adapted modifications in their culture because of their desire to be "more like" Americans or Europeans with whom they have come in contact. Further, if persons possessing prestige in the receiving group can be induced to accept cultural elements from the outside, the group as a whole is the more likely to become acculturated. Missionaries have found that if they can induce the chief or other important man in a tribe to accept the Christian religion, the others are much more likely to fall in line.

(3) The extent to which cultural elements from outside are consistent with the cultural configuration of the receiving group or individual is also a significant condition of acculturation. It is possible that many American men, so far as desire is concerned, could be "sold" the Mohammedan doctrine permitting four wives and innumerable concubines, but this pattern conflicts with so many customs and institutions of American culture that its introduction within the foreseeable future is altogether unlikely. The institutions of democracy as structured and understood in North America were so foreign to the stratified, castelike social organizations of certain Latin American countries that even after 125 years of freedom from Spain some of these countries still show no significant acculturation toward democracy, although signs of change are perhaps becoming more abundant. If an introduced element conflicts with the interests and values

which dominate the life of the receiving group it is almost certain to be rejected or drastically modified, unless or until the general configuration of the receiving culture is itself modified.

Deculturation. As a substitute for acculturation, which is a mutual modification and gradual elimination of cultural differences, a group may be prepared for assimilation by a second group through the process of having its old culture stripped from it. Complete deculturation is apparently impossible with individuals beyond the age of infancy: even though the individual may learn to perform new overt customs, he seldom if ever loses completely his modes of thinking and feeling acquired in the first years of life. For the same reason a group cannot be completely deculturated within a single generation, i.e., until the bearers and practitioners of the old culture have died off. However, it is possible, as has been inadvertently demonstrated with many Indian groups in our country, virtually to strip away the old culture. Conditions are so arranged that performance of any of the old culture is either actively punishing or at least is not rewarding. Since, however, a human group cannot live without culture of some kind, if deculturation is to be a preparation for assimilation, it must be followed by teaching and inculcating the culture of the dominant group to the deculturated group. This process takes time, of course—usually about a generation. If such cultural preparation for assimilation is not carried out, on the other hand, the members of the stripped group will probably develop a new nondescript culture sufficiently different from that of the dominant group to prevent their rapid assimilation. The so-called Croatan "Indians" living in Robeson County, North Carolina, for example, are actually a white-Indian-Negroid mixture. However, Indian culture long ago was stripped from them almost completely, following which process they took on various elements from lower-class Negroes and whites of their region. The new configuration is in minor ways distinct from either white or Negro culture of the South, and sufficiently so, in addition to their somewhat "colored" (but not really negroid) appearance, to prevent their complete assimilation by either whites or Negroes. Cultural stripping in this case has resulted in accommodation, but not in assimilation.¹⁴ On the other hand, many of the small immigrant farming communities of Swedes and Norwegians of Minnesota and Wisconsin were stripped of their "old-country" culture within a generation or two after settlement and are now completely assimilated to American society and culture.

In summary, if assimilation between parties (individuals or groups) is

¹⁴ Johnson, Guy B., "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4, 1939, pp. 516-523.

to proceed without blockage toward unity and integration, any cultural differences of significance must be eliminated. This may be accomplished either by acculturation, which is the elimination of significant culture differences by mutual borrowing and modification, or by deculturation and substitution, which are processes whereby the one party has its old culture stripped from it and replaced by the culture of the group into which it is to be assimilated.

Social and cultural integration

What is integration? The end result of assimilation and its associated cultural processes, if carried through without hindrance, is social and cultural integration, sometimes called social unity. Every society or social group in function enjoys some degree of integration, otherwise it would lose its identity as a functioning group. However, groups seem to be able, in some cases, to function, at least at a certain level, with a comparatively low degree of integration, so that we must conclude that social integration may be recognized in a variety of degrees.

Integration of social groups and societies can hardly be meaningfully discussed without reference to cultural patterns and their interrelations, as well as to the "purely social" factors of interaction. For integration of a social group implies organization, organization of customary behavior, attitudes, interests, and sentiments. And we have seen that such behavior (overt or covert) is for the most part patterned by culture.

We have also seen that associative processes have the effect, in part, of smoothing out real or supposed differences between individuals and groups. Does this mean that integration is equivalent to *homogeneity*? Would we expect to find that the "most integrated society" shows no internal differentiations, that all members and component groups are alike? The answer is obviously in the negative. If such were the criterion of integration, no society or group could be said to be integrated, for we have learned early in our study that the very factors which predispose to group formation grow out of certain differences between individuals which are in some measure found everywhere.

Integration is organization, rather than homogeneity. A group is said to be integrated in the degree to which its members, its social categories and statuses, and its culture are organized for the achievement of common purposes or goals. In an integrated group all the individuals identify themselves with and are identified with the group, each has his well-recognized place or places in the scheme of things, and each follows patterns of custom

which interlock with and do not conflict with the other customs of the culture, the object of which is the achievement of agreed-upon goals. The integration of the customary interactions invariably involves some degree of reciprocity and equilibrium, a balanced and complementary type of function, which per se rules out homogeneity.

It is to be noted that integration is not synonymous with "efficiency" in all its senses, although integration undoubtedly contributes to the overall efficiency of a group. However, single customs or complexes may be efficient in themselves, but for lack of proper integration are less productive of desired results than other customs which are in themselves less efficient. For example, the techniques of modern industrial manufacture are as customs much more efficient in the production of artifacts than the handwork methods of the medieval craft-guilds. At certain periods in our history, however,—e.g., when capital and labor were at odds with each other and long periods of lockouts and strikes were experienced—it appeared evident that the highly technical processes of modern industry are actually less efficient than the hand-work methods unless the integration between the innumerable patterns and their practitioners can be maintained.

Some criteria of integration. Without attempting an exhaustive analysis we may mention certain criteria of integration which may be observed (either by their presence or absence) when analysing a society or social group.

Adequate socialization. This means that the population is properly trained to understand the common goals of the society (if any) and to perform the customs assigned to the various members. It means also that the members of the group are all recognized as such and that none are inhibited from customary interaction by reason of being considered outsiders, hangers-on, persons without status, or otherwise less than full participants according to the scheme of the current organization. Full participation does not necessarily mean equalitarian democracy in which everyone has the opportunity to assume any customary patterns available so long as he is able to qualify through his own efforts. Some of the better examples of integration per se are to be found in stratified social organizations, such as native states of Hindu India or the native African monarchies—e.g., Uganda or Dahomey. Likewise totalitarian governments, such as that of Nazi Germany, achieved considerable integration. One of the problems of modern democratic societies is to discover means of integration without sacrificing certain individual freedoms of opportunity and choice. Whatever the scheme of organization may be, however, integration demands that the members of the society or group be adequately trained to carry out the customary patterns which are

expected of them and upon which the smooth functioning of the whole depends.

Common goals and orientation. As a rule a society which is oriented toward one or more common goals and whose culture patterns are organized for the achievement of these objectives is better integrated than other societies whose goals are conflicting or appealing to only a part of the membership. Our own society has shown its highest degree of integration, ironically enough, only during the two great world wars of the twentieth century, at which time the great bulk of the membership was united toward a single goal—"winning the war." A pervasive religious goal which colors all aspects of life seems to be highly integrating. In a truly "sacred" society even such workaday jobs as planting corn may have a religious connotation and be linked to the great goals of the society. But the pervasive power of religion seems to decline in large complex modern societies, partly because of the presence of numerous other competing interests and objectives.¹⁶ Patriotism, or some nationalistic goal associated with it, seems to have high integrative power in modern societies at war, but during times of peace recent history has shown that it either declines in effectiveness or seems to lead to another war. In Russia it appears that a peacetime goal of considerable integrative power has been achieved, which also stands the test of war; this might be phrased as "economic democracy for all." However, reliable analyses of modern Russian society are too incomplete to permit judgment as regards the actual pervasiveness and effectiveness of such a cultural objective. If the reader is struck by a certain lack of integration in our own society, let him consider the multitude of interests and objectives pursued by the various sections of this society and recognize the conflicts which often exist between such goals and the cultural patterns for reaching them: one needs to mention only the conflict between the goal of "profits" and the goal of "the greatest good for the greatest number," between heavenly bliss and earthly pleasure, between democracy in politics and authoritarian managerial control in business. One of the outstanding features of our time is the struggle of each "interest group" to make its own particular goal or goals dominant for the society as a whole.

Functional linkage of cultural elements. Integration demands that the customs, complexes, and institutions which support the goals of a culture be linked or organized together at least to the degree to permit functioning. In other words, the customs of a culture should show at least a minimum

¹⁶ Robert Redfield, in his study of four communities in Yucatan, demonstrates the tendency for the culture of this region to lose its integrated, "sacred" character as it falls increasingly under the sway of modern civilization. See his *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941.

degree of *consistency*. Four aspects of consistency may be mentioned briefly. (1) Consistency in time merely means that the same individual or group cannot be called upon to perform two different customs at the same time. A pattern which seems to require mothers to be at work all day in a factory and also expects them during the same hours to do the housework and watch over the children is obviously inconsistent. (2) Consistency in place simply means that the same performers cannot be in two places at the same time, or that two different patterns cannot be performed simultaneously by the same person at a place suitable only for one. A pattern which perhaps unofficially but nevertheless customarily seems to require both studying and courting in the college library is inconsistent and results in personal and social maladjustment within a college. Likewise a pattern which seems to require a college man to be working in a restaurant during his off hours and also to be studying in the library is poorly integrated. (3) Consistency in sequence is also a feature of integration. There are many patterns which fail of their goals unless the component activities are performed in the proper sequence and unless the patterns are, so to speak, planned in proper sequence. First must comes A, then B, then C, etc. To take a relatively simple illustration, get a recipe for baking a cake, try to perform it "backwards," and see what happens. Many reform movements and Utopias have failed apparently for failure to recognize this principle: the goals are highly desirable, but the organization of the customary means for reaching them are not linked together in a functional sequence. Many an individual has likewise experienced the effects of this type of lack of integration with his culture—e.g., the college graduate who feels he should "start at the top," believes that the world owes him a living, but gradually discovers that the status and conveniences in life which he desires are obtainable in our culture only by performing certain cultural activities (connected with jobs, salaries, and the like) in the approved order. (4) Finally we may mention what may be called qualitative consistency. Qualitative inconsistency may be a result of cultural lag or of inadequate modification of an introduced cultural element. For instance, in some Latin American countries, as a heritage from Spanish colonial times, the custom, enforced by law, persists of requiring that all official and legal documents, such as those dealing with births, deaths, marriages, land transfers, tax payments, and so on, be made out, not on printed forms, but in longhand on large sheets of paper or in official notebooks and in a narrative style. Aside from the fact that the handwriting is often practically illegible, this custom is qualitatively inconsistent with modern methods of quick and frequent gathering and tabulating of social statistics covering large numbers of people or cases. As a result cer-

tain countries following this practice are unable to provide even their own governments with reliable census data and other information which even a moderately well-integrated political system of modern times requires. The custom in Congress which persists of appointing committee members and chairmen only on the basis of seniority within the dominant party has resulted in increasing confusion and loss of integration between the will of the people, their representatives in Congress, and the carrying on by Congress of business necessary to the unity of the nation.

In summary a sociocultural inconsistency exists if the presence or performance of one goal or custom renders incomplete or impossible the operation of any other goal or custom. As has already been mentioned, all societies tolerate some inconsistencies of this type. Perhaps they make life more interesting. But the fact should not be overlooked that social and cultural integration cannot be achieved if fundamental or crucial inconsistencies exist within the pattern of the culture. Likewise inadequate socialization and diffuse, competing, or partially accepted goals hinder integration in the long run.

The process of integration may be seen at work in our present society. The vast and fundamental changes which have occurred in American society within the last hundred years have brought about the disintegration of the cultural configuration in many of its aspects, and in order that a more perfect harmony may obtain have led to all kinds of adjustments intended to correct the conflict between these different elements in the culture as well as to integrate patterns of behavior, ideologies, attitudes, and values associated with the various discordant elements within it.

As a result of the various processes of social interaction which we have discussed, especially of the process of assimilation, there is a tendency toward the integration of all social elements—folkways, customs, mores, ideas, and ideals—into a somewhat unified pattern. Also the various social institutions—the economic system, the family, the educational system, the political system, such conventionalities as dress, types of behavior in the different relationships of life, etc.—tend to become adjusted to each other in such a way that the individuals making up the aggregate of society experience no great amount of stress and strain. When that happens we say that the society is integrated. Its various culture elements have been fused into one with only minor differences.

However, it must not be forgotten that the equilibrium thus established, which at best is not entirely complete, constantly is subject to disturbance by the introduction of new elements of culture, such as result from scientific discovery or a great invention. In the last half century so rapidly and

widely have new culture elements diffused over the world that Western civilization has not had a chance to develop a stable equilibrium. The result has been that serious disturbance between the various institutions of society has taken place, including the breakdown of codes of morals on the economic and the sexual levels, the undermining of the influence of the church, and the growth of an entirely new system of education and of a new set of economic institutions. While these elements are being adjusted to the older configuration, there is a degree of social maladjustment. This we shall discuss more fully in the next part of this book.

In this survey of the fundamental processes we have noticed that they are to be found in the differentiation and resemblance between individuals arising out of natural inherited traits and out of the conditions to which they have been subjected during the process of their development. We have discussed briefly the processes in human interaction—opposition growing out of differences; the nature of competition, its types, its forms, and its results; conflict with its various types, the roots of conflict, and the results of conflict; contravention; the different types of accommodation resulting from both competition and conflict, and the results of accommodation. Finally we discussed acculturation and assimilation, the final steps in the processes of human interaction. Thus we are prepared to understand how cultures become fused into a uniform pattern.

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Exercises

1. Distinguish clearly between acculturation and assimilation.
2. Classify as acculturation or assimilation the following: the interaction (*a*) between the Japanese young people born in this country in California and the white young people there; (*b*) between American Indians and the whites in close contact with them; (*c*) between those of Irish, English, German, Scan-

558 *Assimilation, integration, and associated cultural processes*

dinavian descent; (d) between the descendants of French and of English settlers in Montreal; (e) between the Spanish and the Indians in Mexico; (f) between the Negroes and the whites in the South.

3. In some communities in this country in which there are Scandinavians the churches of the latter have suppers at which are served Scandinavian dishes (*lutfisk*, etc.). Non-Scandinavians attend and learn to like such foods and often introduce them into their own household menus. Is that process acculturation or assimilation?
4. What socially broadening results on personality come from acculturation? What personality-demoralizing results sometimes occur?
5. What have been the effects of the assimilation of the Continental Sunday observance brought to America by the immigrants upon the Puritan Sunday as observed by the early English colonists?
6. Assuming that the flow of immigrants to the United States remains at the present quota level, how long will it take to assimilate thoroughly the various culture elements now to be found here?
7. Do acculturation and assimilation occur most rapidly during war or during peace? Why?
8. What will probably be the results of the treatment of the Japanese in the United States by the Government? Of the presence here of large numbers of German prisoners of war? Of the American occupation of Japan?

chapter 23 Social change

Social change, rapid in some cases, slow in others, has characterized all societies whether prehistoric, historic, or modern. Increase in size of the group, alteration or diversification of economy, shift from nomadic to settled mode of life, modification of the social structure, new emphasis in religious beliefs and practices, growth of science, new philosophies, war, and famine are among the phenomena associated with such changes. Frequently the political structure of a society has altered in the course of history. Tools, customs, music, poetry, and almost every other aspect of the culture are subject to modification. This is as true of the primitive as of the modern, although apparently more characteristic of the latter than of the former. Travelers from Western countries have called the societies of the Orient "changeless." That term is only relative. These societies have been changeless only in comparison with the highly dynamic societies of the Occident.

Sociologists have classified societies as static or dynamic. By a static society they mean one in which there are relatively few and slow changes. By dynamic they mean a society in which changes are numerous and rapid. Any society at one period may be described as static and at another as dynamic. This is true even of the prehistoric peoples of western Europe. The artifacts of prehistoric man are classified according to periods, which are marked by differences in the materials used and the methods of treating them. Anthropologists over a considerable period of time have observed these variations in culture among groups of preliterate people in different parts of the world, and the historians have recorded change among historic nations and peoples.¹

It was on the observation of differences between the institutions of differ-

¹ Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934; *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, Vol. 1, Introduction, Part I; Glotz, Gustave, *The Aegean Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925, pp. 22-55; Robinson, James Harvey, *History of Western Europe*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1908, Chs. 9-12.

ent peoples that the theory of social development was based. Although this theory sprang from the social theorists of the eighteenth century, it received added impetus from the vogue of biological evolution following the work of Darwin and other scientists and philosophers about the middle of the last century. It was an attempt to explain the differences observed among historic peoples and to bring some degree of order out of the observed variations. The theory of social change was given pre-Darwinian popular vogue by Auguste Comte. His theory of the three stages of social development—the religious, the metaphysical, and the positive—was the first thoroughgoing attempt to show that social change has characterized every society concerning which it is possible to secure information. He was followed by Herbert Spencer, Benjamin Kidd, and other scholars who had found in the theory of biological evolution what they thought was the key to the mystery of social phenomena. They were mistaken in thinking that the principles of biological evolution could be transferred in toto to the realm of social phenomena. Even biological evolution, we now know, is not that even development by small accretions of change assumed in the theory of the early evolutionary biologists. In the closer study of social change it has been found that still less does Spencer's definition of evolution correspond to the actual processes in social change. Frequently change is discontinuous. Moreover, as Spencer pointed out long ago, *social evolution* is not synonymous with *progress*. Retrogression and even decadence characterize changes in human societies.²

Definitions of social change

Many more recent sociologists have discussed social change. Also anthropologists have treated the subject in their studies of preliterate peoples. A well-known book in English devoted exclusively to the subject was written by Ogburn. Though he did not define change, the implication of his entire discussion was to include all of the elements of a people's culture, both material and nonmaterial, in the field of study. He emphasized the importance of changes in material culture upon the nonmaterial.³

² For detailed discussion of various themes of social change see Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 728-746; Spengler, Oswald, *Decline of the West*; Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926; MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rhinehart, New York, 1937; Chs. 21-37; Barnes, Harry Elmer, and Becker, Howard, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1938, Vol. 1, Chs. 13, 20.

³ Ogburn, *Social Change*, Viking Press, New York, 1922. In his later book Ogburn has continued his emphasis upon the primary importance of material inventions in pro-

MacIver, in his analysis, objects to the classification of culture into material and nonmaterial elements. Rather he classifies them into utilitarian and cultural. He bases this division upon his classification of interests into primary and secondary. All of man's actions, all of his creations, and all of his artifacts may be placed in one or the other of these two classes. A typewriter, a printing press, a bank, and a currency system, according to MacIver, are utilitarian. They are means to ends. We want them not for the satisfaction they immediately afford, but in order to secure certain satisfactions by using them as means. He calls the utilitarian elements *civilization*. By *civilization*, then, he means "the whole mechanism and organization which man had devised in his endeavor to control the conditions of his life," including systems of social organization, techniques, and material instruments. The ballot box and the telephone, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the railroads, laws, schools, banking systems, and banks are included in this class. By *culture*, which he says is the antithesis of civilization, he means "the expression of our nature in our modes of living and of thinking, in our everyday intercourse, in art, in literature, in religion, in recreation and enjoyment." A picture, a poem, a novel, a drama, a movie film, a game, a philosophy, a creed, a cathedral he classifies as culture, because they give us directly, not merely as intermediaries, something we crave. "They respond to a necessity within us, not to an outer necessity. They belong to the realm of culture."⁴ It is clear from this statement that MacIver excludes material elements from his definition of culture.⁵ According to his definition MacIver insists that *social change* should consist only of changes in *social relationships*. It is clear, therefore, that the differences in the definition of *social change* depend on the author's definition of *culture*. If the term *culture* is used as we have used it in Chapter 5, then the terms *social change* will include alterations in both culture and cultural equipment, and both primary and secondary social changes. By *primary* changes are meant those changes which MacIver insists are the only real social changes, namely, the changes in social relationships. By the *secondary* changes are meant those which MacIver calls *utilitarian* (which we term *cultural equipment*), and which are of importance only in bringing about changes in social relationships.

We shall define *social changes* as variation from the accepted modes of life, whether due to alteration in geographic conditions, in cultural equipment, composition of the population, or ideologies, and whether brought

ducing social change. Ogburn, W. F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F., *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1940, Ch. 24.

⁴ MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-281, 395.

about by diffusion or invention within the group.] It is thus clear that by our term *modes of life* we include not only what MacIver calls social relationships, but any generally accepted way of satisfying the needs of the group. The modes of life would include, therefore, not only the culture, but also the cultural equipment—not only the ideologies, religious beliefs, ceremonies, methods employed in regulating family life, initiating young members into the organization, relations between members of the in-group and the out-group, between the younger members of the group and the older, between males and females, but also the techniques generally employed in gaining a subsistence, such as methods of cultivating the ground, hunting, fishing, building houses, securing rain, protecting the crops and animals, and protecting the people themselves from disease and other menaces. All of these modes of life are for the purpose of satisfying the "interests" or needs of the group. The modes of life also include the cultural equipment which a people uses for satisfying their needs.

As Linton has pointed out, not all of these interests are necessary for survival. They have meanings attached to them of vital importance to the whole cultural configuration; therefore social change must include the cultural equipment of any group. Social change must also include the ideologies held by a society. By the term *ideologies* we mean that system of beliefs, traditions, and theories current within a society, which have a relationship to the behavior by the group.⁶

Finally, our definition indicates that these changes in the social arrangements of any group may come about either by diffusion of the cultural elements from one society to another or by the invention of a new mode of life by a member of the group.

Analysis of change

There can be little doubt that many of the "problems" and "troubles" which beset modern social life have to do with changes of one sort or another affecting modern society. And when one's society is in a state of flux, problems of adjustment arise for the individual in a very personal way as well. There is no reason to believe that social change is confined to modern Western society or that its members are the only human beings who have been beset by the problems which arise from alterations in social life. Let us remember that the Negroes who were brought to this country as slaves had a few social changes to contend with, that the Indian societies confronted by the white settlers soon felt the tremors of an approaching

⁶ Linton, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, Ch. 24.

social earthquake, that the European cave dwellers must have realized, as the glacial climate moderated, that things were not quite as in the past. Certain factors have, however, combined to increase the rate of change affecting our own society with a consequent increase in associated problems of adjustment. Although emphasis is frequently laid upon the difficulties in which social change involves individuals and groups, we must not conclude that changes are unqualifiedly bad—or good. One's judgment in these matters depends upon his point of view and upon a consideration of the facts in each specific case. The American Revolution, for example, effected some social changes upon which there were at least two points of view—that of the British imperialists of the time and that of the American patriots. Furthermore, we must remember that "progress," however we define it, cannot be achieved without changing something.

The analysis of social life stressed in this book has laid emphasis upon behavior, broadly conceived. What do people living together do? What may they be expected to do? A society is nothing for sociology except as we understand the members' actions, interactions, anticipatory responses, attitudes, ideas, needs; their customs, folkways, mores, interests, institutions; and the material equipment which they use. From this point of view the phenomena of social change suggest the question: Why do the members of a society change their modes of living together?

Psychological aspects. Referring to the psychological principles of behavior set forth in Chapter 4 we recall that a habit will be evoked only by a certain range of stimulus situations to which an individual has reacted repeatedly and with satisfaction. It will be predictable, given the appropriate stimulus situation, only if it is regularly reinforced; and reinforcement takes place through rewards which lower drives. Thus a given condition of drive is also necessary for the continuance of a habit. We saw, furthermore, that habits practiced by a social group are called *customs*. In view of these principles, then, if we ask what causes customs to change, be eliminated or weakened, we have several factors to consider. First, the stimulus factor may change, thus producing a change in the custom. Second, the custom may no longer reduce the drive involved; conditions of reward may change. Third, there may be an alteration of drives. With respect to the latter, we know that the innate drives cannot be eliminated, but on the other hand, that the acquired drives, being learned, can be changed. Perhaps the great majority of all customs operate to some extent upon acquired drive, so that this factor must always be considered. If, then, we find an old custom dying out and a new one being substituted for it, we have to look for changes in the stimulus situation, in the reinforcement situation, and in

the drive situation which may be involved. In a society where many customary modes of life, even entire institutions are changing, the task is merely multiplied. Culture is the adjustive mechanism for society and group, and any factors that alter the reactive patterns which compose the culture produce "social change." What are some of these factors?

Environmental changes. If any change takes place in the natural environment in which the society lives, both the stimulus and the rewarding aspects of the society's culture will be affected. Among the types of change in natural environment bearing upon social life we may mention (1) natural changes, (2) man-made changes, and (3) changes effected through migration or change of residence.

Taking human societies as a whole, natural alterations in the environment perhaps play the minor part in social change; yet they should not be overlooked. The architecture of Yokohama was destroyed in large part as a result of the great earthquake and fire of 1923; when the city was rebuilt, not only this part of the cultural equipment but many of the customs associated with buildings were changed. Disasters of nature, provided they do not destroy the social group (as at Pompeii), usually result in modifications of the cultural equipment and the cultural patterns anticipatory of their recurrence. Natural climatic changes usually take place very slowly and their effect upon human groups is equally slow. Yet we can read in the records of European archaeology, for example, the gradual modifications of cultural adaptations to the Pleistocene changes of that continent. Ellsworth Huntington⁷ in his early work emphasized the influence of the gradual desiccation of large areas in central and western Asia upon changes of population which have taken place in that area. He and others have suggested that possibly great migrations, both prehistoric and historic, from Asia into Europe have resulted from these factors. In North Africa, Algeria, which was "the granary of Rome" about the beginning of the Christian era, is now, as a result of progressive desiccation, a relatively minor cereal-producing area; and for the same reasons the great cities of the northern Sahara, now no more than archaeological sites, have been supplanted by a culture adapted to the desert environment. Such changes, however, are so slow that they do not seriously affect present-day social relationships.

Short-term physiographic oscillations and variations are of more immediate concern. It is common observation that the weather in almost any part of this country varies somewhat from year to year; rainfall and tem-

⁷ Huntington, Ellsworth, *The Pulse of Asia*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1907; *Civilization and Climate*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924; see also Taylor, Griffith, *Environment and Race*, Oxford, London, 1927, and *Environment, Race and Migration*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937.

perature follow cyclic changes. In regions of marginal agricultural productivity, such as portions of the Great Plains, a drought year, together with resulting failure of the crop, will produce stringent alterations, at least temporarily, even in the subsistence customs of the inhabitants. It is reported that in many drier parts of the West the annual rainfall averages less than fifteen inches per year and that in every ten years one to four seasons will be subaverage. Even dry farming has failed on some fifteen million acres.⁸ In parts of the Plains area government payments constituted the only income for farmers in several of the years following 1930, owing to extreme severity of the drought cycle combined with depression; social and cultural maladjustments have been so severe that governmental measures have been taken to resettle whole communities and to create better adapted cultural adjustments for those who remain.⁹

More important than natural physiographic changes have been those brought about by the activities of man himself. In the settlement of this country men cleared the forests, drained the swamps, leveled the ground, removed the stones, and otherwise changed the physical configuration, a process which is still going on. Reclamation by irrigation brings arid regions to a status in which many of the techniques of temperate zone farming are applicable. The natural flora and fauna may be reduced and new types substituted. The oft-cited destruction of the buffalo certainly put the Plains Indians into the market for new types of food culture; the lumbering communities of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota have been succeeded by stump-farming communities; the raucous activity of many mining centers of the West has been followed, with the exhaustion of the minerals, by the somnolent quiet of the "ghost town"; and by the elimination of infestation by certain pathogenic parasites, such as the malaria plasmodium and hookworm, the response-producing capabilities of whole communities have been raised to the point where they are able to practice the general culture.

With respect to alteration of natural resources, let us briefly consider Amazonia, particularly the upper part of the Amazon valley whose center is the city of Iquitos in eastern Peru. We shall pass over the question of social changes wrought upon the indigenous inhabitants by the invasion of Europeans and confine ourselves largely to social changes brought about

⁸ Chapline, W. R., Reuner, F. G., and Price, R., "The New Range Outlook," *Farmers in a Changing World*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1941, p. 444.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 505; *Future of the Great Plains*, National Resources Committee, Washington, 1936. For further references on climate and its effects upon human life, see Smith, J. Russell, "Climate," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, Vol. 3, pp. 556-562.

by the activities of white and mixed-blood representatives of "European civilization" in the area. Although rubber had been known to the Indians in pre-Columbian times, the economic possibilities of the wild rubber trees of the area were "discovered" about 1882. Something like a gold rush followed. Everyone wanted to work the "black gold." Thousands of *caucheros* swarmed the rivers. Peruvians from the Andean highlands became expert woodsmen traveling without compass, learning to live in the jungle without civilized equipment. When Theodore Roosevelt and Colonel Rondon "discovered" the River of Doubt in western Brazil, they found Peruvian rubber-gatherers there, a thousand miles from Iquitos. Iquitos, which had been a backwoods river village, blossomed into a city of perhaps thirty thousand, with magnificent stone and cement buildings, wharfs, docks, machine shops, theaters, hotels, a street railway. Manáos, the Brazilian center of the rubber trade a thousand miles up the Amazon from its mouth, built one of the gaudiest opera houses in South America. But about 1915 or 1916 the rubber boom collapsed, not through lack of market, but through destruction of the rubber trees. Wild trees were girdled and cut down for a few pounds of latex; planting was too slow to satisfy the greed for quick profits. Indians, who were used as collectors, were systematically killed off and the native labor force thus wiped out. "Civilized man turned savage in order to dominate the barbarian." In a short period some thirty thousand Witoto Indians of the Putumayo River region were exterminated. What remained? Iquitos and its region became depopulated. The people who were left had to readjust themselves to making a living in other ways. The metropolitan habits gave way in the face of poverty. A new culture gradually grew up, a blend of Indian and European traits adapted to the environment, the "black gold" of which had been so ruthlessly dissipated.¹⁰ Yet another turn in man's manipulation of the natural environment in the tropical forest region came in 1940 when the United States government, under the pressure of emergency, sent out five parties in July of that year to set up permanent research stations, nurseries, and experimental plantations with a view to introducing the cultivation of rubber on a large scale throughout tropical America. If these plans work out, a new set of cultural and social adjustments will be required in the region,¹¹ another turn in

¹⁰ Hardenburg, W. E., *Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise*, Unwin, London, 1912; Delboy, Emilio, "Iquitos la ciudad del futuro," *Boletin de la sociedad de geografía de Lima*, Vol. 55, 1938, pp. 109-122; Gillin, John, "Emergent Races and Cultures in South America," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 52, 1941, pp. 268-278.

¹¹ Brandes, E. W., "Rubber on the Rebound—East to West," *Agriculture in the Americas*, April, 1941, pp. 1-11.

the wheel of change. The demand for rubber and other forest products during World War II once again received activity in this region.

Consider also what has happened to the mineral resources of this country in the century and a half since our government was established. In spite of enormous deposits a study of recent trends indicates that some of the more important of our mining industries show signs of depletion or of increased cost of production. Examples are anthracite, mercury, and petroleum. DeLaunay generalized concerning mankind's exploitation of minerals. His theory was that following a wave of human settlement, gold and silver were first exploited. Then followed successively the exploitation of copper, lead, zinc, and iron. These periods of exploitation overlap, but one succeeds the other according to the relative price per pound of each metal. Others have applied his principles to a study of Europe. According to his scheme, England had passed the gold and silver stages long ago, the peak of the copper stage in 1860, of lead and zinc in 1870, of tin in 1871, and had reached the peak of exploitation of high-grade iron ore in 1882. According to DeLaunay's scale, England today is in the late iron stage of maturity. And Europe as a whole may be assigned to the zinc and iron stages.¹²

In the United States the exploitation of minerals has followed a similar trend. Apparently we have passed the gold stage and certainly are in the late part of the silver stage even with the stimulation given to silver production by controlled government price. On DeLaunay's scale recent authorities are of the opinion that the United States is in the copper stage of mineral exploitation.¹³ Most authorities are of the opinion that all of the evidence points to what has been called "the advancing age of the mineral industries of the United States." In this way man has altered physical nature.

Even in the agricultural field the recent emphasis upon the conservation of the land points to the alteration in soil resources brought about as the result of man's activities. From the very beginning American agriculture has been exploitative, not conserving. Evidence is now accumulating which shows that as a result of our system of agriculture many elements originally in the soil necessary to the production of crops, such as nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, and sulphur, have been mined out by years of successive cropping without any efforts to restore them. Furthermore, much leaching of the essential elements has occurred because improper cultivation allowed

¹² DeLaunay, Louis, *La conquête minérale*, Flammarion, Paris, 1908.

¹³ Tryon, F. G., and Schoenfeld, Margaret H., "Utilization of Natural Wealth: Part I, Mineral and Power Resources," in *Recent Social Trends*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, Ch. 2.

the rain to wash them from the cultivated fields into the rivers. Soil erosion and depletion have been going on for years, but only recently have we become conscious of the consequences. It has been estimated that in the northern states of this country with abundant rainfall, losses from the surface soil since settlement have averaged possibly one-third of the original sulphur, one-fourth of the nitrogen, one-fifth of the phosphorus, one-tenth of the potassium, and unestimated amounts of calcium and magnesium. Perhaps the most important process whereby the fertility of the soil in most parts of the country has been destroyed is erosion. The United States Bureau of Chemistry and Soils has estimated that something like seventeen and a half million acres of land formerly cultivated have been ruined by gullying or such severe washing that their cultivation or reclamation is impossible. In addition, three or four million acres of river-bottom land have been covered with sand and gravel and thus greatly reduced in fertility or even rendered untilable.¹⁴

Another way in which man has altered his environment is by migration. It appears that the ancestors of the American Indians migrated from Siberia, a subarctic region, first to what is now Alaska; eventually some of their descendants made their way to all parts of North, Central, and South America, adapting themselves to the many varieties of geographic environment present in the Western Hemisphere. The great variety in the aboriginal cultures of the New World affords eloquent evidence of the influence of migration, diverse environment, and isolation on culture change.

Another illustration of the influence of a new environment upon the culture and social life of migrants is afforded by the colonial history of the Portuguese in Brazil. Flour from manioc, an indigenous American plant, became the staple food. River transportation in dugout craft was developed. Slash-and-burn methods of clearing and cultivating in the tropical forest were adopted. House types more suitable to a warm climate than those of Portugal were evolved. Slaves were imported. Portuguese men interbred with Negro and Indian women, recognizing the issue of these unions to produce a mixed population physically adapted to the climate.¹⁵ Freyre points out that through their experience with Africa and with the dark-skinned Moors, the Portuguese already had some of the habit systems which were combined with the new Brazilian culture, but it is worth noting that the physiographic conditions of the new colony made these and various new customs rewarding, as they had not been in Portugal itself. In fact, wherever

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-98.

¹⁵ Freyre, Gilberto, *Casa grande e senzala*, 2nd ed., Companhia editora nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1938.

the whites have tried to settle the lowland tropics there has been a tendency for their middle-latitude culture to be modified under the press of tropical conditions.¹⁶ It is more rewarding for the white man to wear loose clothing, to take a nap rather than to work through the midday heat, to ride than to walk, to maintain caste behavior whereby colored people are forced to do the manual labor instead of himself. If heroic efforts are occasionally made to maintain certain home-country culture patterns—such as bathing and dressing for dinner in the jungle—it would appear that prestige anxiety is the motivation even though otherwise rationalized. The white man fears the loss of primary satisfactions which a decline in his prestige would entail.

When the environment of a society changes, then, the time is ripe for social changes. Yet we must note that environmental changes do not ordinarily rigidly determine the precise social responses which may occur. Although certain responses will be absolutely unrewarding, punishing, or even unelicitable in the new situation, there are usually a number of adjustments which may be made with some degree of success. Ice-skating behavior on a tropical lagoon is not only unrewarding to any drive but cannot even be completely performed. In this sense, environment sets limits to culture and forces certain changes when the environment of a group is changed. On the other hand, it is impossible to predict from the conditions alone in the case of a tropical lagoon, surrounded by suitable materials for boat-building, that an incoming group will actually build boats in this situation; nor can we predict from environmental facts alone whether, if boats are built, they will be paddled, rowed, or poled. In other words, a number of adaptive cultural responses may usually be evoked in a social group by a new environmental situation. Which ones of these possible responses will become customary depends upon the existing cultural repertory of the group and upon the type and strength of current acquired drives and values, as well as upon whatever conditions of contact and diffusion may be present. With respect to cultural repertory, if a new, satisfying custom incorporates certain habit elements already known to the group, its chances of being developed are better than an equally drive-reducing, but totally unfamiliar, custom. For example, when the Mormons settled the semi-arid region of Utah in the 1840's and 1850's they faced a new environment, for the bulk of the people were small farmers from eastern United States or from northern Europe. Three types of adjustment were tried: mining, stock-raising, and farming. Brigham Young laid a semi-religious interdict against mining, which inhibited the Mormons from taking

¹⁶ Price, A. Grenfell, *White Settlers in the Tropics*, American Geographical Society, New York, 1939.

up that activity en masse, although the subsequent history of the state has shown it to be the most profitable form of response to the situation. The bulk of the Mormons to this day, however, have concentrated on the working of relatively small farms, despite the fact that either mining or stock-raising would have been economically the more satisfying response. Many factors enter into this result, but one of the most important is doubtless the fact that farming techniques were a dominant part of the cultural repertory of the new settlers to which they had only to add irrigation techniques, whereas mining and stock-raising customs were foreign to them. Conversely, we find relatively few Jewish immigrants with European ghetto-bred cultural backgrounds taking up farming upon their arrival in this country. With respect to acquired drives and cultural values, one example will suffice. A possible response for European whites emigrating to the tropics would be to go naked as many native societies of tropical regions do customarily; at least for brunet whites this would be an adjustive response. Yet, so high is the acquired drive of modesty-anxiety and the value of clothing among all European societies that such a custom has never developed among whites in the tropics. Clothing habits must lower temperature drive without raising modesty-anxiety, and for Europeans the latter is the more powerful within normal ranges even of tropical temperatures.

In summary, geographical change may be an important factor in social change. Sorokin has given a searching and negative criticism of what he considers to be the extravagant claims of the geographical school.¹⁷

Population factors. In Chapter 5 we discussed factors affecting the size and quality of the population and pointed out their bearing upon social life. Here it is sufficient to recall that anything which causes a change in the size or composition of the population may be expected to show effects in the organization of society and custom. With respect to quantity let us mention the case of one little-known people of interior Brazil, the Tapirape Indians. Fifty years ago they were distributed in five villages. Now, as a result of epidemics, only one village with 147 inhabitants remains. Wagley¹⁸ mentions numerous alterations which this decrease in population has forced upon the Tapirape way of life. Let us mention only one: Under previous conditions much of the ceremonial life revolved about an annual cycle of feasts between the villages. Obviously this is no longer possible, and while

¹⁷ Bruhns, J., *Human Geography*, Rand McNally Co., New York, 1920. For further references see Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928, Ch. 3.

¹⁸ Wagley, Charles, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirape Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series 2, Vol. 8, November, 1940, No. 1, pp. 12-16.

substitutes have developed, the old pattern of ceremonial life has almost disappeared and with it much of that which made life worth living for the Indians. The decline of France as a great power has been blamed by some upon its falling birth rate, while the impotency of China has been blamed on its high birth rate. This is probably an oversimplification of both cases, but no one can doubt that changes in the size of a population are bound to alter the interactive patterns. So also with changes in composition, for such changes affect the response capabilities of the various categories. The culture of a society at any given time is always predicated upon a sufficiency of actors capable of carrying out the different roles, just as the conduct of a football game is predicated upon the expectation that individuals of the requisite physique and physical condition will be present in their appropriate positions when the teams line up on the field. Of course, you can play with a lightweight team or you can put substitutes into the game, but the strategy usually has to be altered to cover their weaknesses. So a society usually changes its mode of life to some extent when anything happens to alter significantly the size, composition, or capabilities of its membership. When considering the possibilities or direction of social change in a society, it is always necessary to examine the trends respecting the proportions of the sexes, of the age categories, of the sick and the well, of the bright and the dull. And attention must be given to immigrants, especially if they come from societies of alien culture or if they are of a racial type clearly different from that of the receiving society.

During World War I, while there was a temporary shortage of men in civilian life owing to their service in the army, many women stepped into posts held by men in peacetime. Was it so surprising that they took to smoking cigarettes, wearing their hair short, demanding the vote, and displaying various other traits of the "mannish" roles they were performing? On the other hand, in many cases in which the men of marriageable age have been swept away by war or by immigration, leaving a surplus of women, we see the development of attitudes and institutions characteristic of spinsterhood.¹⁰

Nor should changes in the genetic constitution of the population or in the distribution of hereditary factors be overlooked. Any large-scale increase in the number of hereditary feeble-minded in our society would certainly necessitate some readjustments in present customs and institutions, for example, in education. As we pointed out in Chapter 5, however, science has not yet succeeded in isolating all hereditary factors in many

¹⁰ Gillin, J. L., *Social Pathology*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1946, Chapter 11.

human somatic conditions, so that the predictive value of genetic alterations for social change is not so great as could be desired.

In summary, we may say that alterations in the population situations may change, first, the stimulus situation and hence the culture. Much social behavior is response to the stimulus of other people and their actions; many patterns are adjusted to the existence of a certain number or proportion of individuals of certain categories in the society. For example, courting customs are liable to change if there is a shortage of women; athletic institutions are subject to change if there is a shortage of youth, simply because the necessary numbers and kinds of interactors are lacking. Population also has a bearing upon the type of response which can be involved in the cultural patterns. A declining population is unable, without technological readjustments, to maintain patterns involving joint action of the same numbers of individuals as before; hand labor, for example, could not maintain its former output under such conditions without additional tools or machines, or improved techniques—all cultural changes. An aging population should be expected to lay more emphasis upon sedentary behavior than a young population through sheer physical inability to perform the more active patterns. Finally, population changes may affect the motivations and values current in a society. Human life usually becomes more valuable as it becomes scarcer, and the same is true of women; food anxiety is high when there are many people and little land, and rises higher as the population increases; and so on.

Sociocultural factors in change. A culture is an organization of habitual responses which are maintained in operation by the satisfactions or rewards which they produce. But no culture is perfect in this respect, nor does it ever completely satisfy all the individuals in its society. The imperfections of the culture itself may result in individual discomforts and dissatisfactions and these, as Linton has pointed out, provide motivations for change.²⁰ The more widespread such states of mind are in a society, the riper it is for change. On the basis of behavior theory we would expect human beings to be conservative only when their present habits (customs, culture) are more satisfying (drive-reducing, rewarding) than any others they may have the opportunity of practicing.

Cultures may be unsatisfying because they fail to reduce primary drives or secondary drives or both, or because they produce conflicts of behavior, i.e., contain certain incompatible habit systems, which in turn cause pain, fatigue, or some other discomfort. People become disgruntled with an

²⁰ Linton, Ralph, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1940, pp. 463-482.

economic system, for example, which despite their best efforts provides near starvation in the midst of environmental plenty; in such conditions the ground is ready for change of some sort, if not for the seed of revolution. Youth becomes restive if the social system demands that their parents hold up an ideal of behavior to them which the parents themselves are incapable of practicing.²¹

Introduction of new patterns. Mere dissatisfaction with the way things are in a society does not inevitably produce change of a permanent or stable character. In order to get customs changed it is necessary to get people to try out new responses. But no one may try any new responses of significance, because no one knows what to do about the situation. This has often been the case in small and isolated primitive societies. It appears that for at least several hundred years, if not longer, the Indians of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent coasts of South America endeavored to protect themselves from the elements with untailored skins which covered only part of the body and with crude brush huts which did not even keep out the wind. When discovered by whites, the Indians themselves did not pretend that these measures were comfortable. But they had never heard or thought of any better protection. The White Knife Shoshone Indians of Nevada at the time of their first contact with whites were living a very simple gathering-and-hunting existence probably little different from that of the first prehistoric migrants to come to America from Asia. A bare and uncomfortable existence was about all that their culture produced. During their first fifty years of contacts with the whites the Indians were treated as outcasts and heavily punished in many respects. For example, driven from their land they were at one time reduced to washing the seeds from manure to get something to eat. Yet, despite these punishments, the whites brought in certain new cultural elements which were rewarding, such as the herding of domestic animals, the use of guns, metal tools, and warm clothing. The Indians preferred white-introduced changes with all their discomforts to the almost uniformly punishing aboriginal culture. "They had nothing to make them proud, and so little to lose through change."²² Unless *some* new responses are known and tried out, then, a culture and way of life will not change, regardless of how unrewarding it may be. Hence presentation and trial of new or alternative culture elements are a necessary step in social change.

New cultural elements may originate within the group itself or from

²¹ See Mead, Margaret, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 14, 1940, pp. 92-109.

²² Harris, Jack, "The White Knife Shoshone of Nevada," in Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, pp. 39-116. Quotation from p. 86.

without the group. In Chapter 7 we discussed invention, discovery, and diffusion from the cultural point of view, so that it is not necessary to redescribe these processes here. In the present connection, however, we should suggest that it seems that innovativeness and "curiosity" are not innate in the human species, but *may* develop as acquired or learned drives having motivating power. Random behavior under the pressure of high drive is, of course, characteristic of all members of the species, but the specific desire for new ideas, new experiences, new ways of doing things seems to be developed by training and is more highly developed in some societies than others. A secondary drive such as innovativeness, of course, must be based upon primary needs. To us, living in a society in which this type of motivation is well developed, it seems "natural" that a constant search for novelty pays off with better food, better shelter, less fatigue, more prestige, lessened anxiety, and so on. Not all societies have made this discovery, however. Some, having made it, find that innovating runs counter to responses made to other motivations, religious anxiety, fear of political reprisals, etc. In a society, therefore, in which innovation has a high value for itself we may expect more inventions and more importations of foreign elements, and we may expect that these new elements will not only be presented but that they will at least be tried out. Up until about a century ago our own society placed comparatively little value on innovation, but at the present time new inventions registered with the Patent Office appear at the rate of about 50,000 per year. The acceleration in the search for new culture elements is indicated in the following figures on patents issued by decades in the United States: 1880 to 1890, 218,000; 1890 to 1900, 235,000; 1900 to 1910, 334,000; 1910 to 1920, 401,000; 1920 to 1930, 442,000.²³ In our society certain types of originality carry prestige on the basis of which one may obtain many gratifications of a practical nature. Trying out new gadgets and mannerisms also confers distinction and is rewarding in itself. In a money-minded society this tendency "to try anything once" shows itself to some extent in what Veblen called "conspicuous waste."²⁴

The desire for novelty and the prestige associated with it is not confined to societies dominated by the canon of wealth. The variety of philosophies to be found at Athens in the days of Socrates and Plato testifies to the value placed upon theoretical innovations in Greece of that period. The writer of the "Acts of the Apostles" in the New Testament remarked, "Now all the Athenians and the strangers sojourning there spent their time in nothing

²³ Ogburn, W. F., "National Policy and Technology," *Technological Trends and National Policy*, National Resources Committee, Washington, 1937, pp. 8-14.

²⁴ Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1911, Ch. 4.

else, but either to tell or to hear of some new thing."²⁵ Ideas were news.

The prestige or value which seems to be attached to innovation in its own right is often aided and abetted by the activities of individuals or classes whose prestige is already established on other grounds. If the upper-class ladies change the style of their gowns every three months, the middle-class ladies who copy their ways will try to do so also.

Put in Linton's terms, the innovations that produce social change are the result of individual peculiarities among the members of the society. These innovations become alternatives to the universals in the culture, and are propagated throughout the society by the subgroup or subgroups which adopt these alternatives. The subgroups are the carriers of the core of the culture, hence attempt to modify that core by the substitution of the innovations in place of some of the universals.

Accepting new patterns. The mere presentation or trying out of new items of culture and culture equipment does not automatically guarantee that they will be added to the culture and that the social habits will change. The new practices must bring satisfactions of some kind, if they are to become habitual; they must reduce some drive or combination of drives or needs. However, we have seen that many of the goals of any human society are far removed from primary physiological needs. Acquired desires current in a changing society must be carefully considered in predicting change. Furthermore, the new element must usually not only prove satisfactory, but more satisfactory than pre-existing elements in the culture directed toward the same goal. Finally, if the new element contains responses that have already been learned, its acceptance is more likely. In Chapter 7 we discussed some of the social and cultural conditions under which acceptance of new traits may or may not take place.

Here we would point out, following Miller and Dollard,²⁶ that copying the behavior of certain other individuals or categories may have a high value in a society so that it approaches the status of an acquired drive. If this is the case the possibilities of acceptance of new practices would seem to be enhanced, provided the individuals or groups used as models are innovators themselves. The models from whom copies are made are usually individuals or societies with prestige in the copying group.

Personality factors in change. Although social changes must involve changes in the behavior of groups of people, the individual with the inventive mind and the forceful personality is one of the most immediately

²⁵ Acts, 17:21.

²⁶ Miller, Neal E., and Dollard, John, *Social Learning and Imitation*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941, particularly Ch. 16, "Diffusion."

important agencies in bringing about alterations. The great man and the genius have played a part in history which cannot be ignored. (Linton's Individual Peculiarities.) He may analyze, understand, and be able to express the dissatisfactions of his society; he may invent or discover new ways of solving problems and succeed in getting them before the public for trial; he may possess the gift of being able to persuade his fellow citizens to try innovations developed by others, or he may have a hand in all these phases of change. A few names will suffice—Socrates, Jesus, Galileo, Newton, Faraday, Edison, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Lincoln, Alexander Graham Bell, Marx. Each of these has had a hand in changes which have altered the course of human history.²⁷ We are unable to lay down generalizations permitting prediction of the appearance or qualities of geniuses. Each case can be understood only in terms of a close study of the life history, involving hereditary factors, life experiences, and the social and cultural situation of his times.

War as a producer of change. Conflicts of all kinds arise out of and generate dissatisfactions which may eventuate in social changes. The most intensive type of conflict which man has been able to develop is modern war, and among all types of social situations it is the most pervading and productive of change. Not only are drives of all types (including air hunger in gas warfare) raised to their highest functional point, but populations and material equipment are damaged or destroyed in unprecedented quantities. Even the natural environment is wrecked beyond recognition when a major campaign has been fought over an area. A situation is created for the participants and the survivors different from anything in previous peacetime, and cultural adjustments have to be made to it. Conquered people accept changes imposed by the conquerors in order to escape more punishment. The conquerors themselves are forced to readjust their depleted and weakened populations to restore even the basic satisfactions and to operate with new sets of values and meanings. In short, every relationship developed during times of peace suffers disturbance, and change appears on the whole social horizon. The results of World War II furnish abundant illustrations of this generalization.

The interrelatedness of changes

Technological changes. If we view social changes from the strictly sociological, as distinguished from a sociopsychological, point of view we

²⁷ For the influence of the individual deviate in a preliterate society, see Mandelbaum, David G., "Culture Change among the Nilgiri Tribes," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43, 1941, pp. 19-26.

note that the introduction of new cultural elements, either from within or from without the society, seldom results in mere additive changes in the social situation. Not only is the new element added to the existing accumulation, not only may it simply displace a previous element, but its addition or substitution usually reverberates to a greater or lesser extent throughout the cultural and social structure. This feature of change is particularly clear when we consider the addition of new techniques and items of cultural equipment. The introduction of power machinery into industry, the home, and the farm has contributed to vast changes in family arrangements, in the scale of living, in methods of educating the young, in the distribution of population, and in our political institutions. The application of power machinery and electrical inventions to transportation and communication has likewise altered our economic system, our modes of recreation, our political techniques, and has greatly increased the scope and size of many types of group life. Contacts and interaction have been increased and speeded up, not only within the society, but with foreign societies, so that a wider and wider range of cultural elements has been offered to our choice.²⁸

The personal relationships between employer and employee characteristic of former days have disappeared in industry, and a new type of institution, the labor union, has grown out of this change, as well as strikes and lockouts. Class feelings and attitudes previously unknown have also appeared as a result of technical changes in industry. Industrial changes have extended their influence to the family. Industry has been, for the most part, removed from the home. The homes of workers have been crowded together in small areas. Children have been relieved of many participant duties around the home and consequently thrown more with members of their age class with its own attitudes and behavior patterns.²⁹ The family has likewise been deprived of many of its educational functions, in part as a result of these technological changes. The status of woman and her role have likewise altered in this same process. Religion has not escaped. Many country churches have been abandoned or are struggling to survive because of the migration of their parishioners to the power factories of the cities or because of their parishioners' increased mobility in cars. Even in the cities church and synagogue have declined in importance as social and recreational centers. The church has had to adapt its teaching to changed conditions, so that we find elements of faith and dogma, ritual and preaching,

²⁸ W. F. Ogburn, editor, *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934, Chs. 3-10, 13-15.

²⁹ Mead, Margaret, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 14, 1940, pp. 92-109.

which would have appeared close to heresy a century ago. Even morals and ethics have been affected in this series of reverberations. When one was well acquainted with his neighbor, it was easier to apply the Ten Commandments and the golden rule. It was easy to understand how wrong it was to put the little potatoes at the bottom of the sack, the small strawberries in the bottom of the box, and the spoiled hay in the middle of the load. But in that code there were no standards adapted to the control of the relationships between the employee of a gigantic organization and the manager. There were no generally recognized formulae covering people living in the congested area of great cities who were not personally well acquainted with each other. In all these and many other ways the changes ushered in by technological machine inventions made for an entirely new situation in the system of relationships between individuals and between peoples.

That our own society was not uniquely susceptible to such far-reaching changes is shown by similar profound effects of the introduction of machine technology and economics in societies with different cultures. Koo has succinctly described the impact of the Western economic system upon the Chinese scene. It has not only shaken China's system of small home industries but has also undermined the patriarchal family, the secluded status of women, and the standards of moral conduct.³⁰ It is said that China's religious system would have crumbled under the influence of Western economic measures even if Christianity had never been introduced.³¹ Probably, however, the process would have been slower.

That the introduction of a new element of culture should result in greater or less change in many aspects of social life could be deduced from two cultural principles previously discussed: (1) A culture is a dynamic system or configuration of interrelated elements; (2) culture has a tendency to accumulate and to elaborate. Family institutions do not function in a vacuum, but intermesh at some points with economic institutions, manufacturing technology, and so on. A change in one part of the configuration will require reciprocal changes in or conflicts with other parts. Moreover, once a trait is accepted it elaborates, requiring further readjustments in the system.

Ideological factors. While discoveries and inventions have had their repercussions on ideas and theories and have contributed to changes in all phases of social relationships, the converse is also true. Science is the father

³⁰ Koo, T. Z., "China in the Remaking," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 152, 1930, pp. 12-14.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

of modern technology. Ideas and theories affect inventions and economic conditions.

But more directly ideological factors have brought about social change. Science questions old traditions, ancient beliefs, and long-established methods of behavior. *New scientific theories* of the nature of the universe, of the relations among things, of the processes which take place in man's physical organism, in his mental reactions, and in his social relationships, have grown out of the persistent questioning by inquisitive human beings. These new theories have undermined our traditional ideologies and have given us new interpretations of the nature of the physical universe and of man. As a consequence we have a new cosmology, a new theory of the structure of the earth, of its age and of the way in which the distinctive features of its surface have developed. We have a new anthropology, the science of man, which throws a great light upon man's past and his institutions, but differs radically from theories long accepted. As a further consequence of this new and larger knowledge we have changes in our social institutions of the most fundamental importance. Traditional codes of morals have been revamped or are in process of change. In the light of our present knowledge some of the old moral sanctions have disintegrated; new ones are only slowly being constructed.

Our traditional *religious ideas* have felt the impact of modern knowledge. Dogmas which were once believed to be eternally true have been undermined, and as a consequence, the institution of religion within the last century has been undergoing vast transformations.

Theories of the *nature of the state* and of the processes of government, once believed by everybody, likewise have undergone change as the result of new political philosophies. The doctrine of the divine right of kings was seriously undermined by the democratic ideologies originating in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Modern knowledge has made it clear that that "right" was not divine at all, but was the outcome of certain traditional notions which had developed within an historic period of time. Only yesterday reformatory democracy itself was being attacked by totalitarian ideologists.

The *family and sex relationships* have been changed not only in response to the technological changes discussed above, but also under the impact of new theories concerning those relationships—theories of which some have grown out of the study of the family and of sex among the various peoples of mankind.

Further, the *laissez faire system of economic relationships*, developed partly in response to the Industrial Revolution and partly to the doctrines of

the Physiocrats, is changing, not only in reaction to the discoveries and inventions discussed under technological factors, but also in response to new ideas concerning economic relationships and institutions.³² Witness the regulated capitalism of Sweden, England, the United States; the Bolshevik system of Russia.³³

Patterns of *social and personal relationships* have undergone changes in Western societies influenced by new theories concerning the basis of such relationships. These changes are the outgrowth of none of the factors of change already discussed—the physical environment, the biological factors, the technological factors—but of new ideologies based upon new discoveries in psychology, psychiatry, and sociology. For example, the relationship between husband and wife and between parents and children formerly rested upon an authoritarian basis. The father's word was law to which the son or daughter was duty-bound to give obedience. No matter how unjust seemed the father's judgment, his orders must be obeyed because he was the father and therefore in a position of primary authority. He might be a tyrant of ungovernable temper; yet his children were obligated to act as though they respected him. To his wife he was lord and master. She must accede to his wishes and inculcate in the children a respect for his authority.

Likewise the educator in the early days of the public schools was supposed to be clothed with an authority superior to that of the ordinary person. His word in the school room was law. His authority was based upon his supposedly superior knowledge and wisdom. He too might be a tyrant; yet he must be shown respect; and his wishes, no matter how selfish and unjust to his pupils, must be followed. Today those patterns of behavior between the one in authority and his subordinates are slowly being altered.

The explorations of psychologists into human motivation, the probing of the psychiatrist into the hidden sources of unusual and sometimes abnormal human actions, have given rise to an entirely different theory of the basis of effective interaction within the family, and in the school between the teacher and the students. The present theory is based not upon authoritarianism, but upon an understanding of the nature of the emotions and their play in human conduct. This new knowledge is leading to an entirely different program of personal and social relationships. Its practical application is seen in the advice given to young husbands and wives; the instructions to parents on the proper methods of handling children; the courses in any pedagogical institution with its emphasis upon child psy-

³² *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, Vol. 5, pp. 348-350, "Economics," "The Physiocrats."

³³ See MacIver, *op. cit.*, Ch. 25.

chology, the emotional nature of the child; and the means of applying that knowledge in the conduct of a school. This new ideology is gradually transforming the accepted patterns of behavior even in the business world where psychological principles are useful to the salesman seeking to influence his "prospects" and to the manager in his relations with labor and with "the public."

In almost all realms of our social life a questioning attitude has supplanted a blind belief in age-old customs and traditions. The spirit of modern science has begun to percolate through many phases of human relationships and to modify all sorts of human institutions. Thus many of the changes which we see going on about us are an outgrowth of innovations in ideology. Outside our own borders the power of ideological factors has been shown in the Fascist, Nazi and Communist revolutions.

Social values and social change

Values as usually expressed verbally are symbols for goals or objectives of activity which have come to have great rewarding power. Thus when we say that we place a high value on human life, we mean to say that we are highly motivated to perform activities which will preserve human life and prevent its destruction.³⁴ Values may thus be viewed as criteria for the acceptance or rejection of change.

Social values arise by the standardizing of individual values acceptable to the group. They tend to modify and standardize the private values of the individuals composing the group. They are realities which must be taken into account by the sociologist, as real as forms of social organization and social processes.

The function of values in social change. Our problem is not the role of values in sociology but in social change. Thomas and Znaniecki on this point say, "There can be for social science no change in social reality which is not the common effect of pre-existing social values and individual attitudes acting upon them, no change of individual consciousness which is not the common effect of pre-existing individual attitudes and social values acting upon them."³⁵ They add that "individual attitudes toward pre-

³⁴ Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, p. 21, define a value as "any datum for an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity." For discussions of the genesis of social values see Morris, C. W., "Introduction" to Mead, G. H., *Mind, Self and Society*, University of Chicago Press, 1934; Sherif, Muzafer, *The Psychology of Social Norms*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1936, Ch. 7.

³⁵ Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 1831. See also Sherif, *op. cit.*, Ch. 7.

existing social values serve to explain the appearance of new social values," and that "social values acting upon pre-existing individual attitudes, serve to explain the appearance of new individual attitudes."

Thus the attitudes of individuals determined by the values which they have cherished, growing out of group experience with social reality, may resist social change. The impediments to change discussed in the previous section of this chapter are illustrations of the role of values in resisting change in culture elements with which these values are associated. The degree of resistance will depend upon how firmly fixed are the attitudes of individuals involved.

Social values sometimes are responsible for *conflict between cultures*. Since different cultures sometimes are fundamentally embodiments in organized form of different systems of value, culture-conflicts in those instances arise. For example the prestige of the long-established customs in some preliterate societies or in China clashes with the prestige of the novel in the United States. However, this is true only in those instances in which the social values of the two cultures are at variance. There are some cases of conflict between cultures which incarnate the same values, but have been organized differently to realize them. In such cases the conflict is one between alien modes of achieving the same or similar ends. Such conflict is possible because a group often identifies its social values with the objective organization in which they are embodied.

This point of view illuminates the conflicts between value systems arising out of social change. There is either an alteration of the arrangements in order the more perfectly to realize old social values, or an emergence of a new set of values which demand a new form of organization for their effectuation. Jesus evidently had this principle in mind when he said men do not put new wine into old wineskins, for the new wine in fermentation will burst the old skins and both the wine and the skins will be lost.³⁶

Still another aspect of the relation between social values and social change is the function of social values to promote *social integration*. A static society in which the relationships have been long fixed and generally acknowledged presents few problems. The values cherished are integrated with the natural environment, the technical and biological processes, and the system of beliefs. The importance of such integration of the culture and the cultural equipment for a society is recognized by all students. Without a fair degree of integration the individual members of a society are uncomfortable, and the smooth working of the group is impossible. As Linton has remarked in a society there is need of a set of mutually consistent

³⁶ Luke, 5:37-39.

ideas and values in which all members participate.³⁷ When social change disturbs these relationships and breaks the social solidarity, the problem arises as to what extent a group is warranted in forcing the divergent elements of the population into uniformity.³⁸

These instances of the relation of social values to social change are by no means exhaustive, but they indicate some of the difficulties presented to the members of society when social changes are occurring in large numbers and are being introduced rapidly. Old values are thought to be threatened. The maladjustments in social relationships create a sense of dissatisfaction in the individual, raise questionings of all sorts, lead to conflicts of interests and ideas, and challenge the members of a society to contrive new arrangements doing away with the stresses and strains experienced. Thus men will conserve the values for which they live or will secure new values more ardently desired. The acceptance of the new social values depends (*a*) upon the rigidity of the attitudes of the individuals of the group and (*b*) upon the new values being in not too great disagreement with the values already held.

The theories of social change

Certain philosophers, historians, economists, and sociologists have tried to formulate the principles or "laws" according to which social change occurs. Some have assumed that a tendency toward social change inheres in the very nature of things and works itself out in human affairs.³⁹ Others have assumed that change occurs as a consequence of the alteration in one or more of a set of conditions which held society in a state of equilibrium, e.g., change in geographic, biological, economic, or cultural conditions. Some have asserted that certain social changes are periodic and that others are nonperiodic. Practically all of them have assumed that changes occur in cycles—some holding that the cycles are identical, others, that they are linear or spiral; and still others, that such changes are neither identical nor

³⁷ Linton, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, p. 287.

³⁸ Bain, Read, "Cultural Integration and Social Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44, 1939, pp. 499-509; Mead, G. H., *op. cit.*, p. 217.

³⁹ Hegel with his "thesis," "antithesis," and "synthesis"; Comte with his "theological," "metaphysical," and "positive" stages of social development; Herbert Spencer with his definition of evolution as "an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation" (*First Principles*, end of Ch. 17); and Spengler with his theory of birth, growth, and decay of civilizations (*The Decline of the West*). Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926. See also Barnes and Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1938, Chs. 18, 20.

tending toward a particular goal. Sorokin, who has briefly reviewed these various theories of social change, comes to the conclusion that all attempts to show that there is "a definite, steady, and eternal trend in historical and social changes" have failed.⁴⁰ He doubts that either the periodicity of cycles or the existence of identical cycles has been proved. But change occurs, and it is of the utmost importance that the cyclical or rhythmical repetition in social phenomena should be studied, because only thus can valid generalizations be made.⁴¹

Some of these writers on social change have held the theory that alteration of one factor—economic, technological, geographic, or biological—in the complex of social conditions is primary, i.e., is the factor which accounts for the changes occurring in all other aspects of the social order (Marx and other economic determinists, Ogburn, Dorothy S. Thomas, Hexter, and Mitchell with their emphasis upon the technological factor—to cite only a few examples). Others have insisted that all factors are equally potent; now one and now another, or several together, may touch off the change. Much more patient investigation is necessary before we can be dogmatic concerning the exact way in which social change is initiated, the relative weight of each of the several conditions involved, and the mode in which the basic factors interact with each other. The best we can do at present is to notice the association of several sets of conditions with social change.

Summary

Let us summarize our discussion: (1) Change is a universal phenomenon in human society—slow in static, rapid in dynamic, societies. (2) Social changes gave rise to philosophic speculations of an evolutionary character and, under the influence of Darwinian theories, an evolution based on the assumption of slow but linear or spiral nature. (3) Social change means a variation from the accepted modes of life, whether due to alterations in the geographic conditions, the cultural equipment, composition of the population, or ideologies, and whether brought about by the operation of blind forces, or by diffusion, or by invention within the group. (4) The factors of social change include the physical environment, population factors, and sociocultural factors, mediated by psychological principles of stimulus, response, and reinforcement. These factors do not operate in isolation, but in mutual interaction. (5) Social values are the criteria according to which

⁴⁰ Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928, p. 739; see also Sorokin, P., *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, American Book Co., New York, 1937, 1941, 4 vols.

⁴¹ Sorokin, *Contemporary Social Theories*, p. 740.

changes in fundamental relationships are accepted or rejected. They lead to resistance to changes which seem to threaten the highly prized values. New values increasingly accepted among the members of a society generate change, and values motivate the new arrangements necessary to realize new values, or to effectuate old values in the face of new conditions. In a changing society value systems are in conflict—the old with the new—and the reconciliation of the conflict promotes social integration. (6) Finally, we noticed briefly various theories of social change—that of a tendency in the nature of things to work out changes according to certain predetermined patterns, or that which assumes that a change in any one set of conditions in a society disturbs the whole equilibrium, or that which assumes that one specific set of conditions, e.g., the economic, is primary in producing change—and concluded that more investigation of the matter is necessary before we can be dogmatic concerning just how social change is produced. At present we can say only that social change comes about by the operation of a number of factors, some of which are subject to man's will and others of which are beyond his present control.

Social change sometimes produces social maladjustments. Such maladjustments are the subject matter of Social Pathology. To a discussion of that subject we turn in Part VII.

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586 Social change

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Exercises

1. Was the change from the making of things by hand to the making of them by machines a social change?
2. Was the substitution of Christianity for the religions of the Roman Empire a social change?
3. Was the supplanting of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy by the Copernican system a social change?
4. In your opinion which of the factors of social change have affected most the following: (a) the methods of agriculture used in a particular locality, (b) the methods of agriculture in India as compared with those in the United States, (c) the changes of religion in the United States, (d) the changes in fashion, (e) scientific conceptions, (f) manufacturing processes, (g) our manners and customs, (h) our beliefs?
5. Debate question: *Resolved*, That inventions have had more effect in producing changes in our ways of life than pure science.
6. What effect has the invention of the automobile and its widespread use had upon (a) the family, (b) the school, (c) the church, (d) industry, (e) our moral codes?
7. In the early days of the automobile why did its shape conform to that of the buggy?
8. Why do some older people refuse to adopt modern fashions?
9. What accounts for the slowness with which Western farm machinery is adopted in oriental agriculture? The resistance of Buddhists in Japan to the introduction of Christianity? The slowness with which the doctrine of evolution was accepted in the "Bible Belt" of the South? The resistance of business men to the theories and practices of the New Deal?
10. Note on paper a series of values which you individually cherish. Notice those which conform to the values entertained by the society of which you are a part and those which differ from the latter.
11. Of the theories of social change mentioned in the text which do you think is the nearest to the truth?

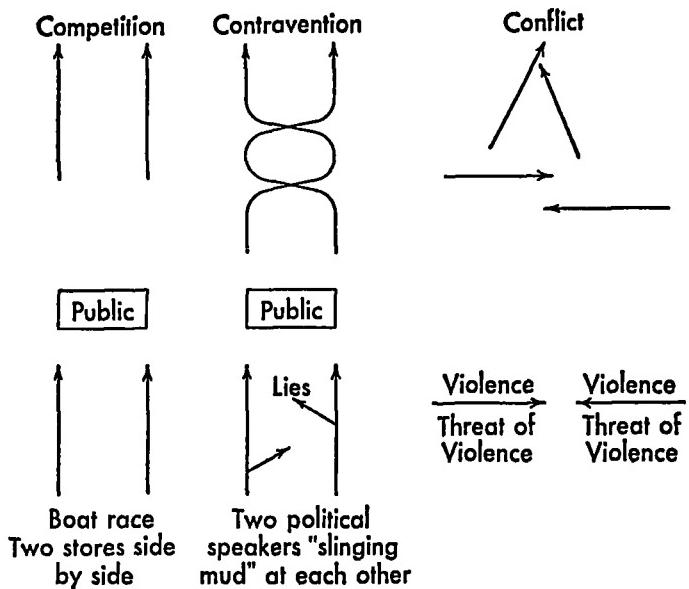
chapter 24 Dissociative processes: competition

The analogy of competition to the struggle for existence, portrayed by Darwin, is drawn by some sociologists. The analogy is helpful but imperfect. Man does struggle for existence with plants and animals—with plants which he wishes to displace in order to use the land for his own purposes, with animals which are hostile to him and his interests. On the other hand, man and many nonhuman forms of life are complementary—as when both are benefited by some aspects of man's cultivation and domestication of certain species of plants and animals. Even in human competition the competitive process may result in division of labor and complementary activities which are strictly noncompetitive. But competition in human society is characterized by intelligence and emotion. The struggle for existence in nature is entirely unconscious on the part of both nature and plant or animal; the individual that has an advantageous characteristic is in competition with those that do not possess it, and nature is the arbiter. Nature is still the arbiter in human affairs, but intelligence enables human beings to limit natural selection and to adjust more rapidly to changing situations.

Characteristics of competition

Competition and conflict. Both competition and conflict on the whole are forms of dissociative interaction. This does not mean that competition and conflict do not result in association, but when that happens, competition and conflict are modified in the groups in which associative processes appear. The distinction between competition and conflict is difficult to draw. Some sociological writers have attempted to draw lines between them which on close analysis are not valid. They have said that competition is marked by lack of contact between competitors, by the absence of awareness of the clash of their interests, by impersonal rather than personal struggle, by its continuous rather than by its intermittent nature, and by

its function of determining the place of an individual in the community rather than his place in society. Conflict, on the other hand, according to them, is characterized by contact, by consciousness of the rival, by emotional violence of varying degrees, by personal rather than impersonal struggle, by its intermittent occurrence, and by its function of placing the individual in society.¹



Conscious and unconscious competition. Can it truthfully be said that there is no contact between two competitors in the same business on the same street and in the same town, or even between two or more competitors in the same nation in the present state of large scale production and distribution? Are competitors' relations always impersonal and unconscious in any industrialized country in the Western world, when it is well known that they take every means to find out what their competitor is doing or planning? Is it true that there are no violent emotional reactions between competitors, when competition is described as "every fellow for himself and the Devil take the hindmost"? In fact, it is universally recognized that often competitors, to use Emerson's phrase, "hate each other like two philanthropists." Is it true that two rivals for a young lady's favors are not in personal contact, are unconscious of each other's competition, and have no emotional reactions to each other? Of course, competitors may not be in contact, and competition may be unconscious, impersonal, and continuous rather than intermittent. It may be unconscious when the makers of dolls in Japan are competing with those making dolls in Germany, but the exporters

¹ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 574; Reuter and Hart, *Introduction to Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1938, pp. 277, 298, 299.

of dolls from these two countries are usually thoroughly cognizant of the activities of their competitors. Often young men preparing for a profession are not in contact with and are unconscious of the other young men who are preparing for the same profession; they are not yet competitors, only prospective competitors. Also it is true that when competition is free and unhampered, it is continuous, but it is not so in those societies in which status is determined by custom and tradition, or what Wiese and Becker² call "the Dharma principle." It is not so even in a rapidly changing society like our own in certain fields in which competition is eliminated or restricted by cartels or other monopolistic combinations in business, or in closed unions. It may be impersonal in many cases but not in all. Such distinctions do not describe the universe of discussion, only certain parts of it. Competition and conflict must be defined in other terms. How, then, shall we differentiate them?

Original meanings. Let us begin with the etymological meanings of the two words. *Competition* derives from two Latin words which mean "to seek together" (i.e., at the same time) for some common object or aim which only one can attain. *Conflict* is derived from two Latin words meaning "to strike together" (i.e., at the same time) for objects or aims desired by each of the contestants exclusively for himself. It is clear, then, that etymologically both terms involve the idea of rivalry or striving against someone who wants the same thing, but that the striving of competitors is much less violent than that of those in conflict. Even with all the nuances developed in the history of the two words there yet remains something of the distinction between *seek* and *strike*. The former implies the use of less violent means in obtaining the desired object than the latter.

Nonviolence of competition. A similar difference in the meaning of the two terms seems to characterize their usage in contemporary society. If an individual or a group is vying with another for a job, the sale of products, the acceptance of a mode of life, a system of beliefs, a world view, a scheme of education, a scientific theory, an economic system, or a whole culture, and uses nonviolent means to obtain his or its ends, *competition* is the word used. If, on the other hand, violent means are used, *conflict* is the appropriate term. Now, however, a clear distinction turns on the meaning of the terms *violent* and *nonviolent*. We seem only to have shifted the difficulty to different words. When is a means to secure an end violent, and when is it nonviolent? In the extreme cases the difference is clear. We should not call the efforts of Japan to get control of the trade of China

² Wiese and Becker, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, *Systematic Sociology*, pp. 258, 259.

competition; that is conflict. Nor should we call the methods used by the white settlers in this country to obtain the lands occupied by the Indians, except in those cases arranged by peaceful treaties, competition. When two oil companies compete in a common territory for options on pieces of land, or for the sale of their products, by offering the seller better prices, or the buyer lower prices or better services or finer qualities, we have competition. But if one oil company blows up its competitor's wells or filling stations in order to get him out of the way, we call that conflict. However, suppose that one competitor gets the business away from the other, not by using violence, but by threats to use such means. Is that competition or conflict? Or turning to the international field, let us take recent events in Europe. Was it competition or conflict when Germany on the one side and Britain and France on the other vied with each other to secure the coöperation of Russia in 1939? Evidently as defined above that was competition. But when Germany sent armies to coerce Poland to grant what Germany wished, that was conflict. The use of chicanery is to be found in certain forms of competition and also sometimes in conflict. False information about a competitor's products or services, or false advertising about one's own is a not uncommon practice. Falsification of the news and false propaganda are employed in war. But in spite of the use of some of the same questionable means to an end, competition is characterized by a tendency to use less violent means than conflict and to appeal less to fear than conflict.

Third party function in competition. There is a further distinction between competition and conflict. In competition there is often a third party for whose favor the competitors are bidding. Rival lovers bid for the favor of the lady, merchants and manufacturers for the patronage of the buyers, religions for the adherence of prospective converts, scientific theories for the favorable opinion of scholars interested in that field, and so on. In conflict, on the other hand, the relations of the contenders are on the whole more direct, although in some cases there may be a public for whose favorable opinion there is conflict. When that is so, competition as well as conflict is present.

Therefore, we may define competition as that social process in which rival individuals or groups seek advantages through the favor and preference of a public (individual or group), and use an appeal to the interests or prejudices of that individual or group rather than violence or the fear of it to secure their ends. Conflict may be defined as that social process in which individuals or groups seek their ends by directly challenging their

rivals through actual violence or the threat of violence. Both competition and conflict involve struggle against others.

Functions of competition

What, then, are the functions of competition in society?

1. Competition serves to satisfy better some desire of the competing individuals and groups. Human beings are so constituted that if one craves something his desire is whetted if a competitor seeks the same thing. Its value is increased by competition. This assumes that there is a scarcity of the object desired, with the result that there is not enough for both. Cultures vary in encouraging competitiveness.

2. Competition functions as the means whereby the desires, interests, and values of the public appealed to by the competitors are best served.

Competition focuses attention on alternatives. New inventions and discoveries, innovations in behavior, variant philosophies, and systems of beliefs—in short, all the variant types of cultural equipment and of ideologies discussed in the chapter on social change—provide the rich menu from which may be satisfied the wants of society. Illustrative of their function in material culture are the competition of bronze with stone, or of iron with bronze among prehistoric peoples, of carts with the backs of animals and men in the transportation of goods; of power from gasoline and oil with power from animals and steam; of the steel plow with forked stick shod with iron. On another level are the competition of the corporation with individual or partnership proprietorship, especially in large-scale operations; of the Copernican theory of the solar system with the long prevailing Ptolemaic theory; of Christianity with the paganism of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the Christian era, or with the indigenous religions of countries to which Christian missionaries are sent in modern times; of the Darwinian theory of the origin of species with the theory of special creation; of the C.I.O. type of labor union organization with the A. F. of L. type; and of the reformatory theory of penal treatment with the retribution theory. One may cite the controversy, following the French Revolution and the establishment of the United States, between the followers of the French Encyclopedists and the advocates of absolute or limited monarchy; or more recently, the debate, before the outbreak of World War II, between the partisans of the totalitarian state and of democracy. In all such cases the competing theories call attention to matters about which most people had thought little or not at all. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia as a "stateway" created a great deal of discussion and forced people who had never heard of Marx and

Engels to think about the theory back of this revolution. The public is provided a wider choice. In thus presenting to individuals and groups alternative choices, competition also stimulates new wants and sets in motion efforts to satisfy them. Compare the number of wants satisfied in modern society with the number provided for by the culture of, let us say, two hundred years ago.

3. *Competition provides the mechanism whereby sexual and social selection may more effectively operate.* Darwin called attention to the role of competition among animals in producing certain secondary sexual characteristics such as brilliant plumage, body odors, superior singing ability, and highly colored appendages in male birds; as well as horns, manes, and other peculiar markings in male animals. His theory was that through sexual selection the stronger and more attractive males left a greater number of progeny than the weaker and less attractive.³ Whether *sexual selection* has any effect upon the production of individuals or species better adapted to the circumstances of life and thus more likely to survive may be doubted, but that competition plays a part in providing a variety of choices among human beings is certain. Among human beings the characteristics valued in the opposite sex are the product of social factors, doubtless to a much greater degree than among animals; yet whatever the roots of these values, men and women do compete for the favors of certain of the opposite sex. This process in such cases results in the greater probability of the realization of these values. Whatever the effect on the biological characteristics of the race, competition in courtship provides the opportunity for two people to mate who have characteristics fitted to provide harmony in the domestic relations.

In Part Three several chapters were devoted to the formation of groups in human society. It was shown that these groupings are very important in social relationships. *Social selection plays its part in the formation of groups.* Individuals come together because of preference for each other. Other individuals fall into other groups appropriate to their likes and dislikes, their interests, and their system of values. Competition functions, therefore, in assigning persons and cultural elements to their appropriate places in a system of social relationships.⁴ An illustration of this function of competition is provided by college sororities and fraternities. There are

³ Darwin, Charles, *The Descent of Man*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1871, Vol. 1, Part II.

⁴ Cooley, Charles H., *Sociological Theory and Social Research*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1930, pp. 164-168; Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd ed., D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1938, p. 216; Wiese, Leopold and Becker, Howard, *Systematic Sociology*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, p. 252.

usually a number of such organizations which in order to survive must obtain a certain number of students who wish to join them. The organizations at the beginning of each year "rush" those students who in one way or another have been brought to their attention as prospects. After carefully looking them over, the sorority or fraternity "bids" some of them on the basis of how well the prospect will fit into a particular society. On the other hand each of the students is likewise "sizing up" the organization and determining in his own mind whether he likes "the bunch" in that organization. In this way the fraternities and sororities compete for students on the campus, and the students are placed in the organization which best meets their respective system of values. The same thing occurs to a greater or less degree in all kinds of organizations within a given society.

4. Competition also plays a role, although not an exclusive one, in *selecting the members of the different functional groups* which provide what Durkheim so brilliantly described as "the social division of labor."⁶ These functional units of society are the specialized agencies for performing the work of society. They are made up of such groups as the occupational, professional, religious, artistic, recreational, reformist, political, and economic, each with its subdivisions and each with its special function in the whole social complex. When there is a free play of competition, each of these groups seeks out individuals who seem to be unusually well qualified to carry on the special functions of that group. Individuals on their part compete with each other to secure entrance into the group which seems to meet best their particular needs. Thus, while competition is a process of dissociation, it also contributes to social solidarity by providing for the satisfaction of the desires and needs of individuals and groups of diverse character and wants. Illustrative of the dissociative function of competition in placing individuals in classes is the frequent clash of interests between farmers and city residents, between the taxpayer and the educator, between the employer and employee, or between dairymen and the makers of oleomargarine. Illustrative of the associative functions of competition is the formation of unions of competing laborers, associations of competing merchants, the "Big Ten" and other associations of football teams, associations of competing teachers, and manufacturers' associations. Hence competition functions to separate men into classes on the basis of their clashing interests and values and to bring them together into association when, by uniting, their joint interests and values can be better achieved.

⁶ Durkheim, Emile, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, Simpson translation, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933, Book I.

Types of competition

There are two general types of competition: (1) personal and (2) impersonal.

Personal competition. In this type individuals contest with each other, whether that rivalry be for a position in the esteem of one's fellows, for a job, for leadership, or for business. This sometimes is called *rivalry*.

Impersonal competition. The contest in this type is between groups; individuals are always involved, but as members of a group. The competition may be between economic groups, whether they be economic corporations, partnerships, or nations, struggling for the control of natural resources, of markets, or for some other economic end. It may be between groups attempting to commend their culture to a public—churches appealing for acceptance of their tenets and thus for membership; one school of art competing with another for popular acceptance; one political party, with another; those holding to the theory of a legal reserve insurance, with the proponents of assessment insurance; a medical association, with quacks; those believing in the Copernican theory of the universe, with those adhering to the Ptolemaic; or those advocating the theory of evolution, with those believing in the theory of special creation.

Forms of competition

We may distinguish four different forms of competition; (1) economic, (2) cultural, (3) for role or status, and (4) racial.

1. Economic competition. Economic competition is best understood because of the widespread discussion of this subject by economists, business men, and legislators. This sort of competition arises, according to the economists, because of the scarcity of goods relative to the number of people who desire them. In the classical economics competition was relied upon to regulate the production and distribution of goods. It was the means by which the better producers were selected over the inferior ones. Through competition each individual found his place in economic society. Society as a whole was believed to benefit because the most efficient producers won out over their competitors by producing superior goods and providing better services at the same or even cheaper prices. Competition thus was supposed to fit the population into the niches for which they are best suited by nature and training. As a matter of fact, however, competition never works just that way. As natural selection in biology leads to mutual aid in

the struggle for existence, so competition in the economic sphere leads to certain restrictions upon it in the interest of social survival or to prevent social damage to the whole group. In addition, competition frequently leads competing individuals and groups to form coöperative arrangements in order to lessen the intensity of the competition. Out of this grow trusts and monopolies to protect the profits of the former competitors. In turn the consuming public attempts to put limitations upon the monopolized industries in order to control prices in the interest of the consumers. The competitive process also often leads to coöperation because cutthroat competition in a regime of free enterprise is too wasteful to the competitors. Price-fixing arrangements and absorption of one concern by another, tending toward monopoly developments, are among the natural results of the competitive process.

2. Cultural competition. Cultural competition appears whenever a people with one culture comes into contact with another. For example, when traders from the Western world began to land in Japanese ports and Christian missionaries began to Christianize the Japanese, two cultures came into competition. Early in the seventeenth century, the rulers of Japan realized that the Jesuit missions were having a disintegrating effect upon the traditional bases of Japanese society. The Japanese slew the native Christians and drove out all foreigners except the Dutch traders. The latter were confined to a small island in order that they might not spread their culture to the Japanese. For any Japanese to leave Japan was a capital offense. That was cultural *conflict*. After the opening of Japan in the 1850's by Commodore Perry and the spreading of Christian missionaries abroad over Japan, except for interlude of World War II, instead of conflict between the culture of Japan and the culture of the Christians, competition came in. From that time to the present there has been cultural competition in ways of behaving, beliefs, ideals, institutions, and the cultural equipment. A similar competition of culture has been seen wherever Western nations have sent traders and missionaries, whether it be in India, the islands of the sea, or in Africa. Even in the United States, with the coming of great hordes of immigrants from countries with a slightly different culture, there has been a competition between the cultural patterns of the English Puritans and those of the immigrants. It is this competition of cultures in the immigrant communities of this country which has often led to a division of loyalty in the children of the immigrants, productive in some cases of juvenile delinquency, and of divided opinion. On the other hand it has resulted in enrichment of American culture through contributions from other lands.

Competition of religions is a form of cultural competition, and may be

cited as a good example of this form. Such competition exists whenever missionaries attempt to convert adherents of other religions. In the Western world the best historical example of religious competition is that between the Catholics and the Protestants and between various Protestant sects in western Europe and the United States. As we shall see, religious conflict may take the place of competition. In most parts of the United States, and in Europe until the rise of the political dictators, the relationships of religious denominations have largely been on the competitive level of interaction. In some places the matter has gone even further and has become coöperative. Quite generally now, with certain exceptions, most religious sects compete with each other in the sense in which we are using the term in this discussion. Each makes its appeal to the people of the community by alleging that it has more of the truth than the others, or that it can provide better services. The Catholic Church, for example, makes its appeal chiefly on the basis of its claim that through its hierarchy God conveys the truth of Christianity and through its sacraments alone is the divine grace transmitted to believers. The Protestant denominations, uniting in the denial of the claim of the Catholics, assert that God has transmitted his truth through the Bible, that no priestly intermediaries are required, and that the individual has direct access to God. There are other elements in their respective appeals, but these are fundamental. Thus, Protestantism and Catholicism compete with each other on the basis of their distinctive claims. The different denominations in Protestantism compete on quite other grounds. Either each claims to have the truth alone, or asserts that it renders superior services to the individual and society. In a democratic society in which each religious organization is free to make its particular appeal to the people, the individual selects the communion which best satisfies his desires and finds his place in an organization devoted to the cultivation of religious interests.

Here again, however, the competition between the religious organizations is not entirely religious. It is complicated by all kinds of social and economic appeals. One church has a better preacher than another, one has a more ornate and aesthetic service or greater economic prestige than another. Hence the competition today is not purely religious but social in the broader sense.

Institutional competition is only a special phase of cultural competition. Recall that our definition of an institution is a large integrated portion of the cultural complex. Men satisfy their fundamental needs according to patterns to which they become accustomed by long use or which they have devised to meet a new situation.

Competition may exist between the larger and more fundamental institutions, such as the church, the state, and the economic order. Illustrative of the competition between church and state is the long debate in the Middle Ages between the secular rulers and the hierarchy in the church. Each claimed to be supreme in its demands upon the loyalty of the same group of individuals. The competition became so acute that it led to conflict. A strong pope was able to make a king stand for three days barefooted in the snows of Canossa before he would remove the ban of excommunication from the penitent and raise the interdict from the king's subjects.

A similar competition appeared between the state and the economic institutions at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century in England. Those who held to the classical economic doctrines argued that in business affairs the government should pursue a policy of "hands off," while the state felt that when the welfare of women and children was involved, it must step in and through legislation protect those members of the commonwealth against the avarice of the employers. Something of the same competition remains to the present hour between the advocates of the control of business by the government and those who urge "less government in business." Here two institutionalized ideologies are in competition for the approval of the public.

Much more frequent is the competition between the other institutions of society—between economic institutions, the family and the church, recreational facilities, and educational institutions. The economic emancipation of woman, her political enfranchisement, and the factory system of industry compete seriously with the institution of the family. The changes in our economic organization have had very grave repercussions on the functions of the home. Today not only the factory but the school is competing with the home for the control and education of the children. Commercialized recreation is competing with the home for the leisure time of childhood and youth and even of the father and mother. Commercialized and organized recreation seriously competes with the church. Even the state has stepped in to take the control of children away from parents who are thought to be unfit. Within certain of the institutions themselves there is competition between the old pattern once adapted to conditions and the new pattern which arose in response to changed circumstances. This is to be seen in the progressive-education movement against the old formal organization of the school, between the elective system in universities and a required curriculum, between the classical form of education and a system of education based upon the sciences, natural and social. In the churches there is a rivalry between the patterns of activity based upon the ancient

theory that the church is the instrument of "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" and the newer ideal that the church's activities should be adapted to the circumstances in the present-day world.

At present there is intense competition between the historic institutions for the care of the poor and neglected, based upon private philanthropy and the public poor law, and the newer institutions which are growing up, based upon the theory of social security guaranteed by the state. Likewise in the realm of penology there is competition between the old institutions based upon the theory that the punishment should fit the crime, and the nascent institution based upon the theory that the treatment should be adapted to the individual. All of these are illustrations of institutional competition. This competition is going on in almost every realm of life.

When competition is free in all these phases of life, as Ross has pointed out, the result is to bring about the adaptation of institutions to popular wishes. As they compete their line of development becomes subject to the general trend of opinion and feeling. With free competition in a democracy the people without resort to violence remake the character of its institutions.⁶

3. Competition for role or status. In both individuals and groups there is a desire to play a role which will be recognized as important by themselves, by their fellows, and by other groups. This desire, according to the circumstances, may be for equality or for ascendancy. If the individual (or the group) feels that he is suffering from an inferior position, sometimes his desire is satisfied if he obtains a recognized role or status of equality. Often, however, his desire is for the recognition of a superior role or status. The latter is interpreted by the psychoanalysts as a compensation for a felt inferiority. It corresponds to what Mallock calls "the struggle for domination" and what the psychologist calls "the satisfaction of the ego." In ordinary parlance it is designated by the term *self-esteem*.

The competition for role or status may express itself in economic competition and exemplifies itself in the keen satisfaction which men and groups find in success in business, or it may manifest itself in the competition for cultural success, as in art, music, literature. In the case of groups of peoples, the whole cultural complex is in competition with that of another group. The latter situation is illustrated in the creation folklore of almost every people according to which originally the term by which that people called themselves was a name meaning "man," the implication being that all other groups were not men. Historically it is illustrated by the contrast among

⁶ Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Panunzio, Constantine, *Major Social Institutions*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1939, pp. 438-439.

the Jewish people between the terms *Jews* and *Gentile*; among the Greeks, between *Hellenes* and *Barbarians*. It was shown by the proud spirit of the Romans when in their own eyes "to be a Roman was greater than to be a king." The English have often been accused of showing an attitude of superiority to all other peoples, and the American has been known abroad for his bumptiousness. It is only the cosmopolitan who recognizes the fine points in the culture of other peoples. Pride of family, of race, of religion, of educational status, and of church are all signs of this fierce competition among individuals and groups for a recognized role and a status in society. All of these competitors believe that their ways are better than other peoples' ways and seek to commend them to a public for whose favor they are competing.

4. Racial competition. So-called "racial" competition is usually cultural competition. The difference in racial characteristics recognizable to the eye, such as skin color, stature, shape of the face, and hair characteristics, are only symbols of the consciousness of real or imagined cultural differences. Since, however, the physical characteristics register through the eye much more readily than the cultural differences, to the observer they stand out more prominently. Hence racial differences are seized upon and given prime importance in the competitive struggle between blacks and whites, Nazis and Jews, and whites and yellows, for economic, political, or social position. In the field of personal competition recognizable racial differences serve to make competitors more unequal than in impersonal competition. For example, the Negro as a competitor in sports or in a profession, such as law or medicine, is much more handicapped than as a writer or a scientist. Before World War II the white teacher in Japan was losing out in competition with the Japanese teacher, while American and European science was gaining over Japanese traditionalism.

The economic and cultural competition between the Jews and the Gentiles explains in large part the rise of the myth that the Jews are a race. The struggle to compensate for the feeling of inferiority aggravated among the Germans by the consequences of the Versailles Treaty, led to the resurgence of the Nordic myth, more recently the Aryan myth, of race superiority. In Ancient Rome, first the Jews and then the Christians were described as alien "races." The refusal of both Jews and Christians to assimilate what were considered important elements of the culture of the Romans brought about cultural competition which the Roman state attempted to eliminate by means of repression. In the course of time, due to the decadence of the late Roman Empire, Christianity triumphed over Roman paganism. The claims of the Christians that they were offering a way of

life better than that of the pagan world were accepted in ever larger circles of the Roman people.

In another way races compete with each other, although here, too, racial competition is complicated by cultural competition. Races compete with each other in the multiplication of population. This is not competition, however, in natural fecundity. There is no evidence that one race has any advantage over another in that respect. So far as we know, the natural capacity of the human species to reproduce, whatever the race, is limited only by the gestation period and the period of sexual fertility in a given lifetime. In these respects there are no striking differences between the various races of mankind. The birth rate between different races of people may vary. So also may the death rate, but the ratio of the birth rate to the death rate appears to depend upon other factors than racial characteristics. Some economic and social factors may lessen the birth rate and other causes may reduce the death rate. Among such causes are acquired immunity to certain diseases, high standards of living, knowledge of sanitation, voluntary restriction of excessive childbearing, and general hygienic measures. It is well known that the races which have benefited most from contact with Western civilization have decidedly cut down their death rates. Their birth rates have remained about the same as before. On the other hand, the white races which have carried to them the hygienic measures of Western civilization have cut down their own birthrates as well as their death rates. Consequently, some of the colored races of mankind like the blacks in Africa, the Indians of India, the Chinese and Japanese, have tended to outbreed the whites.

This sort of competition may have very important consequences. The rapid increase of population may press upon the ability of the people in a given land to support larger numbers. They are likely to spread out in all directions in the attempt to conquer territory which they consider necessary to support their increasing population, or to migrate to other lands, or to industrialize their country and compete economically and culturally with others. Within the group itself economic competition is very greatly increased, unless the economic organization develops with equal speed. Hence, racial competition in *effective* fecundity widens the area and range of other types of competition and intensifies the competitive struggle.

Determinants of competition

The struggle for existence develops not only competition but also coöperation. Darwin was only partly right in his emphasis upon the former. Kro-

potkin and others corrected Darwin's over-emphasis on competition and conflict in the struggle for existence by pointing out that mutual aid among animals and men gives survival advantages. Hence, natural selection produces both competition and coöperation. What, then, determines when competition shall operate and when coöperation? There are some societies in which competition is predominant, others in which coöperation is stressed. Among the Zuñi Indians of our Southwest, self-interests are subordinated to the welfare of the group. In contrast, among the Kwakiutl Indians of our Northwest, individual prestige is emphasized and collective welfare is subordinated to individual ascendancy. In the United States individualism has been stressed with competition as the process of interaction. In Bolshevik Russia coöperation for the general welfare, with subordination of striving for individual advantage, has been enforced with ruthless methods. What explains this difference?

Two conditions seem to determine whether a society will stress competition or coöperation: (1) its system of values and (2) its group structure. These two do not usually operate independently. They influence each other. Values may determine structure, and the latter embedded in tradition and custom may be highly valued.

System of values. The chief determinant of competition is the system of values embedded in the culture, for these values have an important effect upon the structure. In the United States success is measured chiefly by money, and individualism has been exalted to a high place among our values. Protestantism emphasized the independence of every individual in the sight of God, and encouraged frugality, industry, and economic independence.⁷ The frontier conditions of life on this continent were favorable to the development of the value of individualism. Hence for a long time religion and the physical environment exalted competition as the social process of interaction. The religious ideal is expressed in the church hymn, "Sure I must fight, if I would win; increase my courage, Lord." And the economic ideal is stereotyped in the slogan, "Competition is the life of trade." When the welfare of the group is most highly valued, individual competition is repressed, and religious exercises are communal in nature for the benefit of the whole group; economic activities are not directed to individual ownership of property but the accumulation of a supply for the group. On the other hand, when individual glory is the chief value in a society, the general welfare gives way to individual striving for recogni-

⁷ See Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1930; Tawney, R. H., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1926.

tion and eminence in public esteem. The Zufñi Indians of our Southwest illustrate the former condition among preliterate peoples, the Kwakiutl of our Northwest the latter. Among civilized peoples, Russia is an example of the former, and the United States, in some measure, of the latter milieu.⁸

Group structure. If a society is organized on a closed class or caste basis, there will be little competition *between* classes or castes, although competition *within* the classes or castes may be intense. If the classes are open, in the sense that an individual may pass from one class to another, competition will be emphasized, provided the values held favor competition. In a classless society, whether competition or coöperation will predominate depends on the values cherished. In caste-ridden India there is little competition between the different castes, although there is considerable between the members of a given caste. In democratic United States there is very little class obstruction to any individual's efforts to compete with any other, except for the handicaps imposed upon the colored people, especially the Negroes, who cannot in most cases compete successfully with the whites.

Further, the nature of the social organization (social structure) of a society and its system of values act as stimuli to evoke responses by individual personalities. If we accept Thomas' analysis of the motivating wishes in each individual—the desire for recognition, for new experience, for security, and for response—it is clear that both competitive and coöperative responses may result according to the structure and value system of a given society. Individual competition will characterize a society in which individual security and recognition are contingent upon the individual's own efforts rather than upon group measures to assure each individual's security and prestige. Until the enactment of the Social Security Act in the United States economic security for one's family and for old age was dependent largely upon one's own efforts. While the poor-relief laws and private charity gave a certain security in cases of dire distress, they carried a stigma and thus thwarted the desire for social recognition. Hence our social organization and our generally accepted values made for the competitive process. Aside from our class system based on color, the desire for new experience is also satisfied under our social setup by the competitive process. Formerly one could readily initiate his own business enterprise

⁸ Mead, Margaret, editor, *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937; Kroeber, A. L. *Zufñi Kin and Clan*, New York, 1917; Horney, Karen, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, W. W. Norton and Co., 1937. For the operation of competition on the performance of individuals in our culture, see Maller, J. B., *Cooperation and Competition: An Experimental Study in Motivation*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929; Uhrbrock, R. S., "Attitudes of 4430 Employees," *Journal of Social Psychology*, August 1934, pp. 356-377.

and aspire to any occupation or profession. There were no caste or class lines to interfere. Our system of values acclaims the poor boy who fights his way to business or professional success. But with the development of the "closed shop" movement, the laborer finds it more difficult to compete freely with his fellows; under the trend to monopoly, the man who wishes to set up his own business finds it harder to do so.

Even in a society such as modern Russia, which emphasizes coöperation for the good of the whole people, these desires for recognition are satisfied by the "socialist competition" between groups within a factory or upon a collective farm, and by the desire to achieve the status of a *Stakhanovite* —one who devises a new production method to increase output and improve quality. With changes in social structure and social values these fundamental wishes of the individual may be even better realized in a society stressing coöperation. Hence competition is determined by the social structure and the system of values.⁹

Results of competition

The classical economists and their followers believed that "competition is the life of trade." By that statement they meant that competition stimulates competitors to furnish goods and services at the least possible cost. The most efficient producer was able to sell at a lower price than his competitor and still make a profit. The consumer got the benefit of the lower price of the more efficient producer. Hence the profit motive, they asserted, stimulated competitors to do their best. Recently, however, in many lines of production the trend in furnishing goods and services has been away from free competition and toward coöperation and monopoly.

) **Associative results.** Competition on the social level sometimes makes for association. Striving for personal advancement, the educator, the minister, the social worker, the doctor, the lawyer, and the nurse, to take only a few examples, not only try to do their best to commend themselves to the esteem

⁹ An attempt has been made by Mark L. May and Leonard W. Doob, Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 25, *Competition and Coöperation*, to analyze the roots of competition on both the social and the psychological level. They assert that individuals compete on the social level (*a*) when the goal is scarce, (*b*) when the rules prevent securing the ends sought in equal amounts, (*c*) when their performance is better under competition than under coöperation, and (*d*) when individuals have few "affiliative contacts with one another." On the psychological level they compete (*a*) when there are discrepancies between the levels of achievement and of aspiration, (*b*) when they know that the goals sought cannot be shared equally with others, (*c*) when the internal attitudes of the individuals toward competing are stronger than possible conflicting ones toward coöperating, and (*d*) when the skills are such that under the rules of society they have a reasonable chance of success by competing.

of their clients, but also unite in associations for the protection of standards and for the lessening of cutthroat competition. Philanthropists not only vie with each other in helping their fellow men, but also associate for their common ends and for the elimination of practices inimical to the general welfare. Students compete for prizes, fellowships, and social recognition, but out of that competition come debating leagues with their rules promoting coöperative activities. Public-spirited citizens compete with each other not merely for their own personal advantage; they also seek to be of service to their communities. The same is true of politicians, inventors, authors, artists, and musicians. When this striving with one's fellow is modified primarily by the desire to be of service and not solely by the desire for profit or for personal aggrandizement, it becomes a sort of associated enterprise of the greatest benefit to society. In most cases business men try to furnish better services than their competitors in order that they may secure the patronage of people in larger numbers and thus make more profit. Politicians strive to satisfy their constituents in order that they may be reelected. Most doctors, in addition to behaving in accordance with high professional standards, also try to commend themselves personally to their patients in order that their practice may increase. In any case when competition is conducted along "fair" lines, society is the beneficiary. From this point of view competition is not merely a process of dissociation but in the larger sense one of association.

Dissociative results. Competition, however, sometimes develops into conflict. In the 1880's and 1890's of the last century some large business firms, in order to secure control of the market over their competitors, resorted to all sorts of "unfair" practices. Even violence was used against competitors in order to destroy their plants; lies were told about competitors in order to win away their customers; and legal procedures were devised whereby rivals could be cunningly destroyed. Similar methods obtain to a certain degree among men competing in the professions and in public service. There are those who do not hesitate to trample by every conceivable device upon their competitors. Among the four hundred, ladies jealous of their social rivals often will not hesitate to defame the latter and thus destroy their prestige in order that they themselves may become known as "the leaders of society."

Because some people insist on using what are felt to be unfair competitive methods in business, in the professions, in the church, and in the community, the group gradually develops a code of fair conduct. This code usually is informal and is enforced by public sentiment. Sometimes, however, codes are set up by business organizations and professions themselves.

The purpose of these codes is partly to set standards of conduct in order to insure that the people who are being served may get good service, and partly to protect the decent members from unfair competition. Recently states have by legislation established codes of fair practice in various lines of business in order to eliminate the cutthroat competition which destroys wage-and-hour standards and gives the victory to the most ruthless and unscrupulous. The medical code of ethics does not allow advertising for the same reason. Bar associations have adopted standards which are intended to prevent a kind of competition not only unfair to other lawyers but to clients themselves. Social workers have ethical codes of behavior with reference to their clients and to other social workers. All of these codes are indications of the recognition of the possible evils of unbridled competition.

Less salutary developments are that the dissociative results so interfere with the "profit motive" that the tendency today is to bring together competing individuals and firms into monopolies and international cartels. The upshot is that competition is transferred from the productive level to competition between capitalists and laborers or between producers (including both capitalists and laborers), on the one hand, and consumers on the other.

Results with reference to personality. Cooley has pointed out that when competition is fair it promotes a broader social feeling. One can scarcely compete with others without learning to know them well. Competition involves contact and some degree of mutual comprehension. In competing with your rival you endeavor to discover his purposes and methods, to interpret his thoughts, his words, and his behavior. As you learn to know him, if he proves to be a person of your own sort, you are likely to learn to appreciate him, however much he may thwart your purposes.¹⁰ Thus competition may serve to broaden one's point of view, enlarge one's understanding, and deepen one's sympathy. This is likely to be the effect in a society in which the rules of competition have been pretty well established and are generally recognized.

In a rapidly changing society, however, with new conditions arising which the codes of fair competition that have been worked out under other circumstances no longer fit, an increased strain is placed upon the competing individual. He has to exercise his wits to devise new methods. There is an increased intensity of stimulation. Frequently, therefore, personal demoralization takes place under the stress and strain necessary to adapt to strange conditions. Hence in times like ours, marked by a wide range of social choices, great rewards for the successful person, and the strains of intense

¹⁰ Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918, pp. 210-211.

competition, a great increase of nervous troubles, mental breakdown, immoral conduct, and crime makes its appearance. In addition to all this, the tendency to circumvent the results of unrestrained competition by monopoly of labor through unions and of competing firms through consolidation, lessens the individual's chances of free choice of occupation and participation in free enterprise. He loses some of his liberty of action, and becomes the victim of a system narrowing the range of his personal development.

Results with reference to progress. From what has been said it is clear that competition is the social process by which in a rapidly changing society readjustment takes place. By stimulating the individual to do his best, whether for reasons of economic profit, personal prestige, the self-esteem of his fellows, or the general welfare, it induces him to make his greatest possible contribution to society. It is impossible for him to remain in a groove (which dug deep enough becomes a grave). He must constantly be alert to the changes going on about him if he is to adapt his activities to those changes and thus succeed against the competition of his fellows. Under competition each individual and group is stimulated to struggle to his utmost to invent new technical processes, to perform services better than someone else, and to contrive organizations for the benefit of himself, of his group, and of society. This represents the contribution of competition to material and social progress. Let us now look at the other side of the picture.

Results with reference to group solidarity. So long as rivalry between individuals and groups remains on the "fair" competitive level, group solidarity is not weakened. But if competition approaches conflict, and that conflict is long sustained and intense, group solidarity may be seriously impaired. When competition is free and fair it is the most perfect and automatic method by which individuals adjust themselves in their social relationships, by which each functions best according to his ability, and by which the various groups and social institutions become modified to satisfy the wants of the members of society. However, because business competition grew up in an individualistic society and under an economic organization of petty trade, it does not work perfectly in a society characterized by the organization of great masses of capital, by the regimentation of the laborers, and by the breakdown of the personal relationships between employer and employee and between producer and consumer. Competition now is transformed from that between individuals to competition between great organizations. In business affairs even before the Industrial Revolution, the guilds, merchant and craft, were endeavoring to protect their members from the competition of those who were not guildsmen. In the

Middle Ages, when the church dominated the religious activities of Europe, the competition of heretical sects with the church was frowned upon. Bar associations and medical societies have attempted not only to regularize the competition between their members, but to destroy the competition of those practicing the unorthodox methods. Even the state has intruded itself in the competitive scheme of life, presumably in order to regulate competition in the interest of the general welfare. The Sherman and the Clayton acts were passed by Congress to prevent monopoly and to insure competition in trade. In actual practice, in the present stage of Western society, competition does not work perfectly as a process of social adjustment; yet on the whole it must be said that, limited as it is by the highly organized industrial combinations of the present day, it still remains the most efficient process by which each individual is enabled to contribute his best to the social welfare while finding his proper niche in society. In the development of a rapidly changing society, competition may give birth to conflicts which tend to rend the social solidarity, or on the other hand, may lead to coöperation and the increase of solidarity. On the whole, competition leads to this increase; even Bolshevik Russia, as we have seen, has recognized the value of "social competition."¹¹

Results with reference to social disorganization. Competition does not always result in progress and in social solidarity. In a society marked by rapid changes due to inventions producing new types of goods for the consumer, new services to satisfy wants, and myriad contacts, easy means of communication, competition is a process whereby individuals and groups adapt themselves to such changed conditions, but also sometimes fall into social disorganization. Competition is a secondary factor, however, in producing this result; the primary factor is the rapid changes referred to. The competition of oil and gas with coal for heating purposes had a disastrous effect upon the organization of the coal industry. Thousands of miners were thrown out of work, railroads suffered from the loss of freight, and other economic and social dislocations followed. When at the close of the eighteenth century the power loom displaced the hand loom, the spinning jenny, and the hand spinning wheel, thousands of weavers and spinners in England and Scotland slowly died of starvation. When the automobile became cheap, the manufacturers of bicycles lost business and many of them went into bankruptcy; the railroads lost passenger business and much of their short-haul freight business. The investors in railroad bonds and stocks suffered enormous losses. The old patterns of neighborliness in the country

¹¹ Hamilton, "Competition," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, Vol. 4, pp. 141-147.

were very much altered because the family could get into an automobile and drive miles away to a movie or a dance in the neighboring city. The invention of modern household appliances has greatly lessened the strain on the arms and backs of housewives, but it also has destroyed the ancient pattern of family life, has weakened the ties between parents and children, and so has contributed some demoralization in social relationships due to the effect of these new inventions on the old patterns of behavior. Competition of commercialized recreation with homemade recreation has also affected the solidarity of family life. The radio and victrola have reduced the possible sales of pianos and organs. Comparatively few people learn to furnish their own music, but rely upon these new inventions. Competition of new religious theories with the long-established doctrines has not only affected the attitude of individuals toward the church, but in many cases has caused emotional disturbance and has undermined some of the old religious sanctions for moral conduct. The competition of the scientific view of the universe with the account to be found in the first chapters of Genesis has had for a good many people the effect of discrediting the Bible as a whole. Thus competition during the period of readjustment from one set of conditions to another may produce disorganization. Naturally such social disorganization has its parallels in personal disorganization.

Summary

We have seen that competition is a type of activity alternative to conflict. It is characterized by an appeal to a public for patronage or favor. It is differentiated from conflict by that fact and also by the absence of violence or the fear of violence. We have seen that it may become so intense as to eventuate in deception, false propaganda, destruction of social solidarity; or regulated by the public or by the competitors themselves, it may result in a widespread association to curb its dissociative tendencies. Competition falls into two general types: (1) personal and (2) impersonal. We have noticed four different forms of competition: (1) economic, (2) cultural, (3) competition for role or status, and (4) racial. We have also discussed the results of competition (1) on the personality, (2) on group solidarity, (3) on progress, and (4) on social disorganization. It functions in determining the individual's status in society and provides an automatic process by which patterns of behavior, ideologies, and systems of relationships may test out their merits before the judgment of society.

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Exercises

1. Illustrate the differences between social competition and social conflict.
2. Illustrate each of the four functions of competition.
3. Classify the following under one of the two types of competition: (a) a political campaign between two candidates for the presidency of the United States; (b) the contest between two merchandising firms on the same street

610 *Dissociative processes: competition*

(1) if each is owned by an individual or a partnership, (2) if each is owned by a corporation, (3) if one is owned by an individual or a partnership and one is owned by a corporation; (c) between totalitarianism and democracy; (d) between modernism and fundamentalism in religion; (e) between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in the labor movement in this country.

4. Classify under one or more of the *forms* of competition discussed in the text the following: (a) The contest between Japanese business firms and United States business firms for the trade of the countries of South America; (b) the struggle between fraternities and sororities on the college campus for high grades; (c) the contest for first place in a musical contest or in athletics; (d) the advertising of competing hotels, summer resorts, winter resorts; (e) the struggle between businessmen and inventors; (f) competition between newspapers; (g) competition between Negroes and whites for employment, for the ballot, for equality of educational opportunity.
5. Of the two conditions discussed in the text as determinants of whether competition or coöperation shall characterize the interaction within a society, which is the more important? Explain why.
6. Give an illustration of competition resulting in association between the competitors (a) in the economic field, (b) in the religious field, (c) in the political field.
7. Give examples of the dissociative result of competition (a) in business, (b) in politics, (c) in education, (d) in religion.
8. Illustrate the results of competition: (a) upon personality, (b) upon progress, (c) upon group solidarity, (d) upon social disorganization.
9. Has competition and conflict been wiped out within Soviet Russia?

chapter 25 *Dissociative processes: contravention and conflict*

Dissociative processes: contravention

A dissociative process intermediate between competition and conflict is *contravention*. It is a special type of opposition. This process has been largely ignored by American sociologists, but has been investigated by such European sociologists as Simmel and Wiese.¹ Because this process has been overlooked, its essential characteristics have frequently been introduced into the discussion of both competition and conflict. How does it differ from these two processes and by what marks is it distinguished from them?

The nature of contravention. Contravention is marked by (1) uncertainty relative to a person or a program, (2) a feeling of covert dislike, aversion, or mere doubt as to the personality of an individual, or a similar feeling regarding the possibility, utility, necessity, or value of a proposal, opinion, belief, doctrine, or program offered by an individual or a group. In its pure form it is a state of mental reserve about the other person or persons or concerning cultural elements with which an individual or a group has become acquainted. It may, however, develop beyond a state of doubt or uncertainty to positive aversion or dislike, but without necessarily progressing to the point of conflict. For example, how frequently after we have met a person we are in doubt as to whether we are going to like or dislike him! We suspend judgment. That is one phase of contravention. Or when any new program of action is proposed as, for example, the question as to whether the people of the United States should have entered the conflict between the Allies and the Central Powers in the World War, 1914 to 1918, there is often a period of doubt in the minds of most people.

¹ Simmel, Georg, *Soziologie*, Bünchler and Humblat, Leipzig, 1908, p. 252; Wiese, Leopold and Becker, Howard, *Systematic Sociology*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, Ch. 19. Becker first used *contravention* in the sense employed in this chapter.

In the example cited, President Wilson declared absolute neutrality for the United States in thought as well as in deed. As the conflict developed, however, events moved most of the people of the United States to a decision to associate themselves with the Allies. Before that decision was made the process of interaction between the people of the United States on the one side and the Allies and the Central Powers on the other was contravention. We stood apart from both because of the doubt and uncertainty in our minds as to the issues involved in the conflict and as to where the interests of the United States really lay. That also is contravention. The process often described by sociologists under conflict, such as age conflict in the less overt stage, and estrangement, is really contravention.

Subprocesses of contravention

In order to make clearer the meaning of contravention as a social process, it will be well to notice some of the specific subprocesses. Wiese and Becker classified these into five groups: (1) *The general process of contravention* includes rebuffing, repulsing, working against, hindering, protesting, obstructing, restraining, and upsetting another's plans. (2) Forms of *simple contraventive action* include publicly disavowing or denying a statement made by another, lampooning, libeling and slandering, putting the burden of proof on another, intentionally humiliating, willfully snubbing or ignoring, blaming, accusing, reproaching, disparaging, depreciating, challenging, defying, disapproving, imputing questionable motives, withholding assent, presenting a contrary view, and "damning with faint praise," or as some wag put it, "praising with faint damns." (3) Forms of *intensified contraventive action* include inciting to pogroms or lynchings, hissing at, exposing, branding, faultfinding, maliciously criticizing, frustrating, spurning, and scorning. (4) Forms of *secret contravention* consist of snooping, circumventing, denouncing secretly, covertly thwarting, betraying, and using secret measures to dispose of the antagonistic party. (5) *Tactical contravention* comprises harassing, annoying, or perturbing by any means whatever an opposing political party or candidate; maneuvering another into a minority; forcing conformity through majority power; provoking indiscreet utterance; using a whispering campaign; using trickery, like the Ems telegram sent by Bismarck to provoke Napoleon III to declare war on Germany, and the Zinoviev letter produced by certain people in Britain just after World War I in order to disparage the aims and purposes of the Russian government; the use of false propaganda just before an election in order to swing voters against the other side; and the whispering campaigns carried on by

the opponents of Al Smith when he was a candidate for President of the United States, stating that if he were elected, the Pope of Rome would really govern this country. These are sufficient to illustrate the process of contravention. It is the process sometimes used by competitors but also employed by combatants in an out-and-out conflict. Nevertheless, it occupies a sphere between competition and conflict in the interaction between individuals and groups.

Types of contravention

To illustrate this process, Wiese and Becker² cite three general types of contravention: (1) contravention of generations, (2) contravention of the sexes, (3) parliamentary contravention.

1. Contravention of generations. Illustrative of this type is the negative reaction often to be found between sons or daughters and their parents.

² Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-268.



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"Why don't you wait and see what happens to your own generation before you start jumping on mine?"

CONTRAVENTION OF GENERATIONS

Sociology in cartoons

On the whole, the parent-child relationship is associative. Yet as children grow into adulthood, they often have doubts of the wisdom of their parents, thinking they are "old fogies," or "behind the times." If these differences of outlook do not proceed to the stage of actual conflict, but remain merely in a state of hesitation or uncertainty owing to the struggle between the consciousness of difference of their respective outlooks on life and the ties of sympathy and respect which naturally go with the child-parent relationship, the dissociative process is contravention rather than conflict. Such relationship may be characterized merely by doubt of the wisdom of the parent on the part of the child, or of the child on the part of the parent. Others interpret this difference in outlook between parents and child on the basis of difference in life experience and physiological changes in adolescents on the one hand and in middle-aged and aging parents on the other. Still others invoke the influence of elements in the culture of a people appropriate to each of these two groups.⁸

The records of the oldest civilizations, the description of primitive communities of the present day, and common observation of contemporary societies reveal a hostility between the old and the young. As we saw in the early part of this chapter usually this antagonism stops at contravention rather than conflict, but when the hostility becomes open instead of covert, and violent rather than passive, then it is conflict. This opposition grows out of differences between the younger and the older—differences partly due to physiological ripening and partly to the social roles which society has set up appropriate to these groups. Freud has explained the antagonism between fathers and sons, by the theory of the Oedipus complex. However explained, common observation reveals that children are conscious on many occasions of a very great difference between themselves and older people. These differences are not those of size only, but of role, of status, of privileges, and of limitations. Children often cannot understand why older people do not enjoy many of the things they enjoy, why older people object to their doing things they like to do, and why they are denied privileges which older people take as a matter of course. They cannot understand the irritation shown by older people at the actions of children—the scolding and the punishments meted out to them. They suffer innumerable emotional hurts at the hands of people who do not understand children. On the other hand, older people who have forgotten how they felt as children and the limitations of their own outlook at that time often are hurt by the disrespect-

⁸ Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, Ch. 18; Hart, *The Science of Social Relations*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1927, Ch. 18; Gillin, J. L., *Social Pathology*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1946, Ch. 15.

ful behavior of younger people. The antagonism often becomes acute between adolescents and the older groups. The latter look down upon what they call the wildness of the former. "Heedless and flaming youth" flouts the more sober standards of the oldster. Young persons are irritated by the smugness, the sobriety, and the assumed superiority of older individuals. Youth seeks adventure; age craves security.

These differences often result in opposition and are signalized by the epithets which each applies to the other. To youth the conservative, unsympathetic oldster is an old "fossil," "mossback," "old fogey." The youngster is often termed by the older person "wild," "brash," "high-flying," "reckless." The extremes of each type exasperate those of the other. This antagonism comes out in the charge of the parent against the "incorrigible" child, the quarrels which arise in the home between the adolescent and the parent, and the frequency with which young people run away from home. It registers in the resentments of those in the youth movement against the older people, whom they blame for the present sad state of the world. It appears in the disinheritance of children and in the shunting of old parents off to some old peoples' home or to the poorhouse. Indirectly it appears in the youthful leadership of most revolutions. The leaders of the Protestant Reformation were of an average age of less than forty in contrast with the older men in the hierarchy. The leaders in the French Revolution also averaged less than forty, while oldsters controlled the state. The average age of the leaders of the Puritan Revolution in England was about forty-two. The leaders of the American Revolution were over forty; the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia were mostly young men.⁴ the headmen of the Fascist Revolution in Italy and of the Nazi Revolution in Germany at the beginning of these movements were likewise young. It is apparent in all cultures.

2. Contravention between the sexes. Illustrative of this type is the situation which develops in some families between husband and wife. Here again, on the whole, the relationship between husband and wife in a society in which free choice of partner is the rule is associative to a high degree, but in the course of time there may develop dubiousness and incertitude concerning the other partner. Such attitudes may grow out of the differing physiological functions of the sexes, the varying family and cultural background of the partners, differing points of view on problems of family finance, on methods of rearing the children, and differences in personality and temperament, to mention only the most important matters over which

* Gowen, *The Executive and His Control of Men*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915, pp. 264-270.

marital difficulties may occur.⁵ Contravention applies to those strained relations between males and females which have not yet developed and may never develop into overt antagonism or conflict,⁶ but in which doubt and uncertainty is the prevailing mood. As a process, however, it is often potential in producing conflict.

Contravention between the sexes is even wider than that involved between husband and wife. It is to be seen in the slighting references to the opposite sex in literature, especially such references as cast doubts on the humanity, the chivalry, or the moral integrity of the male sex, and conversely which raise questions as to the wisdom, the mature judgment, the chastity, the domesticity, or the financial and political ability of women. This process appears in many societies, both primitive and modern. It comes out in the criticisms of the one sex by the other. Chinese philosophers discussed the question as to whether women have souls. Arab writers have ascribed to the female sex most of the evils which plague the world. Even in our Bible in the story of Adam and Eve, the temptation, and the fall of man, the writer ascribes to the woman the role of temptress of the man, stooge of the serpent. By this writer the pains of childbirth and the inferior status of woman are explained as the result of the part she played in the drama. Aristophanes wrote "There's nothing in the world worse than a woman."⁷ Homer exclaims "What mighty woes to thy imperial race from woman rose."⁸ Shakespeare makes Hamlet say, "Frailty, thy name is woman!"⁹ Tourneur asserts, "Were't not for gold and women, there would be no condemnation."¹⁰

On the other hand, this sex contravention is manifested by the comments sometimes made by women concerning the male sex. Often this takes the form of ascribing to all males the attributes of sexual passion and selfishness. George Eliot made Mrs. Penser say, "I'm not denyin' the women are foolish; God Almighty made 'em to match the men."¹¹ And Joanna Baillie asks, "Can spirit from the tomb, or fiend from Hell, more hateful, malignant be than man?"¹² The terms "a little flapper" applied to some girls by boys; "the weaker sex" often applied by men to women; and the terms "wolf," "cave-man," and "egotistical ass" applied by women to certain types of men—all illustrate the same process.

⁵ Gillin, *op. cit.*, Ch. 13, and the readings cited at the end of the chapter; Ross, *op. cit.*, Ch. 19; Hart, *op. cit.*, Ch. 17.

⁶ *Thesmophoriazusae*, 531.

⁷ *Odyssey*, Bk. xi, l. 541.

⁸ *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene ii, l. 146.

⁹ *The Revenger's Tragedy*, Act II, Scene i.

¹⁰ *Adam Bede*.

¹¹ *Orra*, Act III, Scene ii.

Less clear examples of contravention between the sexes, but certainly growing out of sex antagonism and complicated by the entrance of the economic motive, are the payment of lower wages to women than to men for the same work, the denial of full equality with men before the law as to ownership of property, and the denial of equal suffrage to women in many countries of the world. Also in some states in this country women and Negroes cannot serve on a jury; they are denied entrance to many occupations and professions; and practically they can be elected to few political offices. There is difference in public attitude toward the mother and the father, respectively, of the illegitimate child, toward the prostitute and her male patron. While sex antagonism is being modified in many respects in Western civilization, many of the discriminations against women remain as evidence of it.¹²

3. Parliamentary contravention. Here we may mention the relationship between majorities and minorities in any assembled group, whether it be a legislative body, a conference, a religious assembly, a faculty, a scientific meeting, a manufacturers' association, a Chamber of Commerce, or a labor organization. An intermediate stage between competition and conflict develops when suspicion of deception and chicanery arises in the minds of some members of the assemblage. Parliamentary tactics which are intended to outmaneuver the opposing side are signs of the operation of the process of contravention. The minority may resort to certain tactics intended to raise doubts in the minds of the majority in order to bring them over to their side. The majority may do the same. Further, the minority, while doubtful of the expediency and honesty of the majority, may accede to their proposals in the hope that by doing so they may win the support of certain members of the majority party for their own proposals to be put forward later. This process of contravention may lead to conflict and thus threaten the unity of the group. But before it reaches that stage, contravention means, as Simmel puts it, that "the unity of the whole dominates all the antagonisms of interest and conviction. With all its apparent simplicity, the practice of bowing to the will of the majority, while at the same time maintaining minority integrity, is one of the most ingenious of all social devices for securing a final harmony from the dissonance of crashing chords."¹³

During the debate of legislative measures in the days before the United States entered World War II, those who supported the policies of the

¹² For the inferior status of women in religious organizations in the United States see "Woman's Status in Protestant Churches," *Information Service*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, November 16, 1940.

¹³ Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 187, quoted from Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

Administration were often called Anglophiles and Russophiles; their opponents were referred to as Anglophobes and Russophobes. In the period following the war in this country, certain newspaper writers applied the term "Republocrats" to those northern Republicans and southern Democrats who co-operated with each other. These are some recent instances of the use of contraventive methods.

Border types of contravention

In addition to the three general types of contravention just discussed there are several other types which are often classed as species of conflict. They are on the border between contravention and conflict. However, since neither violence nor the threat of violence usually characterizes them, they should be considered as examples of contravention. They are represented by (1) community contravention, (2) religious antagonism, (3) intellectual struggle, and (4) moral opposition.

1. Community contravention. Community contravention is a familiar feature of almost every people in every age. It takes two forms—*intercommunity struggle*, strife between two separate communities, and *intracommunity struggle*, the strife which arises between sections in the same community. When this type of contravention arises it centers around opposing interests, opposing "cultural values, or clashing economic interests."

Intercommunity struggle is illustrated by the activities between two communities whose economic interests clash. We may cite two small towns, of which we know, within a mile and a half of each other in the Middle West. The economic rivalry is accentuated by the fact that one community is predominantly German, the other New England in its culture. Two bridges have been built across a wide river which flows by both of these places. There is never-ceasing strife between the merchants of the two places. Competition for trade both from the hinterland and from across the river accentuates the cultural conflict. Somewhat the same sort of thing is illustrated by the strife between San Francisco and Los Angeles, California. The aspersions cast by each upon the other and the fierce economic struggle existing between the two may be cited as signs of the contraventive process. Perhaps a better illustration of intercommunity strife is that general discord between the city and the country. The farmers feel that the city dwellers are always taking advantage of them. The city dwellers look down upon the country men as "rubes" and "hayseeds" who are always grumbling and working against the interests of the merchants. To the countrymen the city dwellers are "slickers." To the urban dwellers countrymen are "suckers." If

the city people try to put over some project, the rural people are likely to suspect ulterior designs. This conflict between urban and rural populations appears in acute form in times of economic disturbance. The milk strikes among the midwestern farmers were largely against the alleged exploitation of farmers by the city milk companies. Farmers' coöperatives are indicative of the clash of economic interests between the merchants of the city and the farmers. Especially is this feeling keen on the part of the farmers against the middlemen, usually located in the cities. The ruralite is always suspicious that the urbanite is endeavoring to make the farmer pay more than his just share of the taxes. The city inhabitants, on the other hand, feel that the farmers through the legislature or the county board are taking undue advantage of them through the regulations and laws concerning taxation.

Intracommunity contravention arises when there is a clash of interests or cultural patterns between factions within the same community which come into close contact. In every city during the period of large immigration to the United States, the Irish boys, for example, from one street cast aspersions upon the Slovaks, Poles, or Italians living in the next. Often dwellers in different sections of the city are in contravention with those in other sections—the East-Siders against the West-Siders, North-Siders against the South-Siders, those living below the tracks with those who live above the tracks. If a new court house, a new city hall, or a new schoolhouse is to be built, frequently a great deal of heat is generated between different sections of the same community as to its location. In many country communities, joint enterprises become impossible because the Poles, the Italians, and the Irish will not coöperate. The share croppers and the landlords in the South divide sharply in many cases on the basis of opposition between their respective economic interests. The East Side Business Men's Association splits off from the City Association of Commerce because they feel that the latter is unfair to them. The strife between Protestants and Catholics or between Christians and Jews in some communities disrupts solidarity.

2. Religious antagonism. Religious antagonism was much more characteristic of former times in most civilized countries than recently. Exception had to be made of Germany, Italy, and Russia before the close of World War II. These, however, were quite different in nature from most modern religious antagonisms in that the conflict was between the state and religious organizations. In most modern religious disputes, on the other hand, the strife is between different religions in the same country.

The hostilities between certain classes in the Roman Empire and the Christians occur to one as a historical instance. The aspersions cast upon the latter as members of an "alien race," as "subverters of society," furnish



By permission of The New Yorker

"I'm telling you for the last time—keep off this corner."

WHAT IS THIS—COMPETITION, CONTRAVENTION, OR CONFLICT?

Sociology in cartoons

an illustration of religious contravention. Further examples are seen in the description by Christians of Jews as "Christ-killers" or "kikes" by Protestants of Irish Catholics as "micks," and by Irish Catholics of Protestants as "Orangemen." Other instances of religious contravention will occur to anyone who has lived in a community occupied by religious groups between which some antagonism has developed for any reason.

In India the Moslems and the Hindus are constantly threatening to fly at each other's throats because of their antagonistic religious beliefs and practices. To the Hindu the cow is sacred; to the Moslem it is a food animal. The religious antagonism between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic following the Protestant Reformation in Europe is a well-known historic phenomenon. The historic attitude of Russia to the Jews illustrates a more recent occurrence of this type. While these strivings were complicated by many other than religious motives, they illustrate the type of contravention which shades off into conflict. A purer type of religious contravention is exemplified by religious rivalry in the United States. No longer ago than 1928 a Catholic was defeated for the office of President of the United States, largely by the defection of Democratic voters in the Protestant South, although the religious issue played its part also in the North and West.

Of a different type was the anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, as well as the former antireligious crusades of the Bolsheviks in Russia. In Germany and Italy it was a conflict between the ideology of religion in general and the totalitarian theory of the state; according to the latter every institution within the state including the church must subordinate itself to the aims of the government. The "Aryan" emphasis by the Nazis was incidental. While the Nazis insisted that theirs was a struggle to "Aryanize" the country, its roots lay in the determination to bring Jews, Catholics, and Protestants to heel in the totalitarian state. The struggle against the Jews seemed to be motivated by a desire to confiscate their property and to drive them out of important positions in the state service, in finance and in education. In Russia (during World War II the Soviets reversed their attitude in this matter) the contravention against the Orthodox Greek Church was motivated by two things—the reaction against the social inequality fostered by it and the atheistic ideology of the Bolsheviks. Equally severe restrictions were placed upon the nonorthodox religions. The atheism of the Bolsheviks warring upon the claim of all Christians that they must obey God rather than man, plus the social and economic activities of the Christian sects, explain the hostility of the Russian Communists to Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, and Protestants alike. In essence the fundamental objection of the U.S.S.R. to religion was that of the totalitarian

states—the reluctance of the church and the synagogue to subordinate themselves to the state. Thus religious contravention is complicated by the intrusion of economic and political motives.

3. Intellectual contravention. Some of the matters treated under the previous section come partly under this category. For example, the ideologies just discussed are in the nature of dogmatic beliefs with regard to religion or government which strive with other ideologies. Intellectual antagonism is almost never purely intellectual. Economic and cultural factors usually enter into the picture. On the other hand, many of these types of conflict already discussed are motivated by intellectual differences.

One example of intellectual strife is that concerning the relationship of the individual to the state. It comes out most clearly in the antithesis between the democratic and the totalitarian states. Here is a difference in fundamental political philosophy. In the ideology of the totalitarians the state is all-important; in that of the democracies the welfare of the individual is at the focus of attention.

At the bottom of all religious struggles, of course, lie differences in dogmatic principles. The fundamental intellectual differences between the Catholics and the Protestants find their focus in the relationship of the individual to God. In Catholic thought the church, with its officials and its sacraments, mediates between the individual Christian and God. According to the Protestant doctrine, the individual has direct access to God. In Catholic belief, the conscience of the individual is in the keeping of the church. In Protestant theory the individual's conscience is his own.

The differences between Modernists and Fundamentalists (the very terms "Modernist" and "Fundamentalist" have been bandied about as terms of opprobrium, somewhat like "atheist" and "ignoramus") in Protestant Christianity rest upon divergent theories concerning the authority of the Scriptures. According to the Fundamentalist the Scriptures are authoritative in all realms of knowledge as the result of direct and verbal inspiration of God. According to the Modernist the Scriptures were inspired of God to direct men in their religious relations only. A few years ago in Tennessee a schoolmaster was tried and convicted of violation of a law which forbade the teaching in any state-supported school of "any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and teaches instead that man was descended from a lower order of animals." Another southern state passed a law which penalizes any teacher or textbook commission adopting a textbook "that teaches the doctrine that mankind ascended or descended from a lower order of animals." In many parts of the country outside of the South teachers must watch their steps in order not to offend.

the ignorance of the members of benighted religious sects. Preachers who attempt to convey to the members of their congregation the results of modern learning are in danger of discharge from their positions by the congregation or of being silenced by their superiors.

Even much of the difficulty over industrial questions rests upon a divergence of opinions held by those on opposite sides. Often the managers of industry feel that they have a vested right to run their business as they please, while their employees adhere to the theory that they have as much interest in the business as the managers and the stockholders. The struggle between the social reformers and the defenders of the *status quo* in Western democracies rests partly upon divergent economic and political theories. And contraventional terms are used by each against the other.

Intellectual contravention is also to be seen in the sneering epithets of the educated toward the unlearned ("stupid," "boob") and the hateful and disparaging descriptions of the ignorant toward the intellectual in public school, college, and university ("high-brow," "impractical," "snooty"). The solution of this kind of contravention is to be looked for in the wider dissemination of knowledge and the stimulation of a wider and deeper sense of common interests.

4. Moral opposition. Rooted partly in the differences between the educated and the ignorant and partly in those between the hidebound and the "emancipated," is the opposition of moral codes. As is to be expected, the adherents of one code ascribe derogatory characteristics to the upholders of the other. This struggle is to be seen wherever two people with different folkways and mores come into close contact. Immigrants usually have moral codes which in some respects vary from those of the people among whom they settle. For example, when the people of southeastern Europe first began to migrate to this country, it was discovered that their customary observance of Sunday was in conflict with the Puritan code obtaining in this country. Also immigrants from the Continent usually saw no moral misbehavior in dancing, drinking in moderation, etc., but this behavior offended the moral sense of the people of many communities of the United States in which they settled. Scorn and all the other characteristics of contravention marked their interaction.

The rapid changes in industrial and economic life in this country during the last third or more of a century, the widespread use of the automobile, and the growth of cities, among other things, have wrought important changes in the sphere of morals. New ideas were introduced which often destroyed the old sanctions of moral conduct. As a consequence, large numbers of young people have adopted an entirely new code of moral

behavior at very great variance with that of their parents and of the older generation. Hence the representatives of the old moral code have been denouncing those who claim to be "emancipated" from it. The latter scoff at the conservatism and "fossilism," at the "Puritanism" of the older generation. The former condemn the "wildness," "Godlessness," and "shamelessness" of youth. This clash between two different moral codes becomes perhaps most acute on the level of sexual behavior.

Other examples of contraventional interaction between adherents of divergent moral codes are the struggle between the moral code represented by the law and that of the criminals; the struggle between the old code of honesty in business relationships and the new code that anything is right that you can get away with; the struggle between codes of behavior held by gangsters or gangs of juveniles and adolescents and the respectable citizens of the community. This phase of contravention is one of the most significant indications of the demoralization and remoralization going on in a rapidly changing community.

Associative aspects of contravention

While contravention has been classed among the processes producing dissociation, it also performs a positive function. As Simmel has said, "It is often the only means of maintaining associations which would otherwise be unendurable. . . . Not the least important of the functions of contravention—altogether aside from the fact that impositions tend to increase if they are accepted without protest—lies in the satisfaction, distraction and release it sometimes affords. . . . It gives us the feeling of not being wholly submerged by the situation, permits the conscious conservation of our powers, and thus introduces a certain vitality and reciprocity into relations which in the absence of this corrective would have been severed at whatever cost. . . . Contravention exercises this function, . . . for it thereby preserves the internal equilibrium of one or even both participants . . . and thus maintains relations which to the outsider seem in imminent danger of collapse. . . . In this capacity contravention is not only a means for the preservation of a relation, but is also one of the concrete functions of which the relation actually consists."¹⁴

Thus contravention is a process of interaction between individuals and groups more covert than competition and conflict, and chiefly on the verbal rather than on the action level; and less violent than conflict. Psychological warfare partakes of the nature of contravention in that it resorts to decep-

¹⁴ Quoted by Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

tion rather than direct attack. It attempts to belittle by ridicule and derision the claims and achievements of the enemy.

Dissociative Processes: Conflict

Individuals and groups which recognize differences between them—physical, emotional, in cultural traits, in behavior attitudes—instead of being merely indifferent to each other or quietly opposed to each other, may become so antagonistic as to arrive at open conflict. Emotions are so aroused by the recognition of these differences that hostility breaks out with each trying to damage the other. These emotions are usually feelings of anger and hatred, generating the impulse to attack and injure, to repress or destroy the individual or the group opposing. They may be aroused by inherent characteristics of the other person or group or by the elements of their culture. Hence, *conflict is the social process in which individuals or groups seek their ends by directly challenging the antagonist by violence or the threat of violence.*

Forms of conflict

1. **Personal.** Conflict takes various forms. It may be personal. Who has not seen two individuals when they first meet and communicate soon bristle and snarl at each other like two strange dogs! They dislike each other almost from the very start. Out of this situation may develop conflict often resulting in resort to every device which either can imagine in order to dominate or destroy the other. Disparaging remarks are made, names are called, threats are uttered—leading ultimately to physical combat. When the conflict falls short of a physical encounter, scarcely any subsequent meeting of these two individuals occurs that their dislike and even hatred for each other do not reappear. At first glance it would seem that there is no possibility of these two individuals ever being able to associate together.

Conflict of all kinds tends to focus around personalities because one has difficulty in hating an abstraction. In every kind of conflict hatred is concentrated upon some person—the Kaiser and the Czar in World War I; King George III in the American Revolution; Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini in the recent conflict in Europe. These persons became the symbols of the ideological and value differences between groups.

2. **Racial.** In addition to the personal conflict between individuals there are various group conflicts. One of these is *racial*. So far as we know throughout the history of mankind when different races have come into

contact, there has been a clear recognition of differences, and in many instances conflict has developed. At the present time racial antagonism resulting frequently in violence is to be seen between Negroes and whites between whites and Japanese in the United States, between the whites and blacks in Africa. In the settlement of this country, conflict was often the process of interaction between the whites and the Indians.

While these varying physical characteristics set off one race from another, what is usually called racial conflict rests upon far other grounds than the physical differences. Cultural differences and conflict of interests are much more important. Yet in the conflict between the white race and the black or between the white and the yellow, difference in skin color is one which strikes the eye much more readily and is therefore more easily recognized than the deeper and more fundamental differences in culture. The so-called racial conflicts are in reality cultural and interest conflicts, although the physical differences and the supposedly accompanying intellectual differences have been the grounds on which conflict has often been rationalized. Even to this day the treatment of the black peoples by the white race is often defended on such basis. In the South the whites believe that the Negroes are an inferior race. In India the British excuse their domination of the natives on the grounds of the superiority of the white race. In addition to the recognition of cultural and physical differences race conflict is to be explained on the ground of the clash of economic interests, or of class dominance. How often has the white man seeking to exploit virgin natural resources made race prejudice the justification of his enslavement or exploitation of the colored races! Therefore, economic interests must not be ignored in the endeavor to understand race conflict.

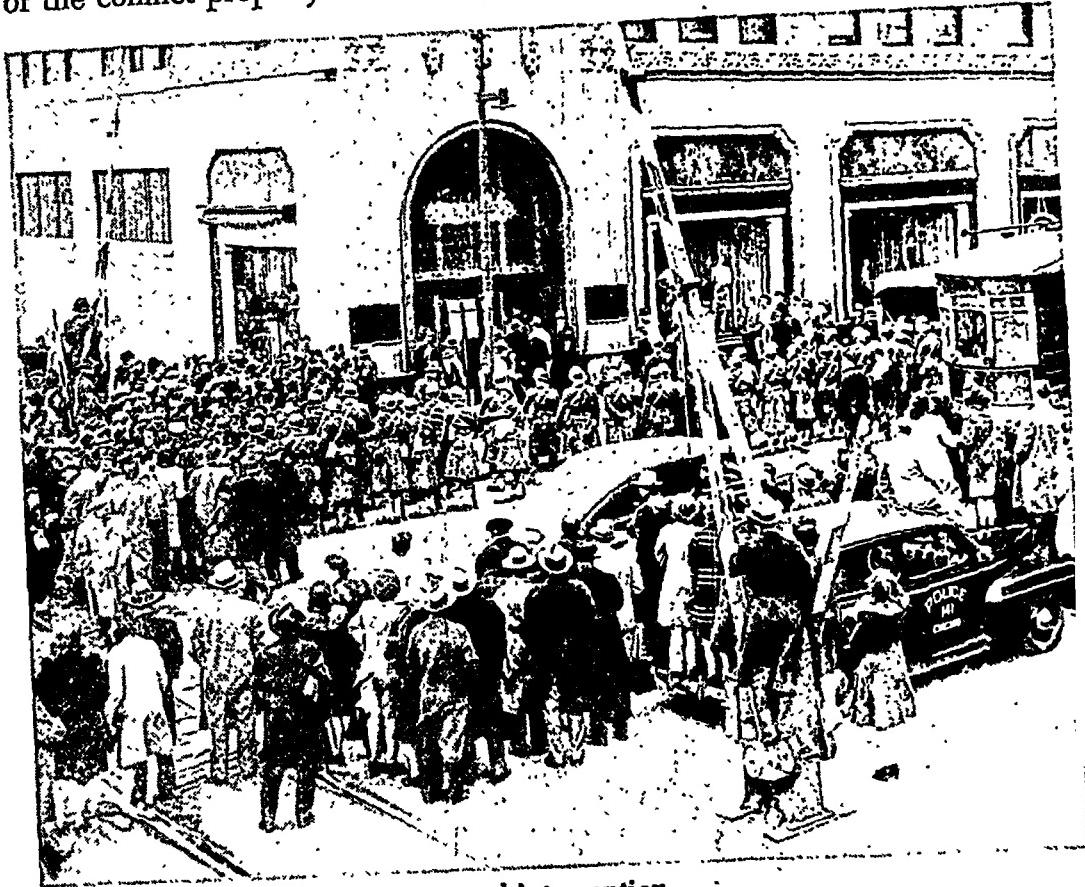
3. Class. This form of conflict grows out of one group holding itself superior and trying to dominate another for its own interests. These interests may be social prestige, ecclesiastical or political power, or economic advantage. Superior position may result from the conquest of one people by another, as when William the Norman conquered England and imposed his followers as the superior group upon the feudal hierarchy already in existence. Or it may grow out of a condition of social disorder in which the strongest or most cunning subject to themselves the weaker and more helpless, as when, on the breakdown of the Roman Empire, feudalism grew up with its noble and servile classes. Or it may arise out of such insecurity and frustration as favor the development of a strong ecclesiastical organization with its dominant hierarchy and its subservient communicants. Or again, it may develop on the economic level when great inventions break down the old economic order and give opportunity to business enterprisers to

exploit workers. Or lastly, it may grow out of the prestige of a learned class in the midst of an illiterate population. What form it takes depends upon the particular configuration of the culture at a given time and place.

At present in Western civilization the most striking form of class conflict is that between classes formed on the basis of divergent economic interests.

The "embattled farmers" at various times in the history of the country and the peasants of some European countries have clashed with other classes. The Peasants' Revolt in Germany after the Protestant Reformation is an example. Their hostility was aroused by the exploitative domination of the landlords. The revolt of the peasants and of the proletariat of Russia against the landlords and bourgeois employers of labor near the end of the first World War is another instance still fresh in our minds. More recently in the United States, especially in the Middle West, armed groups of farmers gathered and violently prevented the sale of a mortgaged farm, and in at least one case in Iowa entered a courtroom and laid violent hands on a judge who was hearing a foreclosure case. In 1933 the Farmers' Holiday Association picketed the roads in order to keep milk off the market, and in a number of cases destroyed property and killed people. At present the most outstanding form of class conflict is represented by industrial strife between the employers and the unionized employees, a development consequent upon the Industrial Revolution. The relationships between the employer and the employee were greatly changed by that event. Before that revolution the employer and his men worked in the same shop and at the same work, and consequently there was little division of interest between them. But the Industrial Revolution brought the introduction of machinery and the congregation of large numbers of men in factories. And with the development of finance capitalism it often happens that stockholders who furnish the capital are not acquainted even with the manager of the business, to say nothing of the laborers. There are no longer the personal relationships between the employer and employee which obtained under the old domestic and handicraft systems of production. The stockholder is interested chiefly in his dividends, the bondholder in his interest, the manager in satisfying these two groups and at the same time in keeping his labor as contented as possible. On the other hand, the laborers in most cases know little if anything about the conduct of the business; they hear of great profits made by the company; they know what wages they receive and frequently feel that the distribution of the earnings is unfair. If there is no strong labor union in the concern, the conditions under which the laborers work are determined rather arbitrarily by the employer. Frequently, therefore, hostile relations grow up between the employers and managers on the one hand,

and the laborers on the other, with consequent strikes and lockouts which occasionally result in violence. For example, in 1893 occurred a strike between the Pullman Company and their workers at Pullman, Illinois. In order to make the strike effective, the railroad workers struck and refused to handle trains to which Pullman cars were attached. Out of the bitterness of the conflict property was destroyed, and some people were killed. Presi-



Industrial conflict with governmental intervention

During World War II due to a strike at Montgomery Ward and Co.'s plant in Chicago military police were ordered to take over the plant because the president of the company refused to obey the orders of the War Labor Board that the company negotiate with a labor organization that in an election had a majority of the votes. The military police on the refusal of the company's president to leave the plant carried him out bodily. (Photo by Acme.)

dent Cleveland ordered in the regular army to keep order and see that the mails were carried.

Revelations by a committee of the United States Senate showed the use of violence against labor unions in various parts of the United States before the outbreak of World War II. Among these were cases of violence on the part of those employed by the industries against strikers at Birmingham, Alabama, and at the coal mines in Harlan County, Kentucky. Before the

passage of the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act 1935) employers themselves could interfere with the organization of their workers. Since the passage of that act, however, they have employed a third party such as de-

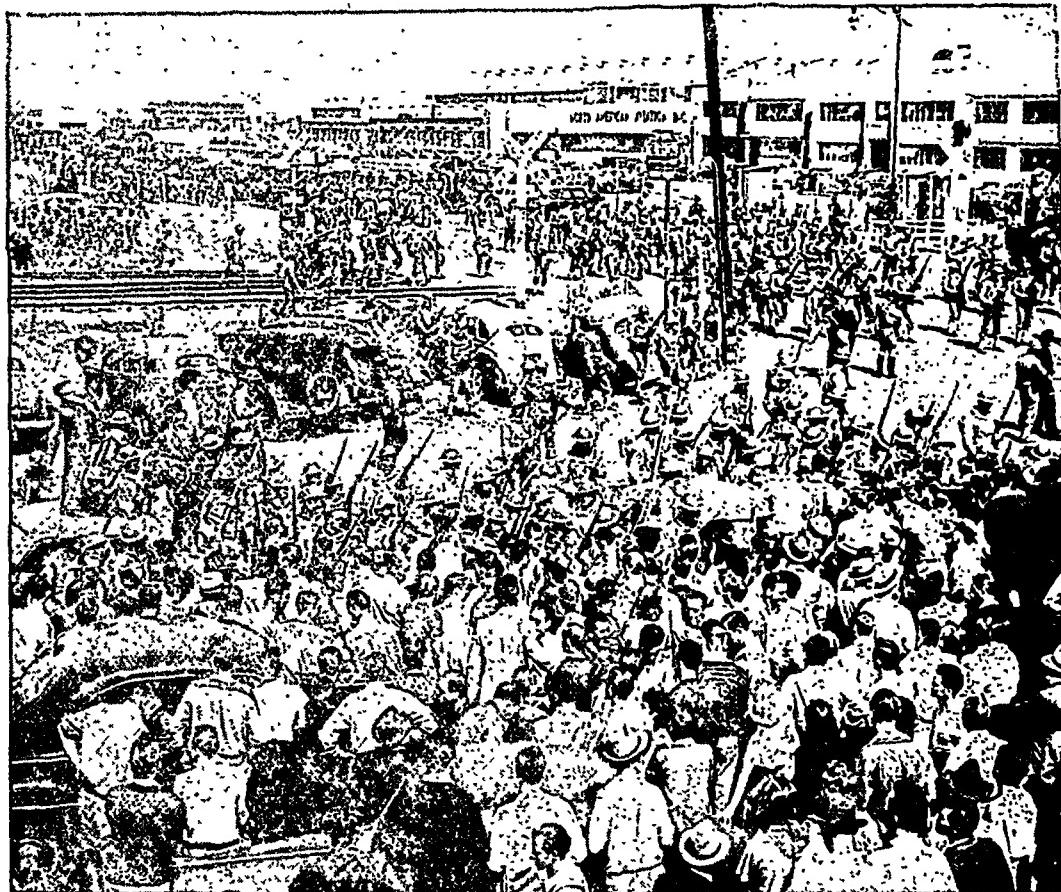


*Industrial conflict without physical violence
Striking pickets use slogans. (Photo by Acme.)*

tectives and strikebreaking agencies to check the organization of the workers. Certain employers' associations have furnished gas, guns, and strikebreakers to employers who were fighting a strike. The industries were responsible for the organization of "citizens' committees" and "law and order leagues" to intimidate union leaders and to engage in various vigilante activities against the unions. The evidence showed that in a number of cases these organizations used by the large employers of labor fostered violence against strikers and even induced governors to call out militia to repress the strikers in their peaceful activities. Sometimes violence was fostered by the employers or strikebreaking agencies and was then attributed to the strikers to justify a call for the National Guard. In the San Francisco strike of 1934 vigilante raids on workers' headquarters resulted in beatings of unarmed workers and the destruction of workers' property. In Massillon,

Ohio, during the steel strike in 1937, company agents assaulted union men. Even the National Guard has been used by the companies to protect the vigilantes employed by the company to break the strikes. In certain cases strike leaders themselves have resorted to violence and incited their followers to attack property and persons in connection with such a conflict.¹⁵

On the close of World War II many strikes occurred. Occasionally violence was used, but much less frequently than before the war.



Industrial conflict with threat of violence

The army takes over a struck plant. (Photo by Acme.)

Industrial conflict is all the more easily understood if one remembers that the modern organization of industry has produced startling contrasts between the wealth and income of the few and that of the masses. Western society is a highly dynamic society economically and socially. Vast changes have been going on with unprecedented rapidity. Enormous fortunes have

¹⁵ *Violations of Free Speech and the Rights of Labor*, Report 46, Part IV, Senate, 75th Congress, Third Session. The later reports by the same Committee reveal the attitudes of the employers' associations in California, and of the Associated Farmers of that State. Abrams, Ray H., "Suppression of Minority Opinion in Times of Crisis in America," *The Crozer Quarterly*, April, 1938; *Call Out the Militia! A Survey of the Use of Troops in Strikes*, American Civil Liberties Union, New York, April, 1938.

been made in very brief periods of time by some people, while the economic insecurity of millions has been greatly increased. The disparity between the wealth of a few and the poverty of the many, between the income of a small proportion of the people receiving the largest income and the incomes of the lower economic layers of the population has accelerated the industrial conflict of the present day. Although the distribution of wealth is very difficult to ascertain in the United States, Doane in his *The Measurement of American Wealth* says that 2.3 per cent of the population in 1929 owned 42.5 per cent of the wealth, while the other 97.7 per cent of the population owned only 57.5 per cent of the wealth. Whether that particular estimate is correct or not, it appears to be beyond dispute that there is an increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of a small number of corporations controlled by a very small number of the business men of the nation. The report of the National Resources Committee, *Consumers' Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935-36*, showed that of 39,000,000 consumer units in this country in that year, consisting of families and single individuals, the poorest one-third received only 10 per cent of the total income, about the same amount as the richest 0.5 per cent. The poorer half received only 21 per cent of the total, a trifle less than the richest 3 per cent; the poorest 34 per cent, somewhat less than the highest 10 per cent; and the average yearly income of the poorest third of these consumers was \$471. For the middle third the yearly average was \$1,076; for the highest third the yearly average was \$3,000. The term *income* as used in this study meant money income from all sources plus the money value of the occupancy of owned homes and of rental received as pay and, for rural families, of home-grown foods and other farm products used by the family.

During World War II labor pledged no strikes for the duration, and industry engaged in war work was protected in its profits by the "cost plus" contracts with the Government. Also the War Labor Board was set up to settle disputes between employers and employees. However, with the end of the war many contracts were canceled and employees were discharged; and while reconversion to peacetime products was taking place, overtime, which had been paid for at time-and-a-half or double-time, was abandoned. Under the Wagner Act unionization had gone on apace. The employees saw at once that take-home pay would be seriously reduced. Hence a veritable rash of strikes occurred on the demand that wages be raised to an amount that would equal the wartime take-home pay. The employers were "sitting pretty" because of the United States law which permitted them to draw back from the Government an amount of their excess profit taxes adequate to insure them a return on their capital equal to that earned before the war.

Moreover, a new corporate tax law became operative Jan. 1, 1946, which greatly reduced their taxes. Hence they were in a position to remain idle without reduction of net earnings during 1946, and were enabled to resist the demand of the unions for a 30 per cent increase of wages. The stage was set for a stalemate and possible violence. But up to the present writing very little violence has occurred.

4. Political conflict. Political conflict takes two forms: intranational and international. The first occurs between political groups within a nation; the second, discussed in the next section, is between nations. Of the latter the purest form is war.

In every nation in which there is freedom of discussion and meeting there are political parties. These organizations are competitors for the votes of the citizens and usually the processes of interaction are competition and contravention. But often they attack each other with great verbal and occasionally with physical violence. They usually personalize the conflict by attacking the opposing candidates with vituperation. In heated campaigns hatred flares up against the leaders of the opposing party. That aspect of political struggle is not in the technical sense conflict. So far as political campaigns are limited to the discussion of the principles of the party platforms, the process is competitive or contraventive. When only covert aspersions are cast upon the party or the candidates, it is contravention. Perhaps the conflict process is illustrated best by the violence between political parties in some South American countries and at times in Mexico. In its purest form it is to be seen in some of the revolutions in South American "republics"; in the Fascist, Nazi, and Bolshevik revolutions; and in the violent repressions of political minorities in various countries. In a country which suppresses opposing political groups, violent methods of opposition are much more frequently employed. All the hate of a suppressed minority, since it cannot express itself in discussion, bursts out in sabotage and assassination.

5. International conflict. War between nations is the most extensive and most devastating form of group conflict. The nation gathers to itself the loyalties and values not only of a political ideal but also those connected with the whole culture—class, home, family, religion, property, and personality.

The roots of conflict

The motivation of the earlier historical conquests is not entirely clear. It seems likely that they were motivated more by a desire for glory and domi-

nation than by economic aims, although doubtless even in the early group conflicts, the economic motive expressed itself in the desire for slaves and access to rich hunting grounds, and, after agriculture was developed, rich agricultural river valleys. With the rise of highly developed and aggressive religions dominating the culture of a people, religious differences motivated conflicts. The Assyrian and Egyptian despots were identified as the representatives if not the incarnations of the national gods. The various Moslem rulers looked upon themselves and their peoples as commissioned by Allah to conquer the "infidels." During the Middle Ages the Crusades were organized by the leaders of western Europe to wrest the Holy Land from the Moslems.

Recent conquests have been motivated more largely by the economic motive. Rapidly growing populations and lack of adequate resources for economic exploitation have motivated many of the international clashes of recent times. The economic motive has given rise to what is called today "economic imperialism." England could not have supported her population on the resources of her own little island. When in 1798 Malthus wrote his *Essay on Population*, England was feeling the pressure of overpopulation. By her conflict with France in North America and with the Portuguese in India, she was able to command the resources of these great areas for the benefit of her own people. Hence international conflict has been the outgrowth either of a desire for glory or for the spread of a supposedly superior culture or for securing new natural resources and new markets. The lust for power and glory and the clash of cultural ideals also play their part in the production of warfare. These roots of intergroup conflicts play their part also in the conflicts within groups.

When human beings come into contact or into communication with each other, the roots out of which conflicts grow may be summed up under the following categories: (1) individual differences, (2) cultural differences, (3) clash of interests of all kinds, (4) change.

1. **Individual differences.** The individual differences which we have already discussed under the heading of differentiation and resemblance explain in part why men and groups who come into contact or communication with each other find themselves often in more or less serious conflict. These individual differences give different points of view and provide the emotional disparities which lead to clashes. Since ideologies, values, and programs tend to focus about personalities, individual differences play their part in the various forms of conflict.

2. **Cultural differences.** The personality of the individual depends not only upon his constitutional make-up, but also upon the cultural patterns

to which he has been subjected during his development. He shares the outlook and the attitudes which are a part of the social organization of the group in which he has been reared. These cultural differences explain conflict not only between individuals but are highly important in the conflict between groups. Parts of the cultural pattern of Jews from Russia, for example, are different from those of English, French, German, or American Jews. Each has developed a cultural form which contains elements diverse from those in the complex of the others. The Irish and Italians have some elements of culture in common, such as religion, but many other aspects of their culture are so diverse that they do not get along well together. Frequently they despise each other and apply to each other epithets of derision. Cultural differences between national groups or racial groups often play an important part in generating emotional heat and violent conduct. Witness the important part played by the emphasis upon German *Kultur* in World War I and in the recent conflict.

3. Clashing interests. Clashing interests between individuals or groups are another source of conflict. These interests may be of all sorts. Economic interests today play a very important part. In industries the clash of interests between the employees and the employers frequently leads to strikes, lock-outs, and industrial disturbances of various sorts. Hitler said that he led Germany into war in order to secure *Lebensraum* ("room to live") for the German people, that he stood for the "have-nots" against the "haves." Japan attacked China because she needed the raw materials and the trade of China. Industrialists and their workers clash because of conflicting interests.

4. Social change. Rapid changes in any society disrupt the established relationships and divide people into separate groups, each cherishing divergent social values. The widespread use of new inventions results in discarding old methods in the production and distribution of goods, in the congestion of population, in increasing contact between peoples of different cultures and varied interests, and thus stimulates conflict. The change from the domestic to the factory system of industry broke down old relationships between master and man, precipitated divergence of interests, and often resulted in industrial strife. Change from a local to a world market brings the exporters and importers into competition, often into contravention, and sometimes into conflict.

Results of conflict

What are the results of conflict upon society? They may briefly be summarized as follows:



International conflict

The social and cultural dislocations of modern war are symbolized in this picture showing a German family living in its improvised shack amid the ruins of Nuremberg following the defeat of Germany in 1945. (Photo from Acme Newspictures, Inc.)

1. Solidarity of the in-group. When one group is in conflict with another, the result is usually a closer welding together of the individuals in each group. The members of the in-group submerge their individual differences and unite strongly for the protection of the values which they cherish as a group, especially when the conflict between groups is intense. This increasing solidarity, however, is dependent upon agreement between the members of the in-group on the value concerning which the conflict has arisen. Witness, the statements made by many soldiers in World War I that "going over the top" was the most thrilling experience in their lives. All inner conflicts are resolved in a concentration of purpose bringing every vagrant impulse and desire into subjection to what is felt to be a great objective. During the two world wars, for example, the solidarity of the people in each of the nations in the conflict was greatly increased, except for the members of those subgroups who did not sympathize with the values and actions of the other individuals and groups in the nation. It is only when the members of the group are fairly homogeneous in their interests and their values that group conflict increases solidarity.

2. Lessening of group solidarity. When the conflict is intragroup, the unity of the whole group is badly damaged. Thus in the United States during World War I some German subgroups were not closely united with the rest of the nation in the pursuit of the expressed aims of the country. In Russia large masses of the population did not sympathize with the autocracy which was carrying on the war against the Central Powers. Witness what has happened to the strength of organized labor in this country owing to the conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., what took place when Protestantism broke up into numerous sects, and what occurred in Britain after World War I when the Labor Party and the property-owning classes came into conflict on national policies.

3. Alteration of personality. In intragroup and intergroup conflict, there are always some individuals who share the loyalties and the values of two factions within a group, or those of two different groups. These individuals are torn between the ideals, aims, and values of the two factions of a group or between the two groups. In such cases some individuals are able to adapt themselves to the strained situation, while less stable personalities often undergo untold mental torture. Remember what emotional disturbances were experienced by many German-Americans during World War I. Certain values in the German culture were highly appreciated by them; some of them were personally acquainted with or even related to individuals in Germany whom they loved or admired; and hence they were unable to share the hate which many 100 per cent Americans de-

manded. On the other hand, they valued many of the features of the American culture. They were citizens of this country. They knew and liked many Americans. The conflict between their two loyalties brought distress to many of them which only death will erase.

However, when the conflict is intergroup, an *integration of the personality* often occurs, provided the individual identifies himself with only one group. Think of the statements by many of the soldiers in World War I that they had never found life so full and meaningful as when they were fighting against the Germans. Inhibitions and doubts were removed. The elemental passions of hate of the one group and love for the other were released to full expression; unreserved activities in the pursuit of a single aim were achieved; many of the soldiers were raised to heights of emotional exaltation of which they had never before been capable. Unreserved identification of themselves with what they believed was a great purpose—"to make the world safe for democracy," "a war to end all wars"—swept away the consciousness of all smallness of purpose, all selfishness, and enabled them to achieve a sense of personal integrity and dedication unique in their experience.

4. Destruction of blood and treasure. The clashes between laborers and employers in the United States destroy some lives every year and much property.

No one can estimate the total number of human beings who have died in war. In the World War, 1914 to 1918, 7,781,806 soldiers and sailors died. In addition vast numbers of civilians in the warring countries perished because of that conflict. It has been estimated that the direct cost of that war to the nations directly engaged was \$400,000,000,000. This figure takes no account of the indirect losses—trade and business disturbance—and the cost of the care of the disabled and of pensions for the ex-soldier and his dependents. Before the outbreak of war in 1939 it was said that seventy-one cents of every tax dollar collected by the United States in taxes went to pay for past wars or to prepare for future conflicts.

In Chapter 5 we have given an approximate estimate of the cost of World War II in lives and money. We need not repeat those figures. The final results of that conflict will not be known for many years. No argument is needed to anyone who is acquainted with the results in Europe and Asia to convince one that conflict has almost destroyed civilization. Will the after-war conditions lead to further wars?

5. Accommodation or domination and subjection. If the parties in conflict are fairly equal in power with the result that one party is not able to dominate or destroy the other, accommodation results. If they are quite

unequal in power, domination and subjection occur. In the course of time, even in the case of domination by one party over another, accommodation between the two gradually comes about.

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Exercises

1. Clearly distinguish between contravention and conflict as social processes.
2. Are the following illustrations of contravention or conflict: (a) the bitterness and recriminations between the Republican Party and the Bull Moose Party, the latter led by Theodore Roosevelt in the campaign for the presidency in 1912; (b) the heated campaign between the Democrats and the Republicans in the presidential election of 1940 (remember the eggs and vegetables thrown in some places during that campaign); (c) rowdy New Year's celebrations; (d) the shooting of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Austria in 1914; (e) peaceful picketing of an industrial plant or a mine by the members of a labor union; (f) the attempt of students to force their way into theaters during the celebration of a football victory; (g) the campaign for the election of the President of Mexico in 1940; (h) the smearing of Al Smith in the presidential campaign of 1928 among Protestant voters; (i) the National Socialist Revolution in Germany in 1933 and subsequently Germany under Hitler?
3. Is contravention always dissociative in its results? Why?
4. Rank in what you consider their relative importance from the point of view of the welfare of society the various forms of conflict discussed in the text.
5. Classify under one or more of the forms of conflict discussed in the text the following: (a) the fight between two male students over a girl; (b) a student riot between the lawyers and engineers; (c) a riot between strikers and representatives of the employers at a steel plant; (d) the violent clash between the strikers and the police at the Inland Steel Works at South Chicago in 1939; (e) the riots at Mexico City during the presidential election of 1940; (f) the racketeering activities of representatives of certain labor unions that forced the owners of certain industries, like the laundries in Chicago, to pay graft.
6. What were the important roots of World War II?
7. What good results may come out of an international conflict or a revolution within a society?

part 6 The individual in society



chapter 26 Socialization

By the term *socialization* in this chapter we mean the process by which the individual develops into a functioning member of the group, acting according to its standards, conforming to its mores, observing its traditions, and adjusting himself to the social situations he meets sufficiently well to command the tolerance if not the admiration of his fellows. We have described by other terms the processes whereby sub-groups and independent groups are molded into a social unity—accommodation, assimilation, and amalgamation.

The socialization of the individual. The process whereby the individual develops from a babe, responding to the stimuli about it in ways determined by the tendencies it has inherited, has been described as "the dialectic of personal growth." This whole process is dependent upon social relations. Were it not for the persons by whom it is surrounded, the child would never discover himself and would never develop into a social personality. It is through his association with others that he develops a consciousness of himself as a being different from others. He imitates others and through a comparison of the movements of other persons and himself he discovers a difference. The movements of his own body produce sensations within him which are lacking when other persons move—certain strains, stresses, resistances, pains, pleasures, etc. Then with effort on his part the sense of cleavage between himself and others springs up.

In the course of his experience he observes that others are also like himself, and he projects his own feelings, stresses, pains, and pleasures upon other persons. In other words, he can understand the others only as he assumes that they have the same feelings, etc., that he himself has. They are also persons like himself.¹ Hence, he develops not only a consciousness of his own individuality but also of his likeness to others.

¹ Baldwin, James Mark, *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1913, pp. 13-15; see also Piaget, *Judgment and Reasoning in the Child*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1928, and *The Child's Conception of Physical Causality*. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1930.

Now, let us glance briefly at the varied series of human relationships through which the individual by experience with other individuals enlarges his conception of the human world about him and adjusts himself to these relationships in a system of conduct which fits him for coöperation with his fellows in social life.

The child's first human relationships are with the immediate members of his family. He learns first of all from those immediately in charge of him, his mother or nurse and his father, or, in some societies those who function in their stead. Here he experiences love, authority, direction, protection, setting of examples, and ideals. Every moment of his conscious life, adult conduct is acting upon his consciousness according to the capacity he possesses to appreciate its meaning. It provides active stimuli to his nervous system. He reacts to this conduct by actions at first purely instinctive, or at least random, but becoming increasingly conscious and perhaps purposive. Habits form according to the treatment they give him and according to the reactions determined by his inherited capacity. As he grows older, imitation of parental actions and exposure to their suggestions lead him to form habits which affect his social life more profoundly than he will recognize until many years after, if at all.

If there are brothers and sisters in the family, they are supposedly of the same blood and have inherited with variations the same capacities. If they are adopted and therefore not of the same blood, at least they are developing under the same social circumstances. Other children influence a child in his development in some ways more than his parents. For example, in the childhood recreational activities of wholesome citizens studied some years ago in Cleveland it was found that "as potent as the guidance of adults appears to be in determining the uses of spare time among children, vastly more influential are the playmates of the children, according to the testimony here offered."² Possibly the explanation of the superior weight of the influence of other children in habit formation may be due to similar interest and methods of reaction found in like age. Other children in the home, whatever the psychological explanation may be, provide the child with examples of reaction to authority, to traditions, to suggestions, and to ideals of parents and others, which examples are imitated. Thus socialization goes on by reason of contacts with other children. Furthermore, the mere stimulus of interaction with other children in the home must not be discounted as a factor in socialization.

When the child becomes old enough to play with children from outside

² Gillin, *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*, Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, 1918, p. 41.



By permission of The New Yorker

"We have ways of keeping people quiet."

SOCIALIZATION BEGINS IN INFANCY

Sociology in cartoons

the home, another set of stimuli operates upon him. Forced to adjust himself to an ever-widening circle of personalities; reared under different conditions and with different habits and ideals, he learns, often slowly and painfully, to accommodate himself to increasingly complex situations. In the struggle to dominate or be dominated by his playmates he learns ways of adjusting himself to others. This, too, is socialization. And when the child starts to school, a still more complex situation confronts him. Here are still other children and one or more strange adults. To them he must learn to accommodate his actions, his words, and his ideas. He is becoming fitted for a larger and more complex social world.

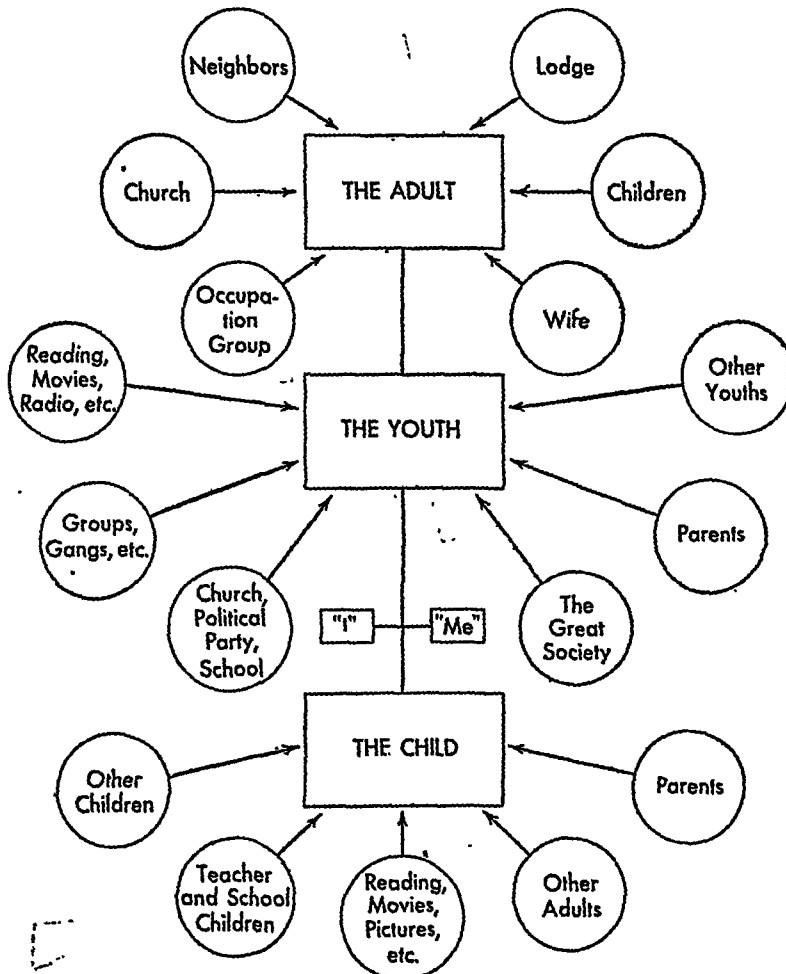
Then the developing individual gradually comes into contact with an increasing number of adults. The neighbors, with their various tricks of speech, their diverse ideas, their small peculiarities of habit; the store-keepers, the workmen on the streets, the scores of other people whom the child meets in his play or upon the road come into his life. Moreover, when he begins to read for himself, or when others read to him, his contacts with the life of other people multiply. New ideas are presented; new forms of conduct in stories challenge his attention; and his experience with people in action is widened through literature. New ideals are suggested to which he reacts either consciously or unconsciously. His habits are being formed; ideals current in the community are gradually being accepted. He is becoming further socialized.

Adolescence brings the youth a crisis which makes necessary new adjustments to life. The development of his physical organism brings him new feelings, new questions of conduct which must now be settled. Fears, hopes, and impulses are presented which are strange to his experience. A whole set of unaccustomed and novel habits must now be formed. Not only must he readjust himself to the opposite sex, but new attitudes toward other age classes—children, parents, old people—must be formed. A larger world of social relationships is stimulating him. He must come to terms with it in some way. All about him are suggestions in the sex, family, and business mores of his associations which present conduct patterns for him, and which he may adopt to some extent according to his own individual nature. It is in this stage of development that many failures in socialization manifest themselves.

If the individual continues his education in the schools, and if he comes in active contact with the church and other institutions, he further learns to adjust himself to a wider circle of beings under increasingly complex circumstances. The God of his childhood takes on new characteristics, and his religion is modified in accordance with his experience with men.

Then he marries. Again he is faced with a new series of accommodations in his personal conduct. Consideration for the wishes of the partner is stirred by the emotion of "love," however that may be locally defined. Selfish impulses are curbed by love's imperative; kindly conduct is prompted; and the joy of it realized, if never before, in the consideration

Socialization of the Individual



given to the mate. Often the partner is one who has been raised in circumstances quite different from those of his own childhood and youth. The two may have had disparate experiences. The habits, ideals, customs, and notions in the two families may have varied. If the spouses succeed in adapting themselves to each other, further socialization of both results.

Failure of socialization here results in marital unhappiness and divorce.

In due course of events, children may be born, and the individual is

faced with a new situation and the necessity of new adjustments, those of a parent. Wife and children are new pledges to fortune. Youth and ambition in our society are supposed to stir the man to efforts for business or professional success; the woman to recognition of success as wife and mother, and often to activities outside the home. As the children grow up, both parents are concerned with their success. They may sacrifice themselves to the drudgery of life that their children may be the fulfillment of their dreams—dreams which they have adopted as their own from those current in the society to which they belong. At any rate they learn to adapt their conduct to the necessities of the parental role. They learn to work with others in the enlarged responsibilities of family and civic life. The process of socialization certainly does not leave the parent untouched.

Here socialization often ends. With advancing age the mind, as well as the body, seems to lose its suppleness. Adjustments to new social situations become as difficult to make as habits of eating, and the fossilization of age stops the process of socialization in many people. Habits, as well as arteries, harden and refuse the strain of new demands. Yet there are exceptions, and one sometimes sees old people who possess a youthful outlook upon life, and who thereby have succeeded in adjusting their lives even in old age to the ways of a new generation. In such individuals socialization may continue actively to the end of life.

In these ways the individual is socialized or adjusted to the conditions of social life. Thus he learns to coöperate with his fellows. By the give and take of social intercourse through imitation, following examples provided by those whom he admires and respects, rejecting behavior patterns of those whom he dislikes, assimilating ideals suggested by word or action, responding to responsibility placed upon him by the circumstances of life in connection with those he loves or for whom he feels an obligation, he forms his ideals of conduct, habits of life, and becomes a part of the social life which surrounds him like an atmosphere. Socialization, then, is a process of adjustment by the individual, adjustment to conditions or situations predominantly determined by the society of which he is a member.

The above description of steps in experience by which the individual becomes socialized—integrated in the life patterns of a society—slights the psychological aspects of the transformation. A more careful analysis of these aspects is necessary for an understanding of the socialization of the individual.

Theories of the socialization of the individual

To simplify—perhaps to oversimplify—a rather complex matter, we may say (1) that society plays a role in the socialization of the individual, or (2) that there are certain psychological processes whereby the individual adopts as his own the attitudes, habits, and beliefs of his fellows.

A number of writers have carried on experiments on this problem. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb in their *Experimental Social Psychology: An Interpretation of Research upon the Socialization of the Individual* have described dozens of such studies. The student may investigate this material for himself, but we shall limit our discussion to four writers who have had great influence in the history of such theories.

These authors attack the same problem, but their approaches are different, and their analyses of the process vary in thoroughness and in fundamental concepts. A brief review of them in spite of their differences will perhaps help the student to form his own opinion as to how the individual makes his own the social norms. As one of the earliest of these attempts let us begin with Durkheim's analysis.

Durkheim's views. Approaching the problem of how the individual is molded in his actions and attitudes into conformity with the patterns of his society, Durkheim invokes the theory of *collective representations*. By this term Durkheim means a system of ideas, patterns of behavior, attitudes, and values held in common by a group of people, which system is impressed upon individuals by certain sanctions, chief among them in modern societies being the laws enforced by the state. These collective representations are accepted by the individual as his own. The process by which the individual makes them a part of himself Durkheim does not discuss, but it is clear that he conceives the individual personality as formed in response to social pressures applied to the constituent member of society.³ Durkheim represents a number of European sociologists who emphasized the theory that "the individual soul is but a microscopic reflection of the social world." Among them are De Roberty, Espinas, Draghicesco, and Simmel.⁴ This theory, although arrived at by another approach, was shared by Cooley.

Cooley's theory. Cooley insisted that human nature arose and could

³ Durkheim, Emile, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933, Ch. V. See also Sorokin, Pitrim. *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1928, pp. 463-480. Durkheim had no use in his scheme for individual psychology and therefore did not discuss the process whereby "collective representations" constrain the individual. See Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, pp. 360, 361.

⁴ See Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 445, 446.

face, only in individuals in association with each other. We can have no consciousness of a self except as we develop it through growing up in contact with others and becoming conscious of their attitudes, customs, and beliefs. Or pre-defined the *social self* as "any idea, or system of ideas, drawn from the communicative life, that the mind cherishes as its own."⁵ His theory was that the social self grows out of the self-feeling which is instinctive and "doubtless evolved in connection with its important function in stimulating and unifying the special activities of individuals."⁶ This social self is referred to by such words as *I*, *me*, *mine*, and *myself*. The individual distinguishes his "self" from that of others by consciousness that his "I" has not appropriated some thoughts, ideals, and behavior others have adopted.

How does this social self develop? According to Cooley, it is formed by imagining "how oneself—that is, any idea he appropriates—appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind." That social self he calls the "looking-glass self." This looking-glass self "seems to have the principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling such as pride or mortification."⁷ Hence the consciousness of individuality, or self-consciousness, implies social life plus relations with other persons.⁸ Thus, according to Cooley, the social self grows out of the self-feeling instinctive in its nature and, as has been said, develops the looking-glass aspect of self by imagining how the self appears to others, with resulting pride or mortification.

Mead's theory. Another American social psychologist, Mead, agrees with these earlier writers that society is responsible for the socialization of the individual, but differs sharply from Cooley in asserting that "self-consciousness, rather than affective experience with its motor accompaniments, provides the core and primary structure of the self, which is thus essentially a cognitive rather than an emotional phenomenon."⁹

In other words, to Mead "self-consciousness" rather than "self-feeling" lies at the base of the structure of the self. This self-consciousness, according to Mead, arises only out of social interaction. Only as the individual is self-conscious has he a mind. Hence human intelligence itself arises only

⁵ Cooley, Charles H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902, p. 147.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁹ Mead, G. H., *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1934, pp. 178 and 224, footnote.

out of the social processes.¹⁰ Human mind, then, rather than Cooley's instinctive self-feeling, is necessary for the development of the "self." Both Cooley and Mead agree that the self is of vital importance, since in the development of the self occurs the socialization of the individual. As Mead has analyzed more thoroughly than Cooley the processes of socialization, let us look briefly at his exposition of the processes by which, in his terms, the mind and the self develop.

The Biologic Individual. [The "biologic individual" must first be considered as distinct from the socially self-conscious individual. The conduct of the biologic individual does not involve conscious reasoning, while the conduct of the socially self-conscious individual does.] Roughly, the difference is that which exists between the behavior of the lower animals and that of men. But in human beings the two types of conduct exist and can be clearly distinguished; yet they are not on separate planes but play back and forth into each other. Man is not merely a biologic individual plus a rational self; we should not think of him as leading a dual life or as living two separate lives simultaneously—one of impulse and instinct and another of reason. Reasoned conduct grows out of impulsive conduct in the sense that the former enters when the latter breaks down. For example, in the human being, when the impulsive effort to get food does not succeed or where conflicting impulses thwart and inhibit each other, reasoning may enter the picture to provide a new procedure not at the disposal of the purely biologic individual. Reason enables man to "restructure the field." The biologic individual reacts directly toward things about him without the necessity of discovering factors in the situation other than those which meet his immediate vision, hearing, and contact. He simply responds to the stimuli presented.

Mead distinguishes ten great groups of biologic impulses in individual behavior: (1) the adjustments by which the individual maintains his position and balance at motion or at rest; (2) the organization of responses toward distant objects leading to movement toward or from them; (3) the adjustment of the surfaces of the body to contact objects by the hand; (4) attack on and defense from possible forms of prey involving specialized organization of the impulses just noted; (5) flight and escape from dangerous objects; (6) movements toward or away from individuals of the opposite sex and the sexual processes; (7) securing and ingesting food; (8) nourishment and care of children and suckling and adjustment of the body of the child to parental care; (9) withdrawals from heat, cold, and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Part I. For his brief summary, see especially p. 134.

danger, and the relaxations of rest and sleep; (10) the impulse to form habitations serving the functions of protection and parental care.¹¹ The biologic individual, in other words, is represented by the young child at birth or possibly even before, at the stage when whatever characteristics he has are due solely to what he has inherited. That is the raw material with which the processes of socialization begin.

As soon as the individual is born, his biological impulses are subjected by human society to a pressure which at once has an effect upon their future manifestation. The inborn impulses begin to be shaped and modified in accordance with the requirements of social life. What Mead calls *the act* —the result of the biologic individual's impulses—is modulated. What is the process by which these impulsive actions are thus modified?

Gestures, the Early Means of Communication, and the Act. The pressures of society have their effects upon the newborn babe, and constantly operate through the period of his development by means of what Mead calls "the internalization of the conversation of gestures" including vocal gesture or language. That is, the biologic individual has conveyed to him through the attitude of others certain meanings which are taken up by himself and form what Cooley calls the "looking-glass self." The result is that the individual looks with favor on the acts which he has the impulse to commit, but modifies them in accordance with the way he thinks those acts look to others. The individual's notions of how others regard his acts are conveyed to him through other individuals' gestures, attitudes, and language. Therefore the gestures, which are among the earliest means of communication, and the modified acts themselves both guide the individual in the completion of the act impulsively started. In short, purely impulsive acts are modified (1) by the gestures of other persons and (2) by the actor's opinion of other persons' opinion of his actions as he deduces it from their gestures.

Meaning. These gestures of others convey to him a meaning. They show to him how others look upon his contemplated act. In other words, they introduce to him the meaning of his act to other individuals and so modify the direct activity of the impulse.

The gesture tends to become a symbol. That is, it is symbolical of the attitude of others in the individual's environment. As gestures come to have meaning, they become *significant* gestures or symbols. To be significant we mean that they induce the individual to call out in himself the meaning of his gesture as recognized by the party to whom he makes it and then to use this knowledge for the control of his own further conduct. Mead uses the boxer as an illustration. When the boxer feints, he is using a gesture

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 347-349.

which is intended to convey the meaning of an impending blow to the other party and thus to provide an opening for another blow which the boxer really wishes to give. This is an extreme illustration of the way in which gestures convey meanings to another person. Such gestures, says Mead, are "significant gestures" because the actor recognizes what they mean to the other individual or individuals with whom he is interacting. He takes the "role of the other" and governs himself accordingly. When that happens, there is a communication of meaning between the interacting individuals, and symbols have become significant.

The "vocal gestures," or language, are the developed and much more effective means to produce all derivative forms of symbolism. The important thing in this matter of vocal gestures, or language, according to Mead, is that by their means the biologic individual appropriates to himself the social processes of communication and also the social act. Thus mind becomes social, and the individual assumes in thought the role of the other and controls his own conduct accordingly.

The biologic individual is neurologically equipped to pass from communication by gestures, which even some animals are able to use for communication, to the significant symbol, and so to develop a human mind. This process is greatly aided because the biologic individual has a hand with an opposable thumb which enables him to isolate physical objects and to manipulate them "with reference to further activity."¹² These two biological characteristics—the neurological equipment enabling the individual to take the role of another individual, and the hand, qualifying him to break up objects into minute parts, examine them more carefully, and use them as means to determine his further activity with reference to them—develop human intelligence. All of this, however, involves interaction with other individuals. Hence the mind develops in the social process. In summing up his discussion of the origin of the human mind Mead says, "Mind arises in the social process only when that process as a whole enters into, or is present in, the experience of any one of the given individuals involved in that process. When this occurs the individual becomes self-conscious; he has a mind; he becomes aware of his relations to the process as a whole and to the other individuals participating in it with him; he becomes aware of that process as modified by the reactions and interactions of individuals—including himself—who are carrying it on. The evolutionary appearance of mind or intelligence takes place when the whole social process of experience and behavior is brought within the experience of any one of the separate individuals implicated therein, and when the individual's adjust-

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 237-249.

ment to the process is modified and refined by the awareness or consciousness which he thus has of it. It is by means of reflexivity—the turning-back of the experience of the individual upon himself—that the whole social process is thus brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it; it is by such means, which enable the individual to take the attitude of the other toward himself, that the individual is able consciously to adjust himself to that process and to modify the results of that process in any given social act in terms of his adjustment to it. Reflexiveness, then, is the essential condition, within the social process, for the development of mind.¹⁸ Let us now look at his analysis of the development of self.

Development of Self. Language is necessary not only for the development of the mind but also for the origin of the "self." The self is not the physiological organism at birth, but arises out of the process of social experience and activity. Another variation from Cooley's theory occurs here in Mead's analysis. According to Mead, that which distinguishes the self is the capacity of the human organization to be an object to itself; it is self-conscious in the sense that it is cognizant of *itself* as it is conscious of the existence and activities of others. The mechanism by which selfhood is reached is that of taking the role of another through the use of language. Thus he can look back upon himself by memory, and act in accordance with that self in full view just as he can when through the language symbol he can look upon the acts and speech of another and act according to the meaning of those actions and of that language to him. The self is thus socially determined because it develops in the full play between the activities of others and of himself in relationship to others.

The Role of the Play and the Game. Language is supplemented by the play and the game. Through them also the individual becomes conscious of self. In the play the child plays one role after another, now being a horse, then an Indian, and again something or somebody else. Thus he learns to take the role of another. In the game, however, the process has become more complicated. Now he has to have made a part of himself the role, not only of one other, but of all the others in the game in order to play his part successfully. He must know by having adopted as his own the gestures of the third baseman, let us say, or the batter, and thus know what the gestures mean, if he is to order his conduct so as to perform properly his part in the game. He has now generalized the attitude of role-taking; he has taken the attitude of what Mead calls "the generalized other." By taking the role of the generalized other the individual becomes socialized in the sense that he knows the meaning of the symbols—gestures

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

and language—employed by other individuals, and governs his conduct accordingly.

The "I" and the "Me." Mead uses two other terms to explain the self—the *I* and the *me*. The *I* is the element in the self which denotes action and impulse. It is this principle which explains how the individual can contribute to social change. It explains the tendency of the individual to vary from others, although he may be quite conscious of others thinking through his understanding of the meaning of their actions and their speech. It is this process which gives society its leaders and enables every individual to modify to some degree the social order.¹⁴ It corresponds to Linton's *Individual Peculiarities*.

The social distinction between the *I* and the *me* is stated in Mead's own words as follows: "The *I* is the response of the organism to the attitudes of others. The *me* is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes."¹⁵ The *me*, in other words, is the self of which the individual is aware. If he is playing baseball or football he knows all the attitudes of the other players through the process of the "generalized other" mentioned above. Knowing the meaning of their attitudes he knows what is expected of himself. That is the *me* part of himself. But he also responds to what he knows is expected of him; he responds by action to his *me* self. This responding self is the *I*.

Mead's use of these terms may be somewhat puzzling, but careful consideration of the matter shows that he means that the completely developed self, or what we call the socialized individual, is really a fusion of two selves—the one resting upon the biologic nature of the individual, and the other consisting of the attitudes of others which he has made his own by accepting them as part of his role. Often there is conflict in one's self between his impulses and the social role he has accepted. The completely socialized individual is he who has so unified the *I* and the *me* that his impulses fit in rather perfectly with the attitudes of others, with the result that there is little conflict and the individual is an integrated self. Both selves, the *I* and the *me*, are the results of the impacts upon the biological individual of the social pressures of his environment through the process cited above.

Freud's views.¹⁶ Freud analyzes the processes whereby the individual adjusts to a life situation in a somewhat different manner. He is not interested in what we defined in the first paragraph of this chapter as the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. 24, pp. 173-178.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁶ Freud, Sigmund, *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1933, Ch. 3.

socialization of the individual. Rather he is concerned with the mechanism whereby the individual's behavior is determined, whether it be in accordance with social norms or contrary to them, i.e., all kinds of behavior. Yet his analysis contributes a theory of the socialization of the individual. Hence it is necessary to set forth briefly his theory of what he calls "the anatomy of the mental personality." In the interest of space we shall have to state his theory in its simplest terms and leave the interested student to a more careful study of the matters by reading Freud's own words in his works. Freud's account of the human mind postulates three processes—the "unconscious," the "preconscious," and the "conscious." The last needs no explanation. The unconscious one is made aware of, according to Freud, when the conscious part recognizes that another part of the mind has been at work through speaking or acting in an unintended way, e.g., "a slip of the tongue," dreams, and spiteful or obscene acts. The preconscious is that stage of the unconscious when the latter is only "latent" and so can easily become conscious. The preconscious stage is due to the fact that "most conscious processes are conscious only for a short period; quite soon they become *latent*, though they can easily become conscious again." Freud emphasizes in his most recent work that these terms—*unconscious*, *preconscious*, and *conscious*—are processes, not "provinces" or "systems" of the mind. Therefore to avoid misunderstanding he substitutes other words for the systems or provinces of the mind. The "three realms, regions or provinces" into which he divides the mental apparatus of the individual are the *id*, the *ego*, and the *super-ego*. A word about each of these must be said.

The Id. The *id* is "the obscure inaccessible part of our personality," and "the little we know about it we have learnt from the study of dream-work and the formation of neurotic symptoms." Most of what is known about the *id* is negative and can best be described "as being all that the *ego* is not." Freud calls it "chaos, a cauldron of seething excitement." He assumes that it is connected with somatic processes which hand over to it instinctual needs. These give it the impulsion to seek satisfaction of those needs without regard to consequences to the individual or to society. The *id* knows no values, no good or evil, and no morality; it seeks only to satisfy the basic impulses of the biological organism.

The Ego. According to Freud, the *ego* is "directed on to the external world, it mediates perceptions of it, and in it are generated, while it is functioning, the phenomena of consciousness." It is the sense organ receptive of both external and internal excitations. It functions as the organ which conveys to the *id* impressions of the external world and so protects the *id* from annihilation at the hands of the superior strength of outside.

forces. The ego interposes between desire and action "the procrastinating factor of thought"—thought made possible by memory of past experiences. The id which obeys only "the pleasure-principle," i.e., seeks the satisfaction of its imperious desires, is induced by the ego to substitute "the reality-principle," i.e., regard for the conditions of the external world, "which promises greater security and greater success." In short, the ego represents what in popular language is called "reason and circumspection," while the id is the organ of "the untamed passions." But since the ego, in Freud's view, is only a part of the id, that part which takes account of the dangers of the external world of reality, and draws its energy from the id, it plays tricks with the id whereby it draws additional energy from the latter. One such trick is the process of "identification"—identifying itself with the object desired by the id—and thus creates conditions under which the id can best fulfil its desires. For example, the id desires another's property and the individual takes it. The ego attempts to justify that act by pretending that the property really belonged to the individual who took it. Freud presents the relation between the id and the ego as similar to that between a horse and its rider. The function of the ego is that of the rider guiding the horse, which is the id. But like the rider, the ego sometimes is unable to guide the horse as it wishes and perforce must guide the id in the direction it is determined to go, or in a slightly different direction. Freud says that this difference in aims of the id and the ego leads to "repression-resistances" which merge into the id. It is out of this conflict between the ego and the id that psychosis develops. The ego has a hard task; it has three masters which it must serve as best it can. It stands between the id, representing the untamed passions, and the external world of reality; and then there is the third master, the super-ego. No wonder the ego sometimes finds it impossible to please all three simultaneously, especially when the commands of the three are in conflict.

The Super-ego. Freud's third region of the mental apparatus is the super-ego. And what is that? Its function is to "hold up certain norms of behavior, without regard to any difficulties coming from the 'id' and the external world," and "to enforce these norms by punishing the 'ego' with feelings of tension" manifested in "a sense of inferiority and guilt." But where does the super-ego get these norms? Here is where our interest in Freud's theory enters; now we see the bearing of his doctrine of the super-ego on the socialization of the individual. Let us begin with Freud's explanation of the genesis of the super-ego. In the early life of the child the parents take the role which the super-ego takes later in life. They set standards for his behavior and enforce them by affection and threats of punishment. In

course of time these standards of the parents are "introjected," or accepted by the child as his own, and these form the super-ego which from now on "observes, guides and threatens the 'ego' in just the same way as the parents acted to the child before." This acceptance of the norms of conduct enforced by the parents as a part of the individual's own being comes about by what Freud calls "identification," i.e., the establishment of the super-ego through a process whereby the child identifies himself with the parent. The details of the process of identification are unnecessary to explain here. The essential point is that by identification, the super-ego takes over as its own the norms of behavior presented to the child by the parents, and, as the individual grows, so also progress the norms of those persons who have taken the place of the parents and whom the child has come to consider ideal models. According to Freud, the super-ego has been determined by the earliest parental images. But we must remember that parents and others having to do with the training of the child reflect the culture of the society in which they live. Thus the super-ego represents the culture of society, at least that part of the culture which the parents and their surrogates have shared. Thus it is clear that according to Freud, the culture, as represented by those having closest contact with the child and the most influence upon his behavior in his early years, determines the character of the super-ego, that "region" of the mind which imperiously presses upon the individual the socially acceptable patterns of behavior.

But Freud's analysis is suggestive not only for the socialization of the individual, but also for the *imperfect* adjustment of individuals to social requirements. Perfect adjustment to the norms of society is indeed rare. Linton has pointed out one reason for this. He remarks that the individuals in a group participate unequally in the culture of that group, and "that no one individual is ever familiar with the total content of the culture of the society to which he belongs."¹⁷ As was shown in Chapter 6, most of the individuals of a group share in the "universals" of a culture, but not all in the "specialties" or the "alternatives." These categories may be represented as the products of Freud's ego and super-ego. Outside of these limits of culture, according to Linton, lie the individual peculiarities, which should not be classed as a part of culture, but which have a bearing upon the individual's participation in culture. Here Freud's analysis of the nature of the id with its energetic drives to realize its desires, and of the ego with its activities designed to guide the id in face of difficulties presented both by the external world and by the demands of the super-ego for conformity

¹⁷ Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, pp. 271, 277.

to social norms, is helpful in understanding why some individuals and sub-groups are never completely socialized. It also helps us to comprehend those variant individuals who have so much to do with bringing about social change, and those whom society must repress in what, it thinks, are the interests of group safety. Did space permit, Freud's analysis could be made to throw light especially upon that large group of individuals (e.g., the "insane") who, because of mental aberration fail to adjust to the culture of the society in which they live.

Since in our highly dynamic society subgroups develop which have a culture different in some respects from the great society of which they are a part, it is clear that even that individual who is well adjusted to the culture of the subgroup may be quite incompletely socialized in the great community. His super-ego has not been formed by the norms of that larger culture but by those of his subgroup. Hence the gangs, racketeers, and criminals of modern society, and no less the minority-group dissidents in times of crises.]

Socialization and the learning theory. Socialization may be viewed as a process whereby the individual learns the habits regarded as appropriate for him in his group and society. It is the business of every society to train members whose behavior is *predictable*, for unless this is achieved, social maladjustment is the result. In view of the great variety of customs and cultures found among the various societies of the single species of man, we know that the predictability of behavior which we find in all societies cannot be referred to instinct, but must be explained by principles of learning. In our society it is demanded that the adult individual be so trained that he can be relied upon to bathe in the bathroom and wear clothing on the street, pay his debts and honor contracts, obey properly constituted authorities and obtain obedience from underlings, sleep in a bed and not in a gutter, eat without smearing his food over his face, and so on through a host of other required patterns)

In order to understand learned behavior we must be familiar with the *principles* which govern learning in the organism and also with the *conditions*¹⁸ under which learning takes place. In Chapter 4 we set forth briefly certain learning principles. The various environments provide the conditions. We have seen that for the human being in society the crucial conditions are set by the other members of society through whom the *culture* is made

¹⁸ Miller, Neal E., and Dollard, John, have been the first to emphasize the reciprocal relation between stimulus-response psychological principles and social science in the study of human behavior. Social science studies the conditions, psychology the principles. See their *Social Learning and Imitation*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

manifest. The culture and the cultural equipment provide stimuli and stimulus situations which evoke responses and provide rewards or punishments. The culture is thus a huge response-evoking and response-reinforcing system maintained in operation by the members of the society.

At first the child has only innate, primary drives or needs, which nevertheless require satisfaction; at first they must all be satisfied by parent or nurse. The child very early learns how to elicit satisfaction from the parent and consequently comes to attach value to this agent of his rewards. By the principle of anticipation, securing the approval and avoiding the displeasure of the parent become goals to be sought, while the frustrations imposed by the parent may give rise to angry reactions. Thus acquired drives and motivations overlying the crude primary drives are rapidly built up. The parent or nurse acts as the agent of the culture to the little child. By eliciting the approved responses and hundreds of times each day dispensing small rewards or imposing small punishments, he guides the neophyte into the framework of his culture and reinforces the basic habit systems. It is for these reasons that the family situation during the first years of the child's life is so important both from the point of view of the society as a whole and from the point of view of the individual personality. As the child grows and extends its experience outside the home, other surrogates of the culture enter the picture, instructing, tabuing, rewarding, to build up further habit systems.¹⁹.

Miller and Dollard²⁰ have presented a strong case for the importance of imitation in the socialization process. On the basis both of theory and of experimental work with children, they contend that imitation is itself learned and that it may attain the status of an acquired drive. They point out that imitation is a process by which matched acts are elicited and connected to discriminated stimuli and that it can occur only under conditions which are favorable to the learning of matched acts. When matching ("imitating") the behavior of other persons is regularly reinforced, it may generalize into an acquired or derived drive of imitativeness. The importance of matched behavior in social life should be clear to the readers of this book. Not only is joint social action a fundamental feature of many types of coöperation, but imitation plays a role in leadership and followership, in social control, and in social change. Imitation has often been taken as an innate human trait, but Miller and Dollard's analysis makes a strong case for the view that it is habitually practiced only if rewarded. We learn to

¹⁹ For an analysis of socialization in a Melanesian tribe from this point of view, see Whiting, John W. M., *Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

²⁰ Miller and Dollard; *op. cit.*

imitate successful models and learn not to imitate unsuccessful ones. The boy athlete tries to match the baseball behavior of Joe di Maggio, not that of the second-string substitute of the sand-lot team. Furthermore, to mention only one other factor, our imitativeness depends upon the state of our motivations. For example, the father of a three-year-old son may have an acquired drive (appetite) which we call the tobacco craving and which pipe-smoking rewards. The small son will usually try to match his father's pipe-smoking behavior only once, because not only does he have as yet no such acquired drive which smoking satisfies, but also the experience proves actually punishing and painful.

Miller and Dollard distinguish two types of imitative behavior. First is matched, dependent behavior in which the leader has learned which environmental stimuli to respond to, but the follower has not and is therefore dependent upon the leader to signalize what act is to be performed and when and where. The authors invoke this mechanism in dealing with certain types of crowd behavior. The second type of imitation is copying. This involves a model, a critic who points out one's deviations from the model (one can learn to be his own critic), and an anticipation on the part of the copier that he will be rewarded by learning to match the model act. Once one has learned the model act, it may then be reproduced independently of the leader's actual presence. It would appear that copying is an important mechanism in the inculcation of culture and in such matters as social control by example. Copying apparently develops only in the presence of appropriate conditions of reward.

Summary

We have reviewed these writers on the problem of socialization of the individual in order that the student may be acquainted with some of the attempts to understand this puzzling problem. Each has contributed something to a better understanding of an intricate process. Durkheim with his concepts "collective representations" and "collective consciousness" called attention to the play of culture in which the individual grows up on the formation of his personality. The mechanism by which the individual makes a part of himself the attitudes and values of the group to which he belongs Durkheim did not elucidate. Cooley pushed the analysis of the process further by his theory of the "looking-glass self," but he did not describe the function of gesture, language, the play, and the game in the formation of that self. Mead passed beyond his predecessors in his minute analysis of the process of socialization through his concept of the "I," which stresses those phases of conduct that permit the biological basis of the self to have the opportunity to manifest itself, and of the "me" or the self which is "the

organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes," and by his positing of "the generalized other" as the norm-giving factor in one's conduct. Freud attacks the same problem with his theory of the "id," the "ego," and the "super-ego" as the three realms, regions, or provinces of the mind, and by his interpretation of the way in which each of these functions in individual conduct. You will observe that Durkheim, Cooley, Mead, and Freud all agree that the individual is molded in the pattern of his society by the social pressures upon him. Durkheim does not analyze the process whereby the individual adopts the social pattern as his own. Each of the others has his own analysis of this process, each analysis differing from that of the others. Since all of these are hypothetical and rest only on common observation without any carefully controlled experiments to determine just what is the process involved, we must beware that we do not dogmatically assert that one or another is the actual process. We are at liberty to accept one or another, or make a different analysis of our own. The stimulus-response psychologists have worked out a series of learning principles, while the social scientists are now beginning to analyze social and cultural conditions in the light of these principles.

Durkheim emphasizes the social factors without giving proper recognition to the role of the biological organism in the adaptation of the individual to social requirements. For example, differences in biological equipment, not social influences, explain in part the lack of socialization of the mentally defective. Cooley's position is less extreme than that of Durkheim—he assumes the biological basis on which the social influences act, but he makes little use of them in the formulation of his theory. Mead and Freud—Mead with his "biologic individual" and Freud with his "id"—give full recognition to the role of the biological organism in the process of socialization. While these four men are only samples of the thinkers from Comte down to present-day sociologists who have concerned themselves with this problem, and while they differ in their analysis of the processes in which the individual develops a way of life in conformity with that of his group, all agree that socialization comes about (1) by interaction between the individual and other members of his group and (2) by the individual through some physical process making at least the universal elements of the culture of his group his own. Probably the last word has not yet been said on the psychosocial processes involved. It is clear, however, (1) that every individual of ordinary intelligence living in a society comes to share in a greater or less degree the culture of his society; (2) that his attitudes, actions, and beliefs are the result of his exposure to the culture of his group, and of his own habitual reaction to that culture; (3) that by some process, described variously by Cooley, Mead, and Freud in our review, he appropriates at least a part of this culture, and it becomes so much a part of himself through habit that he is often unconscious that he received it from others; and (4) that as a result he is knit into the fabric of his group as an integral part—its values are his, what it approves he accepts, and what it condemns he eschews. Thus the individual becomes socialized.

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Exercises

1. In our society what are the chief institutions which have to do with the socializing of the individual? Which of these do you consider the most important?
2. In the light of this theory of the socialization of the individual explain the problem child; the peculiarities of the bachelor or the "old maid."
3. Is the theory of socialization set forth in the text adequate to explain the attitude of Jesus, when, on being informed while teaching that his mother and his brothers and sisters were waiting to see him, He replied: "Whosoever doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven is my mother and sister and brother"? (Mat., 12:46-50.)
4. In what respects does Durkheim's theory of socialization through collective representation differ from that of Cooley? From that of Mead?
5. What are the particular differences between the theory of Cooley and the theory of Mead as to how the socialization of the individual occurs?
6. Compare the analysis of the process whereby the norms of society become the individual's own norms for his behavior as described by Cooley, Mead, and Freud.
7. Why does an individual sometimes become a criminal (*a*) according to the theory of Cooley, (*b*) according to Mead, (*c*) according to Freud?
8. May a person be thoroughly socialized within a minor group and yet remain unsocialized in the great society of which his minor group is only a part? Explain.
9. Have you ever met a person who made on first acquaintance a very unfavorable impression upon you but who on later acquaintance proved to be a very congenial personality? Explain this on the basis of Mead's theory of meaning, of gestures, and of language.
10. In which theories—those of Durkheim, Cooley, Mead, Freud—does the family play an important part in the socialization of the individual or in preventing the socialization of the individual?

chapter 27 Culture and personality

Although the underlying structures and functions of society and culture ring our lives about and set the stage for most of our experiences, those experiences themselves—in so far as they are social and meaningful—are usually concerned with human beings, with individuals, with persons. Individuals, after all, make the world go round, even though they follow cultural patterns in doing so and usually function as members of organized groups and categories. How may we understand persons? Does a knowledge of cultural patterning aid us in analyzing the individual and in predicting his behavior? As the psychological and social sciences have progressed, it has become increasingly evident that they find one of their common meeting grounds in the study of the individual. The person-in-culture has become an object of scientific attention.

Aspects of personality

What is personality? In the preceding discussion of socialization we have seen that each society is required to devote a good deal of its efforts to the task of transforming the young human animal into a person who, at least to a minimum degree, understands the people and customs of his group and who, in turn, can be understood by his fellows in terms of the notions which are traditional with them. This process, in essence, seems to have two sides. (1) The individual must acquire content; that is, he must learn the customs of action, of communication, and of attitude which the society expects of its members. (2) He must in some way organize his content, so that he is able to function as a more or less integrated being, according to the minimum standards of his society. When the processes of physical maturation and of socialization have been successfully completed, the somewhat disorganized newborn infant, who arrives in the world with only a few innate reflexes insufficient to insure his survival without aid, is transformed into a person, capable of contributing to the welfare of his

society and able to strive in coherent fashion for the satisfaction of his own wants and needs.

The personality, therefore, may be regarded as an individual's organization of actions and tendencies to act (attitudes) and accompanying emotions and tendencies to emotion. Obviously much of the personality is "internalized" or covert, so that our knowledge of it is obtained only from its manifestations in the form of overt actions and representations.

Sources contributing to the personality. In general there are three types of sources from which the content and organization of the personality may be drawn. These are (1) the constitutional characteristics of the individual, (2) the personal-social life experiences of the individual, and (3) the cultural training and culturally structured experience of the individual.¹ We shall discuss each very briefly.

Constitutional sources. We have no space in a book of this type for an exhaustive discussion of constitutional factors in personality formation and function, but we may mention a few of the more obvious which the reader will recognize without difficulty. Although not all of these features are apparently genetically controlled, they constitute the bodily and physiological raw material, so to speak, which the individual has to work with, and play a far from negligible role in determining the sort of person he is. (1) Basic intelligence or mental ability (as distinguished from acquired knowledge) is probably the most fundamental aspect to be considered, for it has to do with the individual's inherent capacity to learn and to solve problems. Persons of very low intelligence, such as idiots, are incapable of developing personality at all in any meaningful sense of the word. (2) The basic endocrine balance of the individual seems to set limits to his emotional and affective manifestations and underlies that aspect of his personality which is called *temperament*. Two aspects deserve mention: (a) total energy output and (b) quality of output. Some persons seem to be inherently more energetic than others. Likewise, between individuals with much the same energy potential, differences may be observed in rhythm, in emotional involvement, and in "tone" (e.g., elation, depression, etc.). All of these features can be to some extent modified by experience, but in so far as the individual's limits are set constitutionally, they cannot be modified by culture or society, except through medication or surgery. (3) Body build, including stature, is a constitutional factor, which can be modified by diet and other cultural patterns only to a limited degree. Each society, however, usually sets up a cultural ideal of the most admired body types.

¹ Cf. Young, Kimball, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1940, Chapter I.

Among ourselves, men who are constitutionally of short stature and "skinny" body build, and women who are fat and "homely," often feel that they do not conform to the approved physical types and develop certain personality traits which serve as psychological and social "compensations" for their so-called inadequacies.² Again, in a society which highly values strong muscles, a physically puny individual is somewhat at a disadvantage. So also, almost any physical feature may be approved or disapproved by the group, or may aid or retard an individual in the struggle for status, and therefore represents a constitutional factor in his personality make-up.

Personal-social experiences. In the life of every person there occur two general types of experiences: those which are accidental, in the sense that they are not predictable and common to the average members of the group; and those experiences which are patterned by culture and are, therefore, on the average predictable and expectable. The first of these Kimball Young calls personal-social experiences. On the whole, the significance of such experiences is minor for almost all persons, since the bulk of a typical individual's life situations are culturally structured, but in exceptional cases the personal-social experiences, especially if traumatic or shocking, may have an important influence on personality development. Even when not of a shocking nature their cumulative effect may be significant. Examples of the traumatic type of personal-social experience are a frightening episode during childhood with darkness or with a bully, adolescent seduction by an older person, unusually heavy punishment in the home or at school, a disaster such as fire in the house or a hurricane, and the like. Warping experiences of the slower, cumulative type may include the accident of being born the "baby" of a large family and receiving unusual attention from older siblings and parents. The whole matter of birth-order and subsequent experiences based on it may be either patterned or unpatterned, depending upon the society. Among the Tanala of Madagascar and in many parts of Polynesia and Europe, for example, the eldest son received especially favorable treatment as he grew up, whereas such a tendency is, if anything, reversed in many categories of our own society. It is also an accident if one's parents were continually bickering during childhood, if one's father was a drunkard who mistreated his family, and so on.

Cultural experiences. The majority of the typical individual's experiences in any society are laid out for him in advance, as it were, by the culture of his society, which tends to impinge upon him from the moment

² The question of the possible constitutional relationship between physique and temperament and other aspects of personality has been extensively investigated, but still remains an open question. The most recent large scale efforts is Sheldon, W. H., *The Varieties of Temperament*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1942.

of birth. There are variations in detail, to be sure, but the more significant conditioning is provided by a system of fairly consistent rewards and punishments which are patterned and common to the group as a whole, especially during the early years of life. These systems of experience, of course, vary from one culture to the next. To mention only one simple example, practically all babies in our society wear diapers and sleep on soft beds; in Hopi society (a Pueblo tribe of the Southwest) hardly any babies wear diapers (in our sense of the word, at least), whereas practically all of them sleep on relatively hard and rigid cradle boards. Likewise in its methods of timing of feeding, elimination, sleeping and rest, patting and fondling, punishment, and so on, each culture has its own configuration of practices and ideas which it presents to the child. The latter, being relatively helpless, is forced to reach some *modus vivendi* with its cultural system, and this adjustment colors and shapes a large part of the personality of the individual, both as a child and as an adult.

One feature of the development of the person deserves special mention, even in so brief a discussion as the present. This is the fact that all human individuals during the earlier part of their lives are dependent upon their elders for *security*. The need for security, as discussed in Chapter 4, is not a psychological *drive*, but rather a combination of drives, innate and acquired. The human infant at birth is unable to satisfy completely his innate drives upon which his whole need for security at that period is based. Thus the cultural system for satisfying such drives is of crucial importance; for the infant, even before he acquires language and "consciousness" (mental activity), learns whether or not the satisfactions which his culture provides are consistent and reliable. We have an excellent study of the Alorese culture in which the basic needs of the small child are not consistently and reliably satisfied.³ And the conclusion seems to be inescapable that the poorly integrated, somewhat disoriented, "shifty" personality of the adult in that society is a result of a basic insecurity created in childhood by the system.

It should also be remembered that a cultural system has the quality of developing acquired drives or wants in the members of the society who practice it and to whom it is taught. A system of wants is thus built up in the average person, together with a selection of approved means of satisfying them, plus a set of attitudes and ideas regarding the "necessities" of life and the "rightness" or "wrongness" of what to do about them. It would run

³ Du Bois, Cora, *The People of Alor*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1945; Kardiner, Abram, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, Chapters 5 to 9, inclusive.

counter to all we know about human beings if exposure to such a system of training, teaching, and experience did not affect that organization of actional and mental tendencies which we call the personality.

Since the average human being is, as we have seen, extremely malleable and able to learn from (or to be affected by) experience, and since the bulk of human experience is culturally patterned or structured, it seems to follow that in all but exceptional cases the culture is the most important source of at least the manifest personality. Since cultures vary in their patterning of experience, it also follows that persons accustomed to one culture will show manifest personality characteristics which, on the average, distinguish them from persons who are products of another culture, and that these personal differences will vary with the extent of the cultural differences.

Interrelatedness of sources. Even though, as in the preceding paragraphs, we are able to isolate certain factors which contribute to the personality, a moment's reflection will convince anyone that in the majority of cases they are intertwined and subject to mutual modification.

In certain exceptional types of persons, which are called pathological and which are fortunately in the minority, constitutional factors limit the development of functioning of full "normal" personalities as approved by the society. The feeble-minded, for example, are unable to develop full adult personalities because of their constitutional inability to learn. Certain types of psychotics ("insane") are unable to function as normal persons because of constitutional tendencies toward personality disorganization. Among such conditions are probably schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis, and epilepsy. However, there is a good deal of evidence which seems to indicate that social and cultural conditions which create strain and tension in the individual tend to bring such tendencies out into the open, whereas sociocultural surroundings which provide security and freedom from demands enable many a person with such constitutional tendencies to maintain normal adjustment.⁴ We have seen also that each culture tends to interpret constitutional manifestations in its own way. Even what we call psychotic manifestations receive social sanction and special status in some societies, as when epileptic episodes (or imitations of them) are regarded as a prerequisite of qualifying for the position of medicine man among certain Siberian and Californian tribes.⁵

⁴ E.g., Faris, R. E. L., and Dunham, H. W., *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939, which shows highest psychosis rates for Chicago in rooming house districts, Bohemia, slum areas, and certain depressed Negro districts of the city.

⁵ Cf. Kroeber, A. L., "Psychosis or Social Sanction," *Character and Personality*, Vol. 8, pp. 204-215, 1940; Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin, New York,

Likewise the impingement of cultural factors may be affected to some extent, at least in a complex society, such as our own, by personal-social accidents. For example, it is an accident from the individual's point of view if his parents happened to hold "old-fashioned" ideas of child training and thus brought him up according to patterns no longer current in his group.

Finally, it is clear that cultural patterns and the conventional meanings of culture pervade all aspects of the personality. Constitutional peculiarities, as we have seen, are assigned cultural definitions current in the group, and the individual tends to accommodate to such definitions. Accidents of the life history, such as frights, unpatterned relationships with others, and the like, are interpreted in the light of the cultural system. Thus the life history of an individual is often a complex interplay of constitutional, personal-social, and cultural forces which tug this way and that in the developing person.

Levels and facets of the personality. In the previous chapter we have made some mention of the *Freudian analysis* of the personality. (1) Freud took the position that the personality is stratified into three levels: the conscious, the subconscious, and the unconscious. It was perhaps in his "discovery" of the unconscious that Freud made his greatest contribution, for it is now generally recognized that much of the content of every personality is buried below the level of consciousness. In general, this fact is due to two types of circumstances. First, the experiences and patterns which are internalized during early childhood, before the individual has developed the use of linguistic symbols, are in large part unconscious because they were not symbolized when learned. Second, it is probable that patterns and tendencies which the conscious part of the person regards as painful or shameful (usually as a result of social training) are "repressed" to the unconscious in an attempt, as it were, to "keep them out of mind." From the pragmatic point of view the unconscious level is of importance, because the individual often acts in accordance with these "buried" drives and patterns, although he is unaware of so doing and may be unable to explain, even to himself, why he acts the way he does. (2) It will also be remembered that Freud took the position that the personality could be divided into three other aspects, which he called, respectively, the id, the ego, and the super-ego. In simplified modern language, the id would be considered that

1934. A review of a good share of the literature on this subject will be found in Gillin, John, "Personality in Preliterate Societies," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4, pp. 681-702, 1939.

part of the person concerned primarily with basic physiological drives and their satisfaction, whereas the super-ego represents the secondary cultural drives and socially approved cultural patterns which have been internalized by the individual. The ego, finally, represents the organizing or integrating aspect of the personality. From the Freudian point of view, individuals may be described and compared in terms of the balance between these three aspects of their personalities. Thus, if one's id overbalances his super-ego, we would say that he was perhaps poorly organized as a person, and so on.

A number of other facets of the personality are commonly recognized. (1) The energy potential seems to be a fundamental feature of personality, and may vary from person to person. Although this attribute, strictly speaking, appears to be a constitutional one based upon the endocrine balance of the individual (his ductless glands), it must be remembered that cultural patterning and accident may both affect the manifestation of energy output. In some societies and social categories, an appearance of low energy output is regarded as desirable, although a change of cultural pattern will demonstrate a considerably higher level of innate drive. For example, in some sections of the Southern mountains, the average individual appears to be "born tired." However, the "tired" Southern boys when drafted into the Army and subjected to a pattern which called for high energy output were, on the whole, able to prove themselves as energetic as the others. Accidents may cut down the energy potential of an individual; this is particularly true of certain types of diseases and parasites, such as hookworm, chronic malaria, and the like.

(2) Temperament refers to the quality of the energy manifestation. (a) The individual may have a steady flow of energy, or may alternate between phases of high and low activity. (b) The energy of the individual may be directed primarily outward ("extroverted" personality) or for the most part inward ("introverted"). (c) The activity of the person may be accompanied by a pleasant, optimistic feeling tone, or by an unpleasant, depressed, pessimistic emotional setting, or by something midway between such extremes. (d) The activity manifestations may be either aggressive and masterful, or submissive. Although all of these features of temperament probably have an underlying constitutional basis, it appears that their manifestations can be considerably affected by the sociocultural situation and training. For example, it is often said that females are constitutionally of a submissive, nonmasterful temperament. But Margaret Mead has reported on one tribe in New Guinea (the Tchambuli) in which the women are masterful, aggressive and "masculine" (as defined in our society) and the

men are submissive and "feminine."⁶ That this is not to be explained by genetic factors was apparently demonstrated by the fact that Dr. Mead found two tribes (Arapesh, Mundugumor), living within a few miles of the Tchambuli and of the same physical stock, which presented male and female temperaments strongly contrasting with those of the Tchambuli and also with each other. Numerous other instances of the influence of culture upon the social manifestations of temperament might be cited. In fact, the influence of sociocultural alterations of the situation is recognized in standard psychiatric treatment of numerous types of neurotic difficulties, such as neurotic depression and "inferiority feelings." Many a case of this sort returns to socially approved norm when his situation is altered in such a way as to allow expression of approved temperamental manifestations.

(3) Character, to which we have previously referred, is the term often used to describe the organization of attitudes, ideas, and tendencies to act. So far as content of character is concerned, it is obviously learned and not inherited through the germ plasm. Constitutional and accidental factors may intervene to influence the organization, but it is probably safe to say that in "normal" cases the influence of culture is overweening here as well.

From these various sources and through these different aspects of himself the typical individual anywhere weaves, to use Adler's term, a "style of life" which manifests a certain integration and consistency and which, therefore, permits prediction concerning the individual's actions in future situations.

Some mechanisms of personality. Perhaps as means of preserving the integration and continuity of the "style of life" there seems to be a tendency for the ego to employ, so to speak, various mechanisms, which we may mention briefly. In almost all of them the influence of the social and cultural milieu is to be seen. *Rationalization* is the procedure of justifying one's actions in terms which are socially acceptable and permissible to one's own "conscience" (consisting largely of internalized cultural attitudes). Thus one convinces himself, at least, that he is not going to a certain movie in order to gaze upon the legs of pretty girls, but because the musical compositions deserve serious study; a doctor does not oppose socialized medicine in order to protect his financial interests, but to preserve the "American way of free enterprise." *Sublimation* is a process of transferring one's activities to socially acceptable goals which serve as a substitute for others not practically attainable. Many a woman who is unable to satisfy her sex needs and desire for a male partner sublimates such drives into care for other people's chil-

⁶ Mead, Margaret, *Sex and Temperament in Three Savage Societies*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1935.

dren, an interest in books, or activities for civic welfare. *Compensation* is a process whereby the individual adopts a substitute role or series of responses in place of some other which he feels inadequate to perform. The puny man, for example, may compensate for his lack of athletic ability by becoming a sports writer; the short man may make up for what he feels to be an inferiority conferred by lack of stature, by exceptionally aggressive behavior; the unattractive girl may attempt to win recognition by "intellectual" accomplishments to compensate for her want of sex appeal. *Projection* is the mechanism whereby one attributes to others one's own ideas, emotions, or attitudes. On the one hand, we have the individual whose every thought is profit and gain, and who takes the position that everyone else is motivated by the same considerations. On the other, we have the trusting soul who believes the best of everyone and cannot be convinced that other persons may harbor dishonest motives. Numerous other types of projection are, of course, familiar to the reader. *Identification*, or introjection, is the tendency to assimilate one's own motives and actions to those of someone else. The high school flapper who fancies her characteristics to be similar to those of some glamorous motion picture star is familiar. The small boy who tries in every way to be the equal of his father is another example.

Although a good deal of literature deals with these mechanisms in their pathological manifestations, the reader should understand that they are "natural" and common to "normal" people as well. In fact, a good deal of the social unity and "social sympathy," for example, of which older sociologists made so much, is explicable by the universal tendencies to project and to identify with others. Without identification, for instance, social control by means of living examples of socially approved types would be ineffective. Most cultures provide patterns which are consistent with these mechanisms and which serve to maintain the integrity of the personality as well as the individual's function in society.

Culture and the personality

Approaches. It is possible to study personality from two points of view.

First, one may be interested primarily in the individuality and peculiarity of the individual. This point of view is especially congenial to those whose primary concern is the "treatment" of aberrant types; specialists such as psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and social workers are in part interested in the relatively unique characteristics of the individual. So also are sociologists and cultural anthropologists when endeavoring to determine the origins of cultural items, new departures in custom, and the like, for they

know that innovations come only from individuals and they wish to know why individual A creates an invention and B does not.

Second, one may be interested primarily in the similarities, rather than the differences, between persons. Common observation shows, for instance, that Americans are more like other Americans and that Hopi Indians are more like other Hopi Indians than members of either group are like the other. Within a given society with a common culture it seems that certain personality similarities develop. How is this to be explained? The psychologists and biologists have done most to explain individual peculiarities. They rely chiefly on the theory of the inherited potentialities. But little has been done on the question of how the culture affects the behavioristic expression of these presumably inherited individual differences.

From what has gone before we know that personality is in large part a product of experience, that the bulk of all experience is structured from birth by the culture of the society in which the individual is born and develops, that each culture exerts a more or less uniform pressure upon the persons associated with it even while it differs from every other culture. From all this it follows that certain similarities in personality structure and content are to be expected in individuals who have been reared and taught to participate in a given society. In fact, our knowledge of the effects of learning and conditioning upon human beings would seem to be worthless if this result did not take place. Likewise, since cultures differ among themselves, it follows that personalities should differ in some respects in accord with the dissimilarities between the cultures with which they are or have been associated.

Social personalities. Regarded from the social and cultural point of view we may discern the production of social personalities in any society—configurations of personal characteristics which are a result of the uniformity, in so far as it exists, of pressures in a given society. The social personality may be regarded as something which is learned and which is acquired over and above the core personality. The latter, in addition to cultural factors, is also determined by constitutional and personal-social factors already discussed. In order to understand individual differences, one must study the core personalities of the individuals composing a society. But in order to understand the social characteristics of the members of a given society, it is possible, up to a point, to ignore the core personality.

General personality type. With the majority of its members a society usually both expects to produce, and succeeds in producing, a uniformity in certain personal characteristics. Thus, for example, if "frankness" and "directness" can be considered traits of personality, the majority of Ameri-

cans probably exhibit them. On the other hand, among the Arabs of North Africa a certain "deviousness" seems to characterize most persons; it is seldom that anyone states the "truth" in so many words. Such traits, of course, are organized into configurations which differ as between societies. Unfortunately, truly scientific investigation of these matters is not conclusive at present, but most observers agree upon the plausibility of the concept of the general personality type as developed in various societies.

Status personalities. This, on the other hand, is the term applied to those aspects of a given individual which we see most often in action. They are derived from the various positions one occupies in the local system. Most of us "put on" and "take off" a series of status personalities several times a day, and certainly several times during a month or year, as we assume one or other of the roles we are expected to play in society. Often the contrast in status personalities is striking. One learns to know the stern head of a business concern in his office, but when invited to his home for a weekend one finds that he is "an entirely different type of person" in his role as relaxed host and family man. The professor who is a model of correctness as he lectures to his class is often an easy-going humorist, "just one of the boys," when he settles down with his collar open for the weekly game of penny ante with a select group of cronies. The disciplined, conscientious machine-tender in a factory becomes an emotional leader when addressing the meeting of the union in the evening.

Close observation of a given individual's manifestations of his various status personalities will usually disclose a common thread or style running through them all. Each status defines a certain range within which the individual occupant is supposed to stay. But the influence of each individual's core personality is manifested in his style while playing a role, while manifesting his status personality. For example, our society insists that a physician in his professional capacity exhibit a certain gravity and seriousness, but one physician may be actually lugubrious, whereas another may be somewhat jolly. No physician, however, in his professional capacity, is expected to be consistently discouraging on the one hand or excessively frivolous on the other. In contrast, a professional comedian is expected always to display a professionally frivolous status personality. Different comedians, of course, may have different styles. One may be "fast," another, "slow"; one may be ironic, another, enthusiastically "silly," still another, awkwardly "serious"; and so on. The often reported fact that professional humorists, whether actors or writers, prove to be somewhat retiring individuals in personal conversation serves to point up the phenomenon of status personality.

The ideal personality type. The status personality is obviously controlled by mental customs, or consensus, regarding what is proper to an individual in a given status. Insofar as an individual actually conforms to such a definition, it is the result, to a large extent, of learning on his part—either consciously or unconsciously. There are usually current in the culture of a society or group a number of mental customs defining ideal personality types. Such definitions involve emotional and evaluative components: they have to do with the type of personality the members of the group "would like to be" or "think they should be." These definitions may have various degrees of generality. Speaking only of our own society there is, first, the "ideal American personality." This is a general definition on which perhaps all Americans are at least vaguely agreed. It exists in two forms: male and female. At the present moment we lack the necessary scientific data to be able to define these concepts in words; but we believe that there is little disagreement on the proposition that most Americans possess a common definition of what "the ideal man should be" and what "the ideal woman should be." Two mechanisms may be mentioned which seem to operate for the maintenance of such a consensus of mental customs. First, we have *examples* of historical or current figures who, we are told, embody the general ideal personality types of the whole nation. George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt may be mentioned along with numerous others. Second, we have what La Barre has called the *social cynosure*⁷ which is the type of person to which social attention is directed and which individuals would prefer to approximate. La Barre thinks that among ourselves in the 1940's the female figure is the "beautiful, young, unmarried woman." As Gershwin put it, "Of Thee I Sing, Baby." In France, it may be the "mature, married, experienced woman"; in England, the male type may be "the retiring gentleman of sporting proclivities."

In addition to its ideal personality types for each sex, our culture also includes definitions of ideal personality types for each recognized status.

No one denies that many persons fail to duplicate the ideal personality types of their society in their behavior. Yet the fact that such types do exist on the level of mental and representational customs has a strong influence on the training and striving of individuals in our—and any other—society.

Social norms. The ideal personality types are, of course, often quite different from the average or norm of the population, statistically speaking. The reasons for such discrepancy cannot be stated categorically at the present time on the basis of experimental evidence, although any reader who has followed the discussion thus far would be able to make some

⁷ La Barre, Weston, *Journal of Personality*, Vol. 14, pp. 169-183, 1946.

plausible hypotheses. At any rate, a society may possess an ideal male type which is a "go-getting extrovert." Yet the statistical average does not conform to this ideal; there are many shy introverts, many reserved "go-getters," many extroverts who are not interested in "getting" anything, etc. Heredity, physical accidents, accidents of conditioning, and the culture itself may conspire to prevent the achievement of the ideal in actual persons. If this is true of the ideal of the society in general, the same is no less true of the status ideals.

From the point of view of the social scientist, the most serious question is whether or not the culture of the society actually permits the development of the ideal personalities. Many societies, including our own, show certain inconsistencies between their mental customs (e.g., ideas concerning ideal personality) and the configuration of actional customs which would actually encourage or permit the development of such an ideal. Certainly we have no right to expect the development of ideal personality types, as defined by our mental customs, among denizens of our delinquency areas, slums, etc., where the whole pressure of custom and artifact on the development of the individuals runs counter to such an ideal. In short, consistency in culture will go a long way toward development of consistency in personalities.

What is abnormal?

Is abnormality a cultural relative? In our own society we usually regard a person as abnormal if he seems to be consistently unable to adjust to the requirements laid upon him in social life, i.e., if he regularly fails to fulfill the expectations of his place and time. The same is, in general, true of all other societies. But we have seen that the expectations which society holds with respect to the performances of individuals vary from one society to another in terms of cultural definitions of situation and role. For this reason it has been suggested that perhaps the concepts "normal" and "abnormal" are, after all, merely relative to specific societies and cultures. The even-tempered, noncompetitive individual typical of the Zuñi Indians,⁸ for example, might well be considered somewhat "queer" in modern American life. On the other hand, the extroverted, novelty-seeking, boasting type of person often encountered in the United States would be a distinct abnormality in quite a few cultures, including contemporary ones such as Hindu India. Consideration of these matters in many cul-

⁸ As described by Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934.

tures has indicated that each society defines minor abnormalities somewhat uniquely, just as each society has its own consensus regarding the "normal" and "ideal" personality types.⁸

However, in the light of present knowledge it seems that more than culture alone is involved in the *creation* of certain types of abnormality. *Feeble-mindedness*, for example, is obviously determined by constitutional or accidental factors; it is the condition of simply not having the average amount of "gray matter," the average neurological equipment. Although mentally deficient persons can be trained within the limits of their capacities to assume adapted roles in their society, no amount of training or conditioning can make up for "what isn't there." With such individuals the influence of the culture presents the following question: Does the culture provide socially approved statuses or niches for mentally deficient persons, or not? It is well known that cultures differ in this respect. Even within our own society, for instance, it is common knowledge that rural farming situations offer adaptive roles for the feeble-minded which are not available in urban and industrial communities.

With some of the so-called *psychoses* the matter is not so clear. A psychosis is spoken of as an illness in which the personality seems to be deranged, either permanently, temporarily, or periodically. In the *traumatic psychoses* the derangement is apparently produced by physical injury to nervous tissue, as when an individual is kicked in the head by a horse, and the illness cannot therefore be attributed to direct influence of culture patterns. The *toxic psychoses*, on the other hand, are the result of poisoning; for example, alcoholic poisoning or poisoning by other drugs; toxicity of the system produced by violent illness; and so on. Here again the personality difficulty is not directly attributable to culture. However, the taking of the poison may be culturally enjoined and patterned. Carib medicine men, for example, inebriate themselves by drinking green tobacco juice before starting a curing session; analogous intoxication is found in religious practices among many peoples of the world. Among ourselves the patterns of social drinking in the general population do apparently lead some persons to alcoholic psychosis. Islamic culture prohibits alcoholic beverages and thus provides no patterns which may lead to alcoholic psychosis. *Paresis or general paralysis* is definitely produced by tertiary syphilis. *Epilepsy* and the epileptoid psychoses seem to have a definite, although

⁸ This general idea was probably first suggested by Ruth Benedict; see her "Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest," *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists*, vol. 23, pp. 572-581, 1930; and "Anthropology and the Abnormal," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 10, pp. 59-82, 1934.

not precisely known, constitutional factor in their etiology. In all the foregoing types of psychosis, culture enters into the content of the deranged personality, but does not seem to play a determining role in creating the difficulty. With respect to the *functional psychoses*, such as schizophrenia and manic-depressive states, however, it is conceivable that culture is more important. *Schizophrenia*, for example, is characterized by a tendency for the individual to withdraw from "reality" as defined in his culture; he develops an "inner" system of reality, as it were, and lives within it, often at the expense of his contacts with his fellows. There is some evidence for the view that in a culture which fails to provide social types of security for the individual, schizophrenia is more prevalent. It is the most common of the psychoses in our own society, whereas there is little evidence of it among primitive peoples with stable cultures.¹⁰ Social disorganization generally seems to have the effect of producing many neuroses. As R.E.L. Faris puts it, with respect to a schizophrenic patient, social disorganization plays a part in intensifying personal problems and also in providing a social environment in which no conventional solutions are available and in which the patient's private solution is unintelligible and unacceptable to other persons.¹¹ Functional psychoses of all types as well as other mental illnesses seem to show much higher rates in disorganized areas of modern cities than in areas of good residences, suburbs, and so on.¹² Further evidence of social factors is shown by the fact that married persons have the least incidence of mental disease, with the rates increasing for widowed, single, and divorced persons in that order.¹³ More psychosis is found in urban areas than in rural areas,¹⁴ which would seem to reflect the greater insecurity of life in cities, although a selective factor may also affect the statistics of incidence. For example, one study has shown that schizophrenics tend to migrate from urban to rural areas where they are better able to adjust, whereas the manic-depressives are unable to face the burden of isolation and gossip which they find in rural communities, and tend to migrate to

¹⁰ The relatively high incidence reported by Laubscher among certain South African tribes may be the result of the insecurity produced by contact with whites. See Laubscher, B. J. F., *Sex, Temperament and Psychopathology*, R. M. McBride and Co., New York, 1938.

¹¹ Faris, R. E. L., "Reflections of Social Disorganization in the Behavior of a Schizophrenic Patient," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50, 1944, pp. 134-141; see also *idem.*, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," *ibid.*, vol. 40, 1934, pp. 155-165.

¹² Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, 1939.

¹³ Landis, C., and Page, J., *Modern Society and Mental Disease*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1938, p. 70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

the cities; manic-depressives also carry a greater load of guilt feelings in rural communities than in urban.¹⁶

A third group of mental illnesses are classified as *neuroses*. In general terms the psychoses may be said to be fundamental derangements or dis-organizations of the personality; the neuroses, on the other hand, may be thought of in general terms as distortions of personality. On the whole, the latter show better chances of "cure" than the psychoses, on the basis of present therapeutic knowledge and technique. In both, constitutional and accidental factors probably play a part, but the influence of culture is especially apparent in certain types of neurosis.

Generally speaking, it is now thought that emotional conflict is involved in all neurotic manifestations. And it is fairly well known that a conflict in the patterns of living which an individual is supposed to follow is one of the factors most productive of neurosis. If the culture lays down a series of patterns which are inconsistent with one another, and if the society expects the individual to perform them, a strain and tension will be created which many individuals are incapable of solving for themselves. Unresolved anxieties are perhaps the most ubiquitous conflicts. The culture may have the effect of creating anxieties without providing the individual with patterns for allaying them. The result is often manifested in neurotic symptoms, such as hypochondria, hysteria, compulsion activities, depression, unrelieved anxiety attacks, ticks and twitches, and so on. Horney has stressed the conflicting patterns in our culture as underlying most of the current neuroses.¹⁶ The individual is taught to be both unselfish and "to look after number one"; the culture encourages both passivity and aggressiveness. Security in a competitive system can often be secured only at the expense of others. Fear of failure and guilt feelings haunt many persons.

Some other cultures set up characteristic conflicts in the members of their societies. *Piblotko*, or arctic hysteria, seems to be common among Eskimos. The *windigow* neurosis or psychosis, with obsessive anxiety over starvation and cannibalism, seems to be characteristic of certain Algonkian Indian tribes of interior Canada. Among Malays the strains of the culture seem to cause some persons to break out into manic episodes called *amok*, while hysterical violence in women is manifested in a syndrome called *latah*.¹⁷

¹⁶ Blockman, N. and Kelbanoff, S. G., "The Role of Rural Socio-Cultural Factors in the Functional Psychoses," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, vol. 18, pp. 301-311, 1944.

¹⁶ Horney, Karen, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1937, especially Chapter 15.

¹⁷ Discussion and documentation of some of these matters is included in Gillin, J., *loc. cit.*, 1939.

Thus certain cultures may not only create the conflicts which are reflected in neurotic behavior, but in some societies may give special definition to approved ways of being neurotic or otherwise abnormal. In other words, a social status is sometimes created to which an individual may retire, if he cannot bear up under the strains of being a "normal" person as defined by the society. Among the Plains Indians there was very little choice for an adult man. All boys were expected to be warriors, to maintain their prestige and standing by rather dangerous exploits such as scalping, horse stealing, and touching an enemy in battle. Essentially there was only one status for a man, properly speaking. However, some men could not face it. They could not be women, but the culture provided a sort of midway status for such men, called the *berdache*. A male who was unable to play the role of adult man could become a *berdache*, dress like a woman, and carry on woman's work to some extent. Although this type of status did not carry the same prestige as that of adult man, it was not despised, and it provided a mechanism of adjustment for individuals who otherwise would probably have become socially maladjusted by reason of unresolved conflicts. A temporary type of socially approved withdrawal is found in various parts of Latin America, particularly where the modern culture is a mixture of indigenous and European elements. This is usually called by some word which is translated into English as "fright," and the condition is thought to be due to the loss of one's soul. (In Peru it is often called *susto*; elsewhere it appears as *espanto*). An individual who cannot face the burdens of daily life becomes ill, is withdrawn and depressed, and is cured by magical procedures. The point of interest is that the condition is not despised. It is a socially approved status into which the individual may temporarily withdraw from his responsibilities and tensions, while he reintegrates himself. Among ourselves the well-known "nervous breakdown" and certain "chronic" illnesses sometimes seem to serve somewhat the same purpose; there are the persons described as "enjoying their miseries." At present the medical profession, especially that part of it which is psychiatrically trained, has succeeded in recognizing such conditions as neurotic escapes from unpleasant situations.

Cross-cultural evidence of sociocultural influences

The study of the relation of culture to the person can in some respects be carried on more rewardingly in the so-called primitive or simple societies for the reason that the cultures of such groups are usually less elaborated than our own and the number of subdivisions and categories composing the

society is as a rule smaller. We may mention briefly some of the results of investigations bearing upon our present interest, made in cultures other than our own.

The influence of the culture upon the content and structuralization of the person's outlook on life has been demonstrated in a number of ways. For example, Anastasi and Foley¹⁸ have shown how the conventionalized art forms of a society seem to influence the way in which even small children look at animals and objects of nature. Bartlett and Nadel¹⁹ have shown by experiments on different African tribes that the cultural patterns have a strong influence on the restructuralization of memories, giving rise to "preferred persistent tendencies of the group." For example, if an individual is asked to repeat a European story, he always tends to cast it with characters typical of his tribal folklore and to repeat it in the pattern of sequence and with twists of plot characteristic of the native stories.

Malinowski in his studies of the Trobriand Islanders was probably the first to recognize that the influence of the family configuration and social organization determines the form of the conflicts and resulting "complexes" of the personality and that, since social structures differ from society to society, psychological complexes differ also. In a matrilineal society, such as that of the Trobriands, repressed sex attraction is more likely to exist between brother and sister than between mother and son, while repressed hostility is more apt to be felt by a boy toward his maternal uncle than toward his father.²⁰ In these studies Malinowski laid the basis in comparative ethnological data for much of current psychoanalytic theory of the "Neo-Freudian" variety, which has come to see the source of many a neurotic conflict in our own society in the sociocultural situations to which individuals are exposed, especially during the formative years.

The next step, perhaps, was the description of whole cultures in psychological terms and the attempt to show that the psychological characteristics of the culture are reflected in the personalities of the people who practice it. Dilthey and Oswald Spengler had analysed cultures, but in somewhat mystical terms. Ruth Benedict in her book, *Patterns of Culture*,²¹ applied

¹⁸ Anastasi, A., and Foley, J. P., "An Analysis of Spontaneous Drawings by Children in Different Cultures," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 20:869-876.

¹⁹ F. C. Bartlett, *Remembering*, Macmillan, New York, 1932 (for the method); and "Psychological Methods and Anthropological Problems," *Africa*, vol. 10, pp. 400-420, 1937; Nadel, S. F., 1938-1939; "A Field Experiment in Racial Psychology," *British Journal of Psychology*, vol. 28, pp. 195-211, 1938-39; and "Experiments on Culture Psychology," *Africa*, vol. 10, pp. 421-435.

²⁰ Malinowski, B., 1927, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927; and *The Father in Primitive Society*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1927.

²¹ Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin and Co., Boston, 1934.

the framework of psychological analysis to four contrasting nonliterate cultures and described the typical or expected personality type of each society. The Plains Indian type is somewhat manic or Dionysian, to use Benedict's term; the Zuñi Indians of the Southwest are temperate, self-effacing, or Apollonian; the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast are megalomaniac, with traits of paranoia, when seen from our point of view; the Dobuans of Melanesia are schizoid-paranoid. We do not do justice to Benedict's analysis by labeling each of these cultures in a word, but her essential idea is that the typical individual in these societies is trained to develop personality characteristics conforming to the ideal embodied in the culture. The point seems to be well taken, even though it is now realized that many cultures, including our own, are not amenable to the clear-cut, incisive characterization possible with respect to the ones she chose. Benedict did not attempt to analyze the dynamics of personality formation in the societies which she discussed, and there are certain methodological errors inherent in attempting to describe whole societies in terms of psychiatric syndromes applicable to individuals in our own society, but the attention which Benedict drew to the power of culture on personality greatly stimulated other studies.

Following leads such as these, a considerable amount of work has been done among preliterate peoples in recent years, not only in the description and analysis of personality types and character structures typical of different cultures, but also in the correlation between childhood training and conditioning techniques and the personality of adulthood.²² The result is that fairly full data on these matters, conceptualized in cultural and psychological terms, are now available for some seventeen cultures, and more fragmentary material for at least a dozen others; new material is being gathered

²² Manus of New Guinea: Mead, Margaret, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1928; Samoa: Mead, Margaret, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1930; Mountain Arapesh, Mundugumor, and Tschambuli of New Guinea: Mead, Margaret, *Sex and Temperament in Three Savage Societies*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1935; Bali: Bateson, Gregory, and Mead, Margaret, *The Balinese Character*, New York Academy of Science, New York, 1942; Hopi of Arizona: Dennis, W., *The Hopi Child*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1940; Simmons, Leo W., *Sun Chief; The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1942; Thompson, Laura, and Joseph, Alice, *The Hopi Way*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944; Kwoma of New Guinea: Whiting, John W. M., *Becoming a Kwoma*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941; Marquesas of Polynesia, Tanala of Madagascar: Linton, Ralph, "The Marquesans," "The Tanala of Madagascar," all in Kardiner, Abram, *The Individual and His Society*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1939; the Comanche of the Plains: Kardiner, Abram, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, pp. 47-100; the Alorese of Indonesia: Du Bois, Cora, *People of Alor*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1944; Kardiner, Abram, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, pp. 101-258; the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast: Ford, C. S., *Smoke from Their*

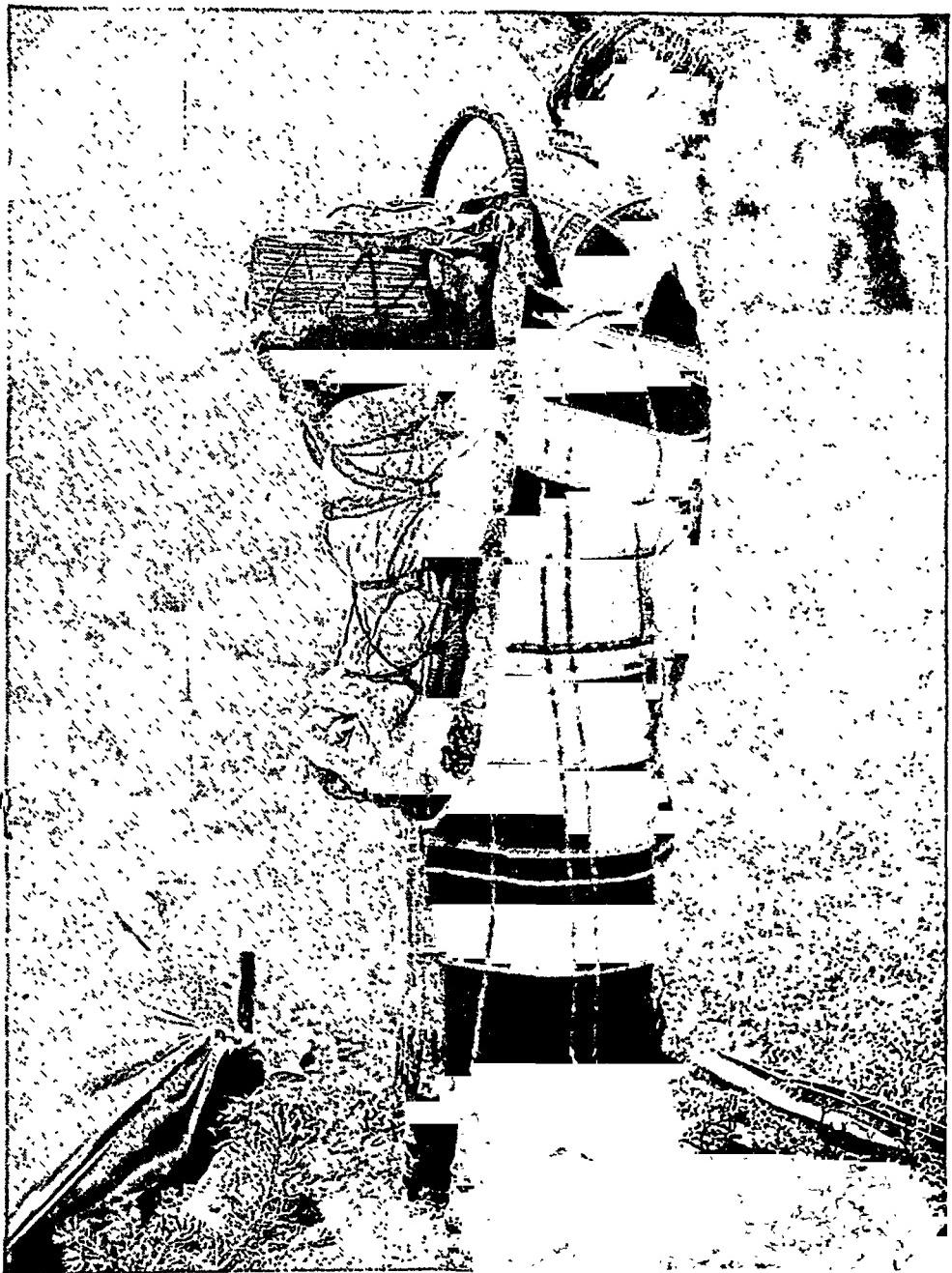
constantly. Similar studies have been attempted in the national cultures of "modern civilization."²³

Cultural moulding of children. In general these studies have revealed at least three things (1) There is a definite correlation between the socio-cultural constellations to which the child is exposed and the type of person he becomes as an adult. (2) The fact that human groups have developed so many ways of producing so many different types of adult personalities suggests that the possibilities of planned and manipulated personality development are very real. (3) If the sociocultural expectations of adult life are not consistent with the content and organization of the personality as developed in infancy and during maturation, conflict is likely to result. Such conflict may occur within the person, giving rise to neurotic or psychotic manifestations. Or the conflict may appear between persons or groups in society.

If we speak of these matters in terms of learning theory, we may say that the sociocultural system creates for the infant and child a series of patterned stimulus situations. The system more or less consistently endeavors to elicit responses considered appropriate to such situations by the group as a whole, and to establish such responses as habits in the individual. It provides a constant drumfire of punishments for disapproved responses plus rewards for approved reactions. It tends to create within the individual a system of tensions, inhibitions, and acquired drives or motivations similar to and consistent with those of other members of the group or social category. It tends to force the internalization of all these patterned experiences through the use of symbols common to the group. And it moulds this

Fires, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941; the Sikkimese: Gorer, Geoffrey, *Himalayan Village*, Michael Joseph, London, 1938. Dakota Indians: MacGregor, Gordon, *Warriors Without Weapons*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1945; Apache Indians: Opler, Morris, *An Apache Life Way*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941; Landes, Ruth, *The Ojibwa Woman*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1931.

²³ West, James, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945; Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, pp. 259-412; see Bateson, Gregory, "Moral and National Character," *Civilian Morale*, Watson, Goodwin, editor, Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1942; Mead, Margaret, *And Keep Your Powder Dry*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1942, an appraisal of American character structure; Fromm, Eric, *Escape from Freedom*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1941; Maslow, A. H., "The Authoritarian Character Structure," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 18, pp. 401-411, 1943; Erickson, E. H., "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth," *Psychiatry*, vol. 5, pp. 475-493, 1942; La Barre, Weston, "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient: The Japanese," *Psychiatry*, vol. 8, pp. 319-342, 1945; Gorer, Geoffrey, "Themes in Japanese Culture," *Translations of the New York Academy of Science*, Ser. 2, vol. 5, No. 5, pp. 106-124; Benedict, Ruth, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Houghton, Mifflin Co., New York, 1946; Gover, Geoffrey, *The American People*, N. W. Norton Co., New York, 1948.



Personality formation

Each society confronts the infant with its own patterns of action and artifact which tend to mould the child into conformity with the approved personality type. Here we see an Apache Indian mother with baby strapped to a hard cradle board on her back. (Photo from American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

material into an internal organization and maintains it by a façade of customary pressures surrounding the developing child. Thus a child in any society is encased in a sort of "Iron Maiden" of sociocultural pressures and channelized satisfactions which are intended to make him into the kind of person the members of the group want and expect him to be. This process of personality formation has been excellently described for the New Guinea Kwoma by Whiting.²⁴

Applications to our situation

Although the study of such matters in primitive and simple societies has the virtue of clarifying the process for us, we must be careful not to oversimplify the matter when we apply the lessons learned to our own society. The comparative simplicity of primitive societies enables us to study processes of personality formation and to abstract therefrom, but, at least in our present state of knowledge, we must keep in mind that the details in our own situation may be entirely different from the details of some other cultural situation. The process in general, once properly conceptualized, applies anywhere, but the details of the patterns of personality formation and the precise patterns of configuration in the adult personality differ radically. It does not seem likely, therefore, that we can take over the child-rearing techniques of any primitive society and transplant them bodily to our own children, largely because the problems which the adult is expected to confront in our society are very different from those the grown person is expected to confront in Samoa, Marquesas, or whatnot.

As many of these field studies of foreign cultures have brought out, the cultural definition of life for adults in many primitive societies is relatively simple. Essentially one type of person, of given sex and age, will fill the bill in a simple society. The culture is relatively homogeneous; the social subdivisions are few; the differential functions or specialties expected of adults are scarce and do not demand the entire personality; classes, subclasses, castes, categories united by secondary contact and regional subdivisions, each with its own subculture and its own general personality type, do not exist in the average primitive or simple rural society. Thus in the cultures of such societies it is possible to trace in detail the relation between the constellations of childhood and the personality traits of the adult. The two fit together nicely, for the institutions and custom-complexes of adult life are stable, relatively few, and comparatively well integrated.

²⁴ Whiting, J. W. M., *Becoming a Kwoma*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

Kardiner and Linton have shown this very clearly with respect to a number of preliterate groups, such as the Marquesans, Comanche, and Tanala.

In contrast to the comparative simplicity and stability of rural and primitive communities, the society which we know as "North America" is greatly diversified and under a constant strain of change. The possible ways of participation in social life are so numerous, the opportunities for the individual are so many, the cultural alternatives for reaching similar goals are so varied, the statuses and roles which the individual may assume in adult life are so multifarious,²⁵ that it is far from easy to decide the type of childhood training and conditioning which may fit the individual for successful interaction in so variegated an arena.

It is one of the stated tenets of American democracy that all men are "created equal," and this implies that every man has the right to assume any status within the sociocultural system which he can achieve. American society expects the individual to be many things to many men, but in spite of the numerous positions and parts he is expected to take in adult life, he is also expected to conform to a rather vaguely defined type known as the generalized American personality. How are we to set out any general principles for the training of children in such a culture and society? Is this general American personality structure equal to the problems which confront it?

The quest for security. Perhaps the most ubiquitous desires and most common anxieties of all Americans, regardless of class, caste, or category, center about problems of personal security. In America one defines his security most commonly in terms of friends, money, or both. It is, of course, inevitable that human beings should be concerned with the problem of security, although it is not inevitable that they should develop anxiety about the matter. It is the nature of human life that the individual starts his existence in a helpless and therefore decidedly insecure position from the survival point of view. He is dependent upon others and upon the resources offered by his sociocultural environment for constant support and protection. But as he becomes a person he must develop an internalized security system as a part of his personality, a system of solutions for life problems which is constructed from the possibilities presented by his culture.

We know that a system which provides only capricious and inadequate satisfaction of the child's basic needs during the first two years of life or so,

²⁵ For a fuller discussion of social participation and personality, see Linton, Ralph, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1945.

may produce a fundamental insecurity and anxiety which is never completely overcome in later life. It is essential that we should provide a firm basic security in the infant, that his bodily needs should be satisfied consistently, that his developing social needs receive systematic response, and that such social discipline as is required be administered with regularity.

But beyond the basic foundation of security in infancy, we are more concerned with the development of the person's integration of problem-solving techniques and attitudes as he grows older and enters upon the stage of adult life. Here the structure of childhood experience and training becomes important. How can it be planned so as to produce a secure and integrated adult?

Development of personal security systems. There are two more or less opposed poles around which an individual's security system can be organized. On the one hand is the dependent type of personality organization, which is oriented toward outside sources of support. On the other hand is the independent type of personality, which utilizes external resources but which is organized about a firm core of inner potentialities calculated to furnish the basis for satisfactory solution of whatever problems may confront the individual.

Our changing culture and personal security. Among primitive peoples and the simpler cadres of our own society, the principle of kinship often provides the external basis for security organization from the individual's point of view. There are Australian tribes, for example, the members of which find it impossible to enter into any kind of social interaction with an individual whose place in their kinship system they are unable to identify. Ethnologists working with these societies have had to be "adopted" by someone in the society in order to establish social contact with their informants. In such a system, the individual has only to establish his kinship with the individuals present in any situation and then to follow the patterns of conduct prescribed for such relationships to feel secure. He has a reasonable cultural expectation that, even if he has never seen the specific individuals before in his life, they will respond according to expectable patterns, thus relieving him of any anxiety which may have been aroused. Thus, if most expectable situations involve individuals who may be identified as relatives who will react in anticipated ways, the individual need fear nothing untoward as regards his personal security.

Another "external" method of bolstering personal security is to place one's reliance in material artifacts (wealth) which may be expected to support one in situations of danger or uncertainty. This method of sup-

porting the personal security organization has been perhaps most emphasized in our own culture. If one has no friends or relatives, he may count for security upon his possessions: his land, firearms, houses, automobiles, jewels, and the like, and the material symbols of such artifacts, such as money and credit in the bank.

Finally, to mention only one other outside resource which may be provided by the culture, the individual may seek security in the supernatural. Against misfortune he may count the goodwill of the gods or the power of magical rituals he or his agents have performed to ward off mischance.

To some extent all cultures train their adherents to resort to all of these external sources of security. Some cultures emphasize one type of external personality prop, others another. Of such external supports, the family and its extensions through kinship is probably the most universally satisfactory. In a society where it exists in full function, the individual may fall back on it in case of mistake, conflict, or financial collapse. All primary groups in some measure share this function of security-giving. Religion and property are also strong staffs upon which to lean, but in a society where the family and kinship group is strongly organized and effectively functioning, the training of the individual may be concentrated upon the proper customary patterns of maintaining and strengthening his relations with such a group.

In our own society, however, both the family and the religious systems are rapidly changing, or did so long before the appearance of the present younger generation. What is there left in our unstable culture to bolster the integrity and security of the individual, if he must depend upon externals? If one's relatives show no interest in one and if one's dependence upon God has been exploded by indifference and skepticism, what does one have left?

It is well known that there has been an increasing tendency among North Americans, perhaps because of these reasons, to grasp at the straw of money, property, and materialism in all its forms. American culture and its practitioners have been damned by outsiders for their "crass materialism," but one can hardly blame parents and other agents of the society for training children in the materialistic values when they seemed to have nothing else to offer. However, the great depression and near-collapse of our economic system experienced during the 1930's made it obvious to most members of our society that even the materialistic support for the individual's personal security system was far from reliable. Given

the inconsistencies of the capitalist economic system as it existed (and exists), no type of training for infants and children was (or is) adequate to provide them security on its terms.

What of the modern man?

It now seems evident that our own culture is in a state of flux and change, and that any system of child training which attempts to inculcate in the individual a personal security system supported by the present apparently impermanent patterns of kinship, religion, or property is highly likely to lead the individual so trained to serious maladjustment and dependency. A day may come when the patterns of our culture are once more stabilized and adjusted to the requirements of the members of the population, but that day is not now.

How can the individual be trained for life in so fluid a culture? The answer, it seems, when stated in the most general terms, is threefold.

1. It would seem that the children of today must be trained so that as adults they will be equipped with that inner integration which may serve as a basis for adaptability to fluid conditions as well as the framework of an inner security system. The type of person which in general is needed in the present world is one whose inner organization is tough yet pliable, one who does not "go to pieces" easily under conditions of external strain or confusion, and one who is able to find his way about a complex and changing scene. As things go in this life, this is a relatively new type of person, for in almost all other societies the external cultural supports have been more stable and more consistent. There is no complete agreement as to how this type of personality may be produced, but it seems to be reasonably clear that special attention must be given to the first years of life. "Good" infant care, of the sort which does not create unresolvable tensions, seems to be essential for the infant if he is to form the basis for an integrated personality. As he passes out of the "babe-in-arms stage," however, his training should point toward teaching him to solve his own problems, rather than expecting satisfactions to be given to him automatically by others; and at the same time he must learn to do this in a socialized way, not at the expense of others, not as a "lone wolf," but as an individual who can live with others, coöperate with others, adapt with others to changing conditions without disintegration. The modern person must be trained to look upon social relations as something to work with, not something to lean on in a state of overdependency.

2. The requirements placed upon the modern personality seem to empha-

size the necessity for training in the principles of culture and social science. The problem is essentially this: to train members of the next generation to rely upon their inner resources in solving problems, but at the same time to develop personalities capable of social coöperation and sufficiently flexible to appreciate the values of, if not to originate, new cultural patterns of a more permanent functional value than those we now possess. In the absence of scientifically determined methods we may tentatively suggest that the individual of our time and of our society must be acquainted to the fullest possible extent with the content of our culture, for this is the material with which he must work out his problems and it is also the material from which a new social stability may be established. He must be aware of the principles of culture in general—what will and what will not "work"—if he is to avoid for himself and his descendants a period of disastrous personal and social maladjustment.

3. The individual must know that culture patterns may be planned, that they are capable of manipulation, and that new patterns and new configurations can and will be taught to upcoming generations, either by conscious planning or by trial and error. In this way he may hasten the day when the culture will once more provide more secure support for the individual. Taking the societies of mankind as a whole, this is one of the universal functions of cultural systems. Even the average man must become aware of the functions which the groups in which he has a part to play can perform in providing peace of mind and personal integrity for himself and his fellows. He must realize that the traditional forms of group and cultural life are not necessarily sacred, but that the new forms which emerge from change must conform to basic principles. In general, the type of social life which provides the most integration and security for the individual is one which consistently allows him a wide range of expression for his emotions and abilities and which consistently rewards him for what he does or expects to do.

Such a personality type is admittedly a pragmatic ideal. Some individuals are capable of approaching it more closely than others. But to those who can grasp it at all will fall the responsibility of caring for, planning for, and protecting those who are incapable of grasping it, if the latter are to survive. It may be that many will not survive, just as many of those who were unable to break off their identification with private property did not survive in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution.

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Exercises

1. What is meant by personality as discussed in this chapter?
2. What are the chief sources contributing to the development of personality?
3. Estimate the relative importance of each of these sources. Give reason for your estimate.
4. How does Freud's analysis of the personality accord with the analysis of the authors?
5. What are the chief mechanisms of the adjustment of the personality to the demands of society?
6. What is the difference between the general personality type and the status personality?
7. How does the ideal personality type differ from the statistically normal type?
8. For students of our culture what is the value of studying personality types in primitive societies?
9. What is meant by the statement that abnormal personalities are relative to the culture of a society?
10. What devices are found in some primitive societies to adjust the social arrangements to "abnormal" personalities? In our culture?
11. Why cannot we transfer to our culture the methods used in simple, primitive societies to develop socially adjusted personalities?
12. What are the chief principles we should observe in developing socially adjusted personalities in our rapidly changing culture?

chapter 28 Social control

What is social control?

The discussion of social institutions in Chapter 13 involved incidentally some reference to the efforts of society to control its members and its constituent groups. The analysis of social processes also dealt implicitly with social control. Indeed, social control might without violence to any logical arrangement be discussed as a social process. Since, however, the term *social control* covers only those social pressures which are intended to procure uniformity of attitude and action, whereas social processes include also those interactions which make for diversity, it is better to consider social control as a distinct category.

In the chapter on socialization we described the ways in which the individual's behavior from birth to adulthood is gradually molded into a pattern approved by his group. The individual may learn to conform to the pattern of behavior and share completely the values and attitudes of his group, although the group may have a pattern of behavior quite at variance with that of the whole society. Thus the Sicilian may be well integrated into the beliefs and customs of the group of Sicilians settled in one of our American cities, but that group may have a code of conduct inconsistent with the pattern approved by society in the United States. For instance, the Sicilian shares with other Sicilians the belief that injury should be requited by the victim of the injury or by one of his relatives or friends. Murder is avenged by murder. Such a code is at variance with the concept of justice embodied in our laws. The Sicilian has a code of behavior strictly in line with that of his group but inconsistent with that of American society. Therefore in this country measures must be taken to bring that group into conformity with the standards of our legal system. Such measures are our schools, social settlements, police, and everyday intercourse between Americans and the alien group. Hence, here we shall more narrowly define *social control as that system of measures—suggestion,*

persuasion, restraint, and coercion by whatever means including physical force—by which a society brings into conformity to the approved pattern of behavior a subgroup, or by which a group molds into conformity its members.

The latter part of this definition overlaps to a certain extent the subject of socialization as we have used that term. But in considering socialization we confined ourselves to a discussion of the psychosocial processes by which the "biological individual," to use Mead's phrase, absorbs the attitudes and customs of society and makes them his own, while here we are concerned more especially with the pressures which society exercises upon an individual to maintain his conformity with its approved attitudes and modes of acting, and also the measures which society takes to control the activities of members of constituent groups, such as political and business organizations, smaller political units, churches, private schools, lodges, charitable organizations, trusts, gangs, monopolies, and other like aggregates of the population.

The need of social control

That a degree of social solidarity is necessary for the existence of society has been recognized by social philosophers from Plato and Aristotle to the modern social scientists of every school. Plato said that the legislator "did not aim at making any one class in the State happy above the rest; that happiness was to be in the whole State, and he held the citizens together by persuasion and necessity, making them benefactors of the State, and therefore benefactors of one another."¹ Aristotle asserted, "It is of more consequence that the citizens should entertain a similarity of sentiment than an equality of circumstances."² The possible references to modern writers are too numerous to cite at length. One thinks of such American sociologists as Ward, with his theory of "synergy," Giddings with his "consciousness of kind" supplemented by "social pressures," and Small with his doctrine of "interests," as the processes by which social solidarity is produced. Durkheim devotes Book I of his *On the Division of Labor in Society* to the function of the division of labor in producing social solidarity. How social integration of human beings with widely differing interests, impulses, and attitudes, and especially of groups often of divergent cultures, has been brought about is one of the chief problems for sociologists. The system of

¹ Plato, *The Republic*, Jowett's translation, Book VII.

² *The Politics of Aristotle*, translated by Ellis, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons, London, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1931, p. 44.

control by which social unity is achieved out of individual and group diversity, therefore, has demanded their attention.

The variations between individuals and the differences between groups discussed in Chapters 9 to 12 need only be recalled to suggest how important it is that in some way these variant individuals and groups be controlled for what is believed to be the welfare of all. It is sufficient to recall that these differences included: (1) the variations among individuals growing out of biological and psychological differences, consisting of bodily variations, of differences in intellectual ability, in emotional characteristics, and in personality patterns; (2) the variations among the individuals in the group as to habits, customs, and traditions affecting their respective roles in society and their attitudes toward other individuals; and (3) the cultural differences between groups including beliefs, philosophies, religious dogmas, customs, and social values. These individual and cultural variations, if sharp enough, tend to interfere with integration of the group. The development of the consciousness of these differences between individuals and groups apparently lies far back in animal life. Even in animal herds the individual which varies too greatly in behavior from the common pattern is abandoned, driven out, or killed.³ The sick of some animals in herds are pounced upon and destroyed by the others. Travelers tell us that frequently among wild elephants, when one goes berserk, it is attacked by the others and either driven away from the herd or killed. Even among domestic animals the same thing may be observed. It is impossible to say whether it is the appearance of the animal, the smell of it, or some other characteristic which makes it unacceptable to the other members of the group. This negative or eliminative aspect of control seems to indicate, at least in an embryonic form, a sense of the necessity of social control. Among social animals there are also indications of positive efforts to control in a limited way the behavior of the individuals in the group. Certain gestures, cries, and even physical attack are the means employed. The hen with a brood of chicks utters a peculiar cry when a hawk or crow appears. At this cry every chick responds by dropping to the ground or hiding in the grass. Crows and other wild birds, while feeding in flocks, seem to have sentinels which on the approach of man utter a cry or start hurriedly to flee, and this becomes a signal to the other individuals in the flock to do likewise. The mother bear in Yellowstone Park on the outbreak of a fight on the feeding ground, slaps her cubs, and they respond by climbing a tree. Herd animals keep close together and show signs of distress if one becomes separated from the

³ Giddings, Franklin H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, p. 201.

others. We cannot say that these activities are conscious; they may be merely instinctive reactions implanted in the species during the struggle for existence through the operation of natural selection. In human society similar occurrences have been reported from all over the world. Among tribally organized groups "the kin-wrecked man," i.e., one who had been driven out from among his kindred for some offense or another, is well known to the ethnologist. In any case the activities of certain members of the group assert a sort of control over the other members. Apparently this interaction and response was a condition of survival. It shows the necessity of coördinated activities by all members of the group.

Cultural maladjustment. The changes we shall discuss in a later chapter require readaptation in behavior by both individuals and groups. These changes occur even in primitive society by reason of increase in the population of the group, or because of contact with other groups of a different culture, or of the emergence within the group of new cultural elements. In civilized societies with numerous and rapid changes occurring because of inventions, discoveries, and new philosophies, readjustment is even more necessary. That the members of the group act more or less in concert in the face of new circumstances is important for their proper functioning. Some individuals in any group respond quickly and some more slowly to stimuli in the form of new ideas and patterns of behavior originated by an innovator or learned by contact with another group. This difference in rapidity of response in individuals and groups sometimes disrupts the social solidarity and makes necessary some form of social control if the integrity of the group is to be maintained. Out of this grows the division of people into "progressives" and "conservatives." In our civilized societies rapid movements of population and new means of communication between peoples of different cultures, create problems of mutual adjustment and require social control, if the cultures are to be assimilated to each other and the individuals of the group are to experience a sense of social unity. The rise of this problem of control when people with strange cultures come into close contact with each other occurred in this country when large numbers of immigrants arrived with different cultures. It is also illustrated in our Western civilization by the disintegration of the old controls—folkways, mores, and traditions—under the impact of new ways of making a living, new knowledge, and new philosophy. Customary ways are slowly dissolving under a system which they no longer fit. The whole culture is changing. Hence any sudden or rapid changes create crises in the whole system of social behavior and make apparent the necessity of new controls. The growing population characteristic of modern society, the mingling of

different groups having varying backgrounds and experiences, the rapidly increasing means of communication resulting in close contact between different nationalities and races, make acute the problem of controlling the variant and assimilating the different cultures. In the absence of a common background of tradition, a pervasive religion, ties of kinship, similar systems of values, and familiar patterns for behavior in the face of a given situation, new means of social control become a necessity ever increasingly and ever more widely recognized. Likewise the widening of communication, the growth of commerce, the multiplying contacts between peoples of remote regions, each possessing different customs and traditions, accentuate the conscious need of social solidarity.

The necessity of social control of individual members and of subgroups has been recognized by all types of societies—"primitive" tribes, early civilized societies, and modern nations. In those groups isolated from others with different cultures, custom and tradition are sufficient to insure social solidarity. But with the multiplication of populations in the great river valleys of the Middle East and the spreading contacts of their populations with others possessing a different culture, new measures were necessary to insure conformity. Hence the organization of the ancient empires of Mesopotamia, of Egypt, and of Rome. The highly organized state and codes of law signalized the breakdown of the old methods of control. Likewise the breakdown of feudal society in Western Europe made necessary, in the interest of survival, the development of strong nations with new codes of law and machinery of enforcement to secure control over individuals and subgroups.

With the coming of vast hordes of immigrants to the United States in the last century we became conscious of the need of moulding these people of varied customs and conventions into some approach to conformity with our culture. Pressures of all sorts were applied to them by our people. Negatively we applied epithets, such as "dutchy," "frog," "bohunk," "dago," "sheeny," and "mick," and "greaser." We ostracized them, exploited them. That represents one mode of pressure. On the other hand we set up social settlements where they could congregate and share social intercourse with Americans, we provided schools in which they could learn our language and customs. We gave them economic opportunities, and took over many of their customs to make them a part of our culture. We passed laws regulating immigration and provided for their naturalization as citizens.

Today with distances shortened almost miraculously, with means of communication multiplied and with world trade a necessity, we are conscious as never before of the necessity of social control on a world-wide

scale. That is what the League of Nations and the United Nations organizations mean. We are struggling to bring under a world-wide control the diverse interests, the varied cultures in what we have come to recognize as a world society. As in all previous experiments in social control, we have to begin with those areas of culture which threaten survival. In time we may be able to achieve a global cultural assimilation along many lines. To a greater degree than in most other areas of culture we have a common world-wide uniformity of scientific culture. In this situation we shall do well to try to learn from the past what methods of social control have proved to be successful and what have been failures.

Individual maladjustment. In a rapidly changing society it appears that there is likely to be an increase of individuals who find it difficult to adjust themselves to new conditions and become so disorganized personally that society for its own⁴ and their protection must take them in hand. Such classes are the chronic paupers who have lost all desire to support themselves; the mental defectives who might in simpler and more stable conditions have found it possible to adjust to the requirements of life, but under the more complex and rapidly changing circumstances are unable to do so; the "insane," those mental variants who find conditions of life too much for their mental and emotional equilibrium, are unable to care for themselves, and often are burdens to others; and the criminals who threaten property and/or life. Here again society becomes more keenly conscious of the importance of devising methods by which these variant individuals may be controlled in its own interests. At the beginning of the year 1943 in the United States there were 573,014 patients in institutions for the insane.⁴ Patients with mental disease, mental defects, and epilepsy in special institutions constitute about 58 per cent of the total hospital patients of the country.⁵ In addition to the insane at the beginning of 1943 there were 129,510 mental defectives and epileptics on the books of public and private institutions for these classes of deviates.⁶ These figures by no means indicate the entire number of those in the country with mental disorder, mental defect, or epilepsy. The foregoing figures did not include those in wards of general hospitals and in station hospitals of the armed forces. The presence of mental disorder and mental defect in the population was revealed by the discharges from the armed services on account of such conditions. Of the 1,250,000 discharged from those forces up to July 1, 1944, between 35

⁴ *Patients in Mental Hospitals: 1943*, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1946.

⁵ *Social Work Yearbook: 1937*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1937, p. 277.

⁶ Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1939, *loc. cit.*, Table 61.

and 45 per cent were for some neuropsychiatric condition. These were in addition to those screened out by Selective Service Boards when they appeared for induction. So rapidly have they been increasing and so serious a menace are they to the community and to themselves under present conditions that it has been impossible for the state and other political units to construct buildings rapidly enough to house them.

The figures given in Chapter 31 on Crime and Delinquency show the large numbers of the population engaged in actions menacing persons and property in this country.

Conflicts of values. Needs or drives are the motivators of individual and social endeavor. Needs may grow out of physiological cravings of the organism, hunger, for example. Values attach to these needs, particularly to the type we have called acquired drives, and to the habits which satisfy them. Economic security or respect for the aged or for authorities, religious freedom or education, may become valued through reinforcement of acquired drives. Such things become desired no less than food.

1. *Control may weaken under conditions of change.* Consider the enormous power residing in the established folkways and traditions of a people. No one has more brilliantly expressed the tough resistance to social change found in the customs of a people than Bagehot. He happily explained this resistance as due to "the cake of custom."⁷ The inertia of a people accustomed to a certain system of behavior sanctified by long use, by tradition, and often by religion is well known to every student of primitive and of civilized societies. Where shall one get the machinery by which new needs and values may be satisfied? What more natural than that already existing organization and procedures be modified to meet the new situation? That is what usually happens. For example, when the depression of 1929 began, we tried to adapt our ancient poor laws and our private charities to the task of relieving the unemployment. The attempt failed. In order to realize the value of security for the unemployed who wanted work, we had to devise entirely new organizations. The very fact that the old methods are adapted to different conditions indicates how frequently the old machinery and procedures are ill suited to a new situation. Often it requires a long time to secure the modifications necessary to reach a new goal in circumstances very different from those which gave rise to the original organization. For example, consider how long was the struggle to change the old law courts from implements of tyranny to instruments of justice, to change the Parliament of England from one dominated by the nobility and the prop-

⁷ Bagehot, Walter, *Physics and Politics*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1898, pp. 27, 53.

erty-owning classes to one representing all the elements of the population. Think of the inertia of the people of the United States toward international problems raised by the activities of Hitler and Mussolini in 1939, and to the conditions following World War II. That must be overcome to move us from our traditional attitude of isolationism to internationalism. The speed of such a change may be described as almost glacial. Two world wars and the atomic bomb have been scarcely enough to shake us out of our customary attitudes.

2. *Values disseminate slowly.* Another reason for the conflict of values is the slowness with which new values become accepted by large parts of the population. Consider the resistance encountered by Bismarck in Germany, or by Lloyd George in England, to social-insurance legislation, or by the New Deal to the social-security program.

3. *Values must constantly adjust to changing conditions.* Values in practical life are always coming up against situations which they have never met before. For example, consider the difficulty of preserving the value of freedom of speech. Shall a speaker be permitted to discuss during a war the issues involved? Or during a period of vast industrial change, shall strikes be permitted? Is the economic doctrine of laissez faire, sanctified by a century and a half of economic development resulting in what has been called "free enterprise," to be challenged? The issues are new. They raise questions as to the traditional economic organization.

4. *Conflict in values may lead to violence and loss of control.* At the present time in our American democracy in the endeavor to control individuals who promulgate values considered by a part of the people to be at variance with the traditional values, there is danger of the denial of civil liberties which have been won in other days by so much struggle and bloodshed. At the present time anyone is at liberty to discuss the ordinary political issues. He may have to get a permit to do so, but unless in those political issues there is involved a questioning of the economic order, he will probably not be interfered with. If it is a question of differences between the employer and the employee, he is likely to be told that this is not a question of free speech, but of the unhindered continuance of economic operations, and of peace and order in the community. Now, peace and order are important for society. They, too, are values. Here, then, you have the conflict of values in a concrete situation. Hence, frequently in widespread areas we have a threat to our civil liberties. The share croppers of the South, who have endured as best they could their relationships with the owners of the plantations, a few years ago for the first time insisted on the right of organization in order that as a group they might bargain with their

employers. Consequently, numerous abuses occurred in which both Negroes and white men were not only denied the right of free speech and free assembly but were brutally assaulted and sometimes killed. Newspaper men and social investigators who came into regions where trouble was brewing to investigate the situation likewise were whipped, beaten, ridden out of town, and occasionally slain. Even lawyers who came in from the outside to defend these share croppers charged with one thing or another before the court were mishandled.

For years in Harlan County, Kentucky, according to a senatorial investigation,⁸ the denial of civil liberty was prevalent. The strikes in some of the steel companies in recent years have shown that the ordinary processes of settling disputes by negotiation or by law have been discarded, and resort has been had to violence. When the onion-pickers in a certain county in Ohio, underpaid and abused, tried to organize in order that they might deal with their employers, they were denied by force any of these prized civil liberties. The hired laborers of the Imperial Valley have been whipped, tortured, and run out of the country by those whose financial interests were menaced by the attempted organization of the laborers. In California even the governor applauded when the mob killed two persons who were endeavoring to help in the organization of the workers. Here we see the conflict between the accepted values embodied in running one's business as he pleases and the emerging values of laborers having some say about working conditions and wages.

The police, also, charged with keeping order, sometimes become the instruments of repression and deny strikers and so-called agitators the exercise of their liberties. Since the decisions of courts have made peaceful picketing legal in some of our states, and since the passage of the Wagner Act has guaranteed to the workers the right to organize without hindrance from the employers, great industrial organizations have hired gunmen, thugs, and strikebreakers; have taken the law into their own hands; and have terrified, beaten, and even killed defenseless strikers. The governor of one state turned the militia loose on the strikers in a labor dispute connected with a steel mill and a rubber plant. The governor of another state was defeated for reëlection because he had refused to allow the militia to be used to break up a strike in an automobile-manufacturing community. In some parts of the country vigilantes organized by interested groups have formed mobs to storm the halls of organizations which they disliked, to beat up

⁸ *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, Report of the Committee on Education and Labor, Report No. 6, Senate, 76th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939, p. 106.

or tar and feather those whom they called "agitators" and "reds." Sometimes the leaders of these vigilante groups have been bankers, heads of Chambers of Commerce, and other important business men in the community. At times leaders have been members of the American Legion. On the other hand, the workers, balked in efforts to obtain their ends by peaceful negotiations and by strikes, have sometimes resorted to violence. Thus, the novel value of workers having a voice in the working conditions and in the rate of pay, clashes with the old and accepted value of the employers in determination of the way in which their industries shall be conducted. Resort to violence on the part of both employers and employees conflicts with the long-established value of law and order. Thus the conflict of cherished values demands social control.

Functions of social control

By *functions* we mean the purposes served by social control. The function of a pump is to raise water from its natural level to the level desired. So the functions of social control are to realize certain purposes of the group, among which is the social equilibrium necessary for the continued existence of society.

In every society divergent groups develop. They are subgroups with value systems, beliefs, customs, and patterns of behavior varying more or less from the universal elements of the culture. They may be immigrant groups bringing with them a culture pattern developed in the country of origin, or they may be interest groups growing up within a society with a rapidly changing culture. So long as their culture pattern is not felt to be subversive of the established pattern of the larger society, the subgroup will be subject only to the milder pressures of ridicule, ostracism, neighborly advice, and example. But if the larger society feels that the behavior and beliefs of the subgroup are a menace to the welfare of the whole society, stronger measures, even including legal punishment, may be invoked.⁹

Hence the functions of social control are two: (1) to bring into conformity the actions of variant groups in order that they may share in what Durkheim calls the "collective conscience" or, in Giddings' words, in order that they may "know and enjoy their likenesses," and (2) to induce and

⁹ It was Durkheim's theory that the division of labor in the social field makes a place for these divergent individuals and groups in the social order, and thus produces social solidarity instead of destroying it. See *On the Division of Labor in Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933, pp. 226-229. See also Parsons, Talcott, *The Structure of Social Action*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937. Ch. 10.

preserve that degree of social solidarity that will insure the perpetuation of the group. Psychologically it is a process of strengthening approved habit systems, extinguishing those disapproved, and thereby reducing those anxieties and angers of the dominant portion of society which serve no useful social purpose.

As the processes of interaction described in the chapter on socialization serve to integrate the individual's attitudes and behavior with the system of conduct approved by his own group through pressures exerted during the development of the individual, so social control endeavors to mold into a unity particularly the adults in a population and the constituent groups in a society by positive methods or by elimination. Thus in the interactions between individuals living together, social control functions in the interest of the solidarity of society.

Methods of social control

The methods by which variant individuals in a group are induced to conform to an approved pattern of behavior vary with (1) the biological development of the species and (2) the cultural development of a human group.

Constraint of individual behavior in animal bands. The animals below man in the biological scale lack a developed language. They are more dependent for uniformity of behavior upon instinctive responses to a given situation than is mankind. Hence, animals employ fewer social methods of control than human beings. But some of the social animals use overt methods. A few instances were cited above in illustrating the need of control. Gestures such as caressing, fondling, and licking to excite affection, or glaring, showing the teeth, butting, slapping, or biting or pecking to incite fear, are all used. Rudimentary language—growls, snarls, roars and other vocal signs to excite either sympathetic response or fear—are also employed by many of the mammals. Many of the methods of expressing the emotions described by Darwin¹⁰ are used as methods of control by some birds and mammals. However, on the whole, methods of social control among animals are few and rudimentary in character and seem to be based very largely on primary drives. Because of the lack of a developed language and therefore of traditions and beliefs, the more specifically cultural instruments of control are lacking among subhuman animals.¹¹

¹⁰ Darwin, Charles, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1873.

¹¹ Darwin, Charles, *The Descent of Man*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1891, Vol. 1, Ch. 5, pp. 155, 156; Kröpotkin, P., *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*, McClure-Phillips, New York, 1904, Ch. I; Giddings, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

Control in primitive societies. Like civilized societies, preliterate peoples depend upon (1) supernatural and (2) secular means of control.

Methods of social control in preliterate societies differ from those found in literate groups chiefly in the greater emphasis upon magical, supernatural, traditional, and customary sanctions, and less upon methods made possible by such cultural equipment as the school, the press, the radio, and still less upon police, courts, correctional institutions, and scientific knowledge concerning the results of behavior. They are more custom-bound and tradition-ridden and less tolerant of novelties and unconventional behavior, perhaps, than modern urban society, but this seems to be true of all isolated primary groups, even American rural villages. Their customs and traditions are often closely connected with the belief that ill luck comes or that the gods are displeased with any variance from long-established modes of action, and therefore that any serious breach of custom menaces the welfare of the group. Whether unusual conduct really is dangerous to the group or not does not matter; it is sufficient that such a belief is generally held. If the belief is held by a large number or by important and influential members of a group that belief for all practical purposes has the value of absolute knowledge. Such a society is in the Wiese and Becker sense a "sacred" society.¹²

Many of the methods characteristic of preliterate societies hold over into literate groups, but their relative importance is less. For example, fear of supernatural powers, the pressure of custom and tradition still obtains. Gossip still plays a part; salty epigrams, proverbs, myths, ostracism, example, and force still are employed in every society.¹³

Methods of control in civilized societies. Many European and American sociologists have discussed social control in their systems of sociology. Although each one approaches the problem in a different way, all agree that social control is exercised through social pressures varying in kind from indirect suggestion, ridicule, praise, blame, urging respect for tradition and custom to the more direct ostracism, denial of privileges, imprisonment,

¹² See von Wiese, Leopold, and Becker, Howard, *Systematic Sociology*, John R. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, p. 222, footnote 5.

¹³ For examples of primitive methods of control see "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota," *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 7-12 *passim*, quoted in Thomas W. I., *Primitive Behavior*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, p. 471; Gillin, John, "Crime and Punishment Among the Barima River Carib of British Guiana," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 331-344; Amos, 7:14. See also Benedict, Ruth, "Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest," *International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings*, Vol. 23, 1930, pp. 572-581; Carpenter, Edward, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1914; Giddings, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

and death.¹⁴ Let us now consider in more detail some of these methods. These are the more important ones.

Control through belief. The agencies of social control now dominant are the result of a long history of development.

These sanctions may be divided into five classes.¹⁵ An elementary belief controlling conduct is that there is in nature a potent Something benign or malign depending on one's following faithfully or neglecting to observe certain socially approved behavior. Another elementary form of sanction is based upon belief in a supernatural being, or beings, who follow men's doings, reward the conformist, and punish the nonconformist. A second group of sanctions is to be found in the beliefs typified by the Hindu doctrine of transmigration of souls. Souls are reborn in this world—the "bad" into the bodies of animals or low-caste men, the "good" into the bodies of Brahmans, Devas, or kings. Every motive of the Hindu is colored by the belief in these definite rewards for approved social conduct. A third type of sanction is dependent upon the penances exacted by ecclesiastics. The sinner's punishment does not wait for another life; it begins here and now. He is banished from the community; he is avoided; he is denied confession, connubial rights, and the ordinary companionship of associates. These are punishments which make amends for evil conduct and in some unexplained way purify the soul from sin. A fourth kind of sanction rests upon the belief in an afterlife, spent, as the case may warrant, either in an everlasting heaven of delights or a perpetual hell of torture. One has only to read medieval theology or see medieval paintings to appreciate the strength of these sanctions in deterring certain classes of people from socially undesirable acts. The fifth type appears when the person to be controlled is bound by tender ties with deceased relatives or friends. The spirits of these loved ones look down from heaven and see the actions of those who remain on earth; the mother, her erring but beloved child; the wife, her husband; the child, its parent. Thus the love for the departed, combined with a belief that the deceased lives and knows and cares, constitutes a controlling force of great strength.

The belief in these supernatural sanctions to conduct has great advantages. It is effective and cheap. Legal and social sanctions sometimes are paralyzed by the superior power of the offender; they are expensive and after all, reach only the outward deed; they do not control the motives of

¹⁴ E. A. Ross was the first to publish in English a volume devoted entirely to the subject, in which he summarized these methods. In part, we have followed his analysis from *Social Control*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1901. See also Readings at end of the chapter.

¹⁵ Ross, *op. cit.*, Chapter 15.

the heart.¹⁶ But belief that the Great Something knows the thoughts and the very intents of an individual, that he approves the types of conduct accepted by the group, and that he punishes with dreadful punishments those who offend and rewards with choice blessings those who conform, goes to the very fountains of individual motivation. It creates a type of anxiety which can be reduced only by practicing the approved behavior. "Thou, God, seest me," keenly present in the consciousness of an individual is much more effective than a censorious neighbor, a policeman, or a judge. Here is a tremendous force brought to bear upon the inadequately socialized impulses of men. These beliefs, whether they rest upon the concept of an impersonal Something in nature or the concept of a personal god or gods, go to the very foundations of conduct and seriously modify the motives of believing man, whether primitive or civilized. Their efficacy depends upon the individual's wholehearted acceptance of them. Let doubt develop as to the truth of the controlling doctrines, and the power of these sanctions to control conduct is weakened or destroyed.

Control by social suggestion. Social suggestion, playing less upon fear, works much less in the open. Somewhat resembling hypnosis, social suggestion operates subconsciously for the most part, because the individual, while awake and conscious of his acts, does not understand clearly from what motives he is performing them. The effectiveness of this method of control is seen in the rapidity with which immigrant groups, especially the children, adopt the beliefs and customs of their adopted country. This social atmosphere which presses upon us with a force often unrecognized, constantly affects our behavior.

Suggestion secures its results by a number of methods and devices, *example* being an important one. We elevate to a pedestal and crown with a wreath the man who displays desirable social qualities. We build shafts to the memory of the brave, the heroic, and the successful; we canonize the recluse and apotheosize the martyr. The glamour round their deeds stirs the emotions of the young and creates in them certain social desires, but in the interests of social welfare, the vices of these same heroes, martyrs, and saints are forgotten.

Emphasis upon faith in the unrealized potentialities of men is another method of social suggestion. Many are those whose courses of conduct have been suggested by someone who expected great things from them. Prophet, apostle, and modern evangelist, as well as statesman, admiral, general, labor leader, employer, and king, well know the force of suggestion con-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 127.

veyed through an expression of faith in a man's ability to do the seemingly impossible.

Social suggestion operates through *ideals conveyed by the written and the spoken word*. Propaganda is a subtle form of suggestion. Witness modern advertising in the press and over the radio. Consider the revolution in the thinking and behavior of the German people produced by the propaganda of Hitler and his agents, or the change wrought in almost all groups among the Japanese by militarists.

The most striking example of suggestion for the control of men is to be found in that combination of all these various methods which we employ in our systems of *education*. By means of example, reiterated precept, stern discipline, the emotional stimulation of play, and the rough-and-tumble democracy of the playground, and through faith in their capabilities expressed by one for whom they have either high regard or great fear, the plastic minds of the young are moulded into a more or less uniform type.

Not less potent is social suggestion exercised by *custom and tradition*—a moulding process that is commenced long before a child begins his schooling. But in the control of groups its power is seen in the transformation of refractory youth into staid, respectable conservatives, holding strictly to the customs and traditions against which they once rebelled, and bewailing the "scandalous ways of the young generation." Thus social control is aided by the reiterated assurance of the respectable that time-honored customs and traditions constitute the very props of social order.¹⁷

Control by religion. Religion as a method of social control might have been discussed under belief but for the fact that belief is not the only or the most important element in religion. It might also have been treated under the category of *custom and tradition*, for in any long-established religion custom and tradition are the dominating and controlling elements. In a new religion, on the contrary, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism in their early days, and in the period of the reformation of a religion, as in those epochs of Christian history characterized by the rise of monasticism, the Protestant revolt and the present time, custom and tradition played less part, while belief and a way of life satisfying certain profound needs of human beings were pre-eminent as instruments of social control. All that has been said above under the category of belief applies to religion as a method of control and need not be repeated here. The other elements in religion deserve separate emphasis. Human brotherhood, the value of each individual in the sight of God, and the promise of the recti-

¹⁷ Ross, *op. cit.*, Chs. 12–15.

fication of the injustices of the social order have been fundamental elements in the Christian and Jewish religions and to a degree in Mohammedanism, which rendered them mighty forces in the control of the unsocial and anti-social individuals who came under their influence.

In a static society religion is an important agency of control, but in a period of rapid changes the sanctions of religion tend to give way. In Rome, the period of decaying belief in the old gods and their sanctions was also the beginning of national decay. The stern morality of the earlier days disappeared; in the higher circles of society the sanctity of the home and of family relationships vanished. One of the reasons for the success of Christianity in the Roman Empire was that it supplied a living faith and an inspiring way of life in place of the dying faiths and the disintegrating social order of the Romans. Along with customs and ceremonies which supplanted those to be found in the Roman religions, Christianity introduced an element with a new emphasis, the element of fraternalism—a fraternalism which people were seeking in the various guilds and societies of the Empire, but which lacked the emotional content of fraternity under the fatherhood of one god.

The sense of brotherhood that came with the belief in a god, who was represented as a merciful father to his children, gave to early Christianity a remarkable controlling power over the wild natures of men just released from the superstitious fear of gods who did not feel with them in their miseries.¹⁸

Control by social ideals. Consider what has been happening within societies and between societies the last few years. Lenin and Stalin by holding before the Russian peasant and proletarian the ideal of equality for those who had never known it lifted the mass of the depressed into activities and modes of life alien to their whole past. Hitler in a few years transformed the clashing factions of Germany into unity against the world, in part at least by his ideal of the Germans as "the master race." In spite of tradition and selfish interest the ideal of equality of all human beings, black as well as white, is bringing about a change in the attitudes of many of our white people in the South. The ideal of justice in the relations between management and labor is transforming the pattern of behavior of our financial and industrial barons, and is modifying gradually the selfish attitudes of our labor czars. True, these alterations are not due alone to ideals, but back of the coercive measures are ideals held by those who are agitating for greater justice.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Chs. 17, 18.

Control by ceremony. Who among us, even in this democratic country and in this rationalistic age, has not felt the spell of ceremony! Every act of unusual significance is surrounded by mysterious rites, whether among the primitive savages of Australia or the highly civilized peoples of Europe or America. And it is not only the imagination of the child or of the ignorant man that is enthralled; ceremony stirs elemental emotions even in the souls of the cultivated, although they understand its motive and see through its show. This mysterious and complicated series of unintelligible acts hushes into awe and reverence the wild surgings of primitive passion. And under the spell of these elemental emotions, the will is dominated by the insinuating suggestions of those in charge of the ceremony, and the whole person is subjected to the influence of the presiding personality or group.

Ceremony gathers about our most sacred institutions and tinges them with an impressiveness they do not naturally possess and which they sorely need if they are to withstand the shock of unrestrained human impulses and desires. Marriage, the institution which channelizes for us one of the most imperious human passions and brings it into subjection to the welfare of society; among primitives folk initiation into the responsibilities of manhood and womanhood; entrance into the church, or lodge, or business corporation; the disposition of the dead, that act by which man is reminded of his connection with other beings and with the supernatural sanctions which are attached to the dead—all these are occasions when it is important for the welfare of society that each onlooker be most impressively reminded that he has important social duties.²⁰

Control by means of art. By means of poetry, eloquence, painting, sculpture, music, and its various other forms, art has power to control man through the domination of his feelings. When men must be quickly fused into a living unity, the emotions are always appealed to. Take, for example, the Psalm-singing of Cromwell's Ironsides and the songs of the soldiers as they marched to the front in World War I. Art, moreover, arouses social sympathy. It is like play, which really began as art, for by exciting their emotions it loosens the restraints which separate men and it binds them together by a common feeling. Its appeal is universal; the sentiments which it arouses are common to all men. It is used in war, in religion, and in the establishment of a new order of things. Everywhere is the aesthetic sense exploited in the interests of society. Saints and heroes are painted with beatific countenances, while devils and their human disciples are given the most detestable features. And whereas moral excellence is described in such aesthetic terms as to make the quality intelligible and desirable to all, anti-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Ch. 19.

social conduct, on the other hand, is stigmatized by adjectives and pictured in colors which are associated with the undesirable things of everyday life.

There is still another way in which art fastens upon our common longings and converts them to social purposes. Art points to the stability of the nation, the immutability of the group, and the mightiness of the human species. All may be fleeting, so far as the individual is concerned, but the lofty buildings, the achievements of a state give to the individual a sense of power and permanence.

Another thing that art does for us is to glorify our social symbols. The flag becomes a thing of great beauty, and the splendor of the several arts is used to draw men's attention from the suffering and self-abnegation of the individual. War, missions, and individual sacrifices for public service are all thus glorified. Again, art pictures the worker as the happiest of all men. He is "God's nobleman," the "bulwark of the state," and his pains and deprivations are "heroic joys." The nation for which he is asked to die, or to live for through days of painful toil, is a fair maiden or matron appealing to his deepest and strongest feelings, the emotions stirred by thought of child, wife, sweetheart, or mother. Thus types like the Madonna in physical appearance spring up, and moral types like that of Christian in *Pilgrim's Progress*.²¹ Almost every community-chest drive enlists the artist to appeal to men's sympathies in order to extract pledges from the tightfisted. Thus the artist fascinates our imaginations with new types of conduct to which we naturally may be alien, and pictures saint and hero in such a way that they become models to which we are irresistibly drawn.

Control through leadership. Probably the first steps in social control were taken by dominant personalities. Leadership and submission are to be observed even in animal life. The "great man" today as always plays his part in society, although democracy may have transformed him from a captain of armies to a captain of industry or a leader in education, art, and thought.

The conditions favoring the control of a group by a strong personality are great excitement, the aggregation of individuals in mobs and masses, and "times of alarm and stress." But the causes of his authority are to be found, in part at least, in the natural qualities which the leader himself possesses. He may have a fine physique, or unusual mental qualities—for example, strength of will and imagination, a sanguine temperament, elo-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 276; Young, Kimball, *An Introductory Sociology*, Rev. ed., American Book Co., New York, 1939, pp. 443-450; Ross, E. A., *Social Psychology*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1908, Ch. 15; Lumley, Frederick F., *Means of Social Control*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1925, p. 328; Bernard, L. L., *Introduction to Social Psychology*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1926, pp. 525-527.

quence, generosity, and love, or a number of these in combination. And the force of such qualities is supplemented by the admiration aroused in men by the social distinction which a leader has either inherited or achieved through his abilities.

In the natural development of leadership, now some of these conditions and personal qualities count most, now others. And in early societies, control is based upon fear, trust, and either a selfish or a disinterested admiration. With the growth of disinterested admiration, there develops "a charm of persons" which seizes upon the very citadel of man's being—the imagination and the feelings.

And just as in a society which is military in its organization, conditions themselves are very favorable to the ascendancy of personal influence, so, too, do racial stratification and perplexing and threatening economic, social, and political conditions favor hero-worship. Witness Lenin in Russia, Hitler in Germany, and Mussolini in Italy. Again, feudal relations, in which the conquered at least so far yield to the conquerors as to accept the inferior position, promote the power of personal suggestion. It is democracy, indeed, which is least favorable to the control of the many by a single leader. With the formation of social devices which make for the wide dissemination of culture, with the opening of the doors of opportunity to every capable man, there goes a lessening of those social conditions which give artificial emphasis to natural differences among men. Leadership now becomes pre-eminence of ability—a leadership which we shall never cease to need. For democracy in political, religious, industrial, and social life raises the dignity of the average man, develops to the utmost his responsibility, and therefore diminishes the value of prestige. Thus does democracy, in emphasizing the importance of the common man, destroy the bonds of the old social control and bring into operation other forces of quite a different character.

Can society always command the services of leaders for purposes of social control? The strong man, in seeking his own ends, may wish to control other men in the interest not of society but of himself. He often does so to the detriment of society. The "boss" is an example. Now, just what are the motives which lead the powerful personality to link himself with those tendencies which make for social control?

When he does so, it is because he is usually a man of remarkable mental discernment and sees that the issues of his own life are wrapped up in the larger issues of the group to which he belongs. If he has noble enthusiasm and ambition, if he loves power and achievement, he perceives, for one thing, that the objects and achievements of society are so much more worthwhile than anything which he might desire for his own selfish purposes.

And, too, he realizes that by controlling others in the interest of society he can accomplish infinitely more than he ever could alone. The constituted authorities of state and church, the ideals of a people, and the customs of unnumbered generations, yield slowly to any one man, be he never so powerful. If he oppose them, he can accomplish but little, but with them he can move masses. Moreover, the comparative immortality of society impresses his imagination; his deeds, standing alone, will probably perish from the memory of man, but linked with the fortunes of the community, they are assured undying fame. And rare is the great leader who does not crave a share in the eternal character of the group's achievements. Hence, in degrees varying with both the character of the great man and the prevailing conditions of society, the influence of his personality is devoted to the interests of society.²²

Social control through intellectual factors. An appeal to the feelings is not the only method of controlling individuals; another way is to influence the reason and the will. This influence may be secured by offering enlightenment, by creating an illusion, or by influencing social valuations.

1. One's conduct is often affected through enlightenment by *prudential consideration of the consequences* of his acts. The social group, by disseminating information as to the physical consequences of personal habits and actions, for example, may control a man by showing him the effects of vice upon his own welfare and happiness. Thus the modern war against vice and the present health campaigns are both largely an appeal to a man's appreciation of his own welfare and/or the welfare of those with whom he is most intimately connected. Or society tries to bring home to the individual the scientifically ascertained results of individual conduct. The individual's conscience is moved not merely by age-old traditions, superstitious fears, and firmly fixed prejudices, but by his instructed intelligence. The slow acceptance by vast numbers of supposedly intelligent people of the discoveries of modern science, outside of the physical and mechanical realms, should not deceive us as to the effectiveness of this form of control. Also the subversion of popular respect for science by interested charlatans indicates that popular intelligence is not great enough and instructed intellects not numerous enough to discriminate accurately between scientifically established truth and pseudo science. The discovery of vitamins has been followed by a blossoming of all kinds of "fake" advertising of "vitamin" products. Yet, appeal to reason does control people's conduct.

But besides showing a man the physical or psychical consequences upon

²² Ross, *op. cit.*, Ch. 21.

himself, the organized agencies of social control may inform him of the social consequences of conduct. From the reaction of individuals whose rights he has infringed, or from the reaction of society which, like a kind of superparent, cares for the interests of all its children by curbing the excessively egoistic conduct of some, he suffers loss of social esteem, the respect of his fellows, and the honor which society bestows upon the deserving. These reactions are a means of teaching a man that his individual actions affect others than himself—a lesson but slowly learned by the best of us. This sense of social solidarity the group tries, at a very early stage to develop in its members, and gradually some members learn to consider their own welfare in terms of the welfare of the community. Says Ross, "History records the reflections of the Elite upon the conduct of life, but neglects the forces that held in their humble social orbits the yeoman and the artisan. Yet it is safe to surmise that in all free communities there was an exudation of proverb and aphorism, gnome and parable, legend and moral tale, tending to bring about a canny adjustment of men to the requirements of life in common. That underground growth we call folklore was full of salty maxims and pithy counsels which gave shape to multitudes of obscure, un-horizoned lives."

2. Another device by which the behavior of the individual is swayed is *illusion*. When information and intelligence will not secure social control, some other method must be found. One of these is to employ deception and misrepresentation, to use half-truths and prejudices concerning not only the supernatural realm of religion but the everyday experiences of men. And because most people are neither strictly logical in their thinking nor scientific in their criticism of what purports to be truth, because men seldom are entirely free from prejudices of one sort or another, this method has considerable chance of success. A few examples will suffice to show how common and widespread are the illusions which still exercise control over men. The theory is still prevalent that the righteous will never be forsaken, that his children will never need to beg bread. Originally, when there was a religious sanction for right conduct, such a theory had some significance, but as interpreted in modern times, it is pseudorational. In spite of our desire to believe it the truth, we are forced to admit that this axiom of conduct does not always correspond with the hard facts of life. But our heroes of the drama, of song, of story, and of theology all triumph. The worthy man succeeds; the mean man suffers. The soldier's widow and orphans will be bountifully cared for. And he who dies for a great cause in the morning of his life gains fame and immortality.

The brave
 Die never. Being deathless, they but change
 Their country's arms for more, their country's heart.²³

*O, fortunata mors, quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum redditum!*²⁴
 (Happy the death of him who pays the debt of nature for his country's sake!)

A Hitler and a Mussolini controlled their peoples by condemning democracy and praising the glories of dictatorship. On such illusions are built most of the superstructure of militarism.

Of a similar stripe are the political illusions. The doctrine of the divine right of kings, so long dominant in history, and still surviving in certain nations, is a semireligious, semirational sanction with which to soothe non-critical individuals into somnolent obedience. Nor does a democracy escape political illusions. Much of the solicitude for the people, much that is done in the name of political progress, is pure buncombe on the part of candidates. A study of the discussions for the last twenty years of the tariff question or the liquor problem, here in the United States, will show how the politicians seize upon certain phases of these questions in order to secure popular favor.

Another illusion that has worked in the interests of social control is asceticism, so often employed by the church to tame men. Whether Catholic or Protestant, it finds its real explanation in its power to catch the imagination of men, appeal to their desire for release from the evils of a social order, and bring them into some semblance of social regularity and usefulness. Some types of asceticism fit in with "an economy of pain," as Patten puts it, or as Freud states it, with the necessity of atoning for a feeling of guilt. Based on an illusion impossible save as pain-wrought ideals dominate men's minds, these types pretend to be absolutely self-renouncing, when as a matter of fact, they represent only another form of selfishness, for they offer security and rest to the disturbed soul in the midst of social unrest. Or as the psychoanalysts have put it, they compensate the sadistic soul for the denial of some vicious impulse of his own.

But it is not only in militancy, politics, and certain stages of religion that illusion has been used to subdue the individual for the good of society. Illusion holds sway in industry as well. If workers demand collective bargaining, they are met with the almost unchallenged illusion of "freedom of contract" and the contention that every man has a right to work. By such half-truths do the lords of industry endeavor to cudgel into submission

²³ Bailey, P. J., *Festus*, V.

²⁴ Cicero, *Philippics*, IV, 12, 31.

the rising aspirations of the workers. On the other hand, in a period of economic deflation, the workers contend for a "living wage" without reference to the economic conditions which determine wages. Crafty and corrupt labor leaders appeal to "the right to bargain collectively" in order to "shake down" employers and line their own pockets. And economic theories, once they have served the purpose of economic liberation, are repeatedly invoked in the interest of control by certain groups. Thus *laissez faire*, once the shibboleth of the English Industrial Revolution, is now seen to have been an illusion with which industry whipped into uniformity and reduced to control the social heterogeneity of the eighteenth century.

Even in education, half-truths survive and dominate the minds of men. What does it signify that the professors in some of our colleges and universities insist so strenuously on the recognition of an aristocracy of letters? Why do they accept with such alacrity and satisfaction the adulation and reverence of the multitudes? With the exception of those few who foster this attitude from purely selfish motives, they do it because such a view of education serves as a most excellent instrument for control of the multitudes.²⁵

3. *Conscious efforts to affect social valuations*, a part of man's social heritage and growing out of his ideals and emotions, constitute another method of controlling behavior. Standards of conduct and ideals of character are created by society. And since these standards and ideals are intended to be applied to others than the makers of them, they are usually higher than those possessed by the leaders who make them. But their nature is such that men are willing to take them for their own.

These social valuations are placed on the things that make for group safety, such as courage, honesty, and faithfulness; they are given to the things which are coöperative in nature, such as play and sociability; they are given to music and art, to the love of money and women, to all things which do not consume strength or clash with the interests of others. By means of example, exhortation, suggestion, the quoting of tradition, and the citation of custom these valuations are crowded home upon the individual with almost irresistible power. And yielding to this pressure, he makes his social choices in accordance with the valuations made by society, almost unconscious that they are being handed to him ready-made. By means of song and story and thousands of minor rewards they are taught even to

²⁵ See Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1901, Ch. 23, for a somewhat different emphasis on details of the process. See also Lumley, F. E., "Slogans as a Means of Social Control," *Publications American Sociological Society*, Vol. 16, 1921, p. 121; or *Means of Social Control*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1925, Ch. 7.

the child; they pervade our table conversation and the talk of the street; they are preached from pulpit and platform; they are embedded in the homely wisdom of proverb and epigram. Finally, they are enforced by the social sanctions of esteem, social distinction, and by the penalties of disfavor, disgrace, and blame. Strong, indeed, is the character who can rise above these social valuations—or subnormal in his mental processes.

Control by propaganda and education. We do not use the term *education* as a synonym of propaganda because the educational process is entirely different from that of propaganda. The main purpose of education is to train people, especially young people, in the methods necessary to understand realities. In fact, the educational method is quite at variance with the propaganda method. Education is not primarily to stock the mind with information, but to train people to think, to discriminate between truth and error, to arrive at reality. For example, education in astronomy, while it supplies information as to the nature of the celestial universe, is much more interested in teaching the student the methods by which the truths about that universe are discovered than the facts themselves. On the other hand, some people connected with a religious organization at Zion City, Illinois, are interested in presenting only those facts which seem to prove that the earth is flat and that the sun, moon, and stars revolve about the earth. That is propaganda, not education. The only sense, therefore, in which education can be used as a means of social control is that in teaching people how to arrive at truth it trains them in the use of their intelligence and thus enlarges the scope of control through the use of reason rather than the feelings, custom, and tradition.

Propaganda, on the other hand, attempts to persuade people to accept a given point of view and to act in conformity with it. Only the facts supporting that point of view are given. All others are suppressed or belittled. Much of the present-day advertising is not education but propaganda. The subtler that propaganda can be made, the more effective it is. If it takes on the appearance of disinterestedness, but can convey by suggestion the points it wishes to make, it disarms the critical mind and easily persuades the unwary.

With the development of modern means of communication, propaganda has greatly increased its power. It need not depend upon actual face-to-face meetings between the propagandist and those whom he seeks to influence. The printing press serves as an excellent medium for literate people. The radio has greatly increased the reach of man's voice and greatly extended the power of the propagandist. True, these agencies may be used by educators for the presentation of all the facts in connection with a given

situation. However, there are always more people who are interested in influencing the mind and actions of men for a particular purpose of interest primarily to themselves or to their groups than people who are interested in getting all the facts before the public. So great is the menace of propaganda through the press and the radio that some nations are taking steps to punish false advertising within their borders and to offset the influence of propagandists operating through special groups and interests. In the recent conflict between the dictatorships and the democracies each erected powerful radio stations by which their respective points of view could be radioed to all the world. Hence today there is a battle in the radio waves on the part of those nations which do not wish to have their people hear propaganda from the other side. Consequently they try to block out by means of a strong interference the broadcasts of the stations in those nations opposed to them. In all these ways those who favor one particular form of behavior are endeavoring to influence people to act upon their point of view. Within the nations under the direction of dictatorships there is no possibility of any minority conducting propaganda or even education. In the democracies, except for the control of false advertising, the person or group which has the money to pay for printing and for broadcasting can in times of peace set forth its views.²⁶

Control by the law and administration. In the absence of control by custom and tradition, law is the formal method of control by means of which people's lives are regulated; their rights, duties, and privileges defined; the offenses against individuals and society determined; and the punishments for violators provided. And the government, instituted for the enforcement of law, is able, by exercising a police control over the community, to maintain social order. This has usually occurred historically on conquest of one people by another, or where rapid changes have undermined the old sanctions. It is apparent from what has just been said with reference to propaganda that any government by its police power may either tolerate any methods for the promulgation of a set of opinions or points of view among its people, or by censoring opinions control propaganda along the lines of its own values. It may also provide a system of education which trains the intelligence and cultivates critical discrimination between truth and error and impartially provide facts bearing upon a given situation to enable the people to make up their minds as they see fit. The government establishes commissions and legislative committees and other

²⁶ Lumley, Frederick E., *The Propaganda Menace*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1933, *passim*, but especially Ch. 5; Young, Kimball, *Social Psychology*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930, Ch. 27.

administrative agencies to enforce the laws, impartially to search for facts, to publish the findings of investigations, and thus to enable the people to find peace and order for their private enterprises. In this way society attempts by law to add alternatives to the universal elements of the culture and so modify the core.



Control by law

The United States Supreme Court. (Photo by Brown Bros.)

: **Control by force.** The ultimate sanction of control is physical force. It has been found necessary for the government to establish certain laws to which are attached punishments in order to control the most recalcitrant, the selfish, the greedy, and the irresponsible. Hence courts have been established for the trial of disputes between individuals or between individuals and corporations. These courts, with the officers attached thereto, have been given the power to enforce their decisions. The government goes further in that it establishes courts to enforce the laws for the punishment of those offenders who jeopardize the interests of other people. It establishes prisons for their punishment; it provides processes for the control of the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and persons otherwise so disordered that their

conduct might be a menace to themselves and to others; and by means of the military forces it suppresses insurrections and massed menaces to the social order.

Methods of social control combining these various instruments. In the actual exercise of social discipline the dominant groups in a modern society use all these methods. Many of the instruments of control are devised to effect conformity by an appeal to the feelings, the will, and the intellect at the same time. Books have been written on the devices which are used by those wishing to discipline the individuals of a group. Even the catalogue of these contrivances is too long for discussion here. Mention of a few may indicate their variety. They vary from rewards, praise, flattery, precepts, slogans, to satire, ridicule, dogmatic assertion, propaganda, threats, and positive punishments. They appeal to every human emotion—love, hate, fear, and sympathy. They play upon the sentiments commonly entertained by human beings—courage, loyalty, faithfulness, respect for property, regard for human life, and pity. They invoke the assistance of fundamental cultural desires: economic and personal security; recognition, prestige, and esteem; response of one's fellow beings; experience in the expression of one's personality—desires inculcated from early childhood.

Means whereby control may be achieved and organized. If one considers the ways in which a group moulds individuals coming within its orbit, he notices that in general there are two types. One regulates by such informal devices as face-to-face approval and disapproval, injunctions, examples, tabus, and ostracisms. This type is an aspect of the folkways and mores. There is no rational end to be served under this type except conformity to the approved pattern. Let the inquiring individual in our own society ask why he should convey food to his mouth with a fork rather than with a knife. There is no rational answer. Instead he gets such replies as "To eat with one's knife is not done," "It is not polite," or "It is boorish." These practices are sometimes called the *conventionalities*. The mores belong under this type also, but they differ from the folkways in that they are enforced by some additional sanctions because they are conceived to be necessary for the welfare of the group.

The second type may be described as agencies and methods consciously devised for specific purposes of control—laws, government, the police force, the militia, prisons, and various types of punishment of a positive nature. The agencies under this type partake of the consciousness of purpose characteristic of the mores. They differ from the mores in that they are more formally organized and implemented by special agencies to secure control.

From the point of view of processes by which social control is achieved, other classifications have been made by the writers on sociology.

Durkheim in his writings has two classes of methods: (1) constraint by the application of sanctions, i.e., forcing the will of the individual, and (2) the constraint of the individual, not against his will, but by the "norms" of society, accepted by the individual as a part of his own value system, and thus producing in him a sense of moral obligation to conform to social requirements. (See Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 377.) The latter process we discussed in the chapter on Socialization following the analysis by Mead. (Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 211.) The latter's thought and Durkheim's are much the same, although their terminology is different. A close comparison of the two, however, indicates that they were dealing with similar problems and arrived at essentially the same analysis of the methods of control. Doubtless Mead was influenced by Durkheim's exposition as well as by Wundt and perhaps by Toennies and Weber.

Toennies, in his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887), has a similar classification qualified by an emphasis upon the role of contract in social relations. He cites, however, the moral and legal obligations involved in contract corresponding to the "norms" of Durkheim.

Weber in discussing the methods whereby society secures social uniformity, has a threefold classification of the instruments of social control. They are (1) efficiency norms of rationality (interest), (2) legitimacy norms, and (3) usage (Brauch).²⁷

Ross himself in his most recent discussion of the methods of social control classifies the instruments of control as follows: "Some of the instruments society employs bear upon the will; others, upon the feelings; still others upon the judgment. In the first group are social suggestion, custom, and education, which used direct means to give the will a certain bend, and public opinion, law and religious belief, which employ punishments and rewards. In the second group are social religion, personal ideals, ceremony, art and personality. In the third group, enlightenment, illusion and social valuation."²⁸

Professor Giddings has classified the instruments of control into (1) folkways and (2) stateways. The former category he borrowed from Sumner,

²⁷ Weber, Max, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, III. Abteilung: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Siebeck, Tübingen, 1925, Vol. 2, pp. 15-19, 122, etc. See also Parsons, Talcott, *The Structure of Social Action*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, pp. 650-677.

²⁸ Ross, E. A., *The Principles of Sociology*, 8d ed., D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1938, p. 506.

and the latter refers to the positive methods of control exercised by the political unit.²⁹

There are many ways, therefore, in which the unstable, egoistic individual and the variant group can be moulded into some semblance of uniformity with their fellows and be made to follow lines of conduct compatible with the definite, common ends of social life. And be the appeal an emotional one—through belief, social suggestions, the sanctions of religion, ceremonies, art, or the influence of dominating personalities—or be it an intellectual one, society controls the individual for the realization of the supreme values of the group, and transforms his variant impulses, his selfish desires, and his antisocial ambitions into social forces, or curbs them in the interests of social safety.

Factors determining methods of social control

The nature of the methods of social control depends on a number of conditions. These conditions vary from society to society. They are correlated with various elements in the total configuration of the culture. We have seen in previous chapters that the different features in the total culture of any society depend somewhat upon the nature of the environment, the size and composition of the population, the relation between the individuals composing the society, the role of prestige by individuals and groups in that society, and the biological and cultural conditions. Among the factors affecting the method of social control we select for discussion the following.

Valued elements in the culture. The nature of social control will depend upon what elements in the culture are looked upon as most valuable, that is, the universals. If social uniformity receives the chief emphasis in the group's evaluation, social pressure of one sort or another characterizes the control very much more than if individual and subgroup freedom is highly rated. If the society is divided into social classes, and the relationship between the classes is that of superiority and inferiority with prestige ranking high among the important values of that group, control tends to be of an exploitative nature.³⁰ If property is more highly valued than the protection of the person, the institutions of control center around the protection of the property-owning class, whereas if the life and freedom of the individual are more highly valued than property, social control emphasizes

²⁹ Giddings, Franklin H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, Ch. 11.

³⁰ Bernard, *Social Control*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1939, Ch. 9.

such aspects of the culture as education, measures for the protection of health, and the promotion of individual initiative and freedom. If the sacred occupies a high place in the cultural valuation of the group, social control will occupy itself chiefly with the protection of holy places, emphasizing the individual's duty to the gods, to religious exercises and to measures for controlling heretics. On the other hand, if the secular elements in the culture are highly valued, heresy becomes an indifferent matter to the agencies of social control, and science, philosophy, research, and secular education are inculcated, and respect for them stimulated by every means at hand. Again, the nature of control varies according to whether the society has had a long and undisturbed period of development in which customs and traditions have grown up which are looked upon as important elements in the culture, or whether, on the other hand, rapid change has brought about a high evaluation of novelty.

Homogeneity or heterogeneity of population and culture. The nature of social control depends upon whether the population and the culture are homogeneous or heterogeneous. If the former is true, social control is likely to be predominantly customary, conventional, and traditional. A homogeneous society, alike in the biological composition of its population and in the elements of its culture, has few and not sharply defined classes, and the relationships between these classes have been adjusted with the result that individuals and groups feel fairly comfortable in their relationships. On the other hand, if the population and the culture are made up of unlike elements, conflict between individuals and classes is more likely to be found, and social control is more violent and exploitative.

Danger or safety of the group. The methods of social control vary with respect to whether the society is in danger for any reason or whether the safety of the group is assured. If there is intergroup hostility, social control is likely to be more rigorous than if friendly relationships exist between the society and its neighbors. If the group is strong relative to its neighbors, control of its individual members and subgroups is likely to be less severe than if it is relatively weak. Moreover, the nature of social control varies according to the isolation or proximity of groups. The former condition, other things being equal, makes for moderation in control, while close proximity of groups results in diffusion of different cultures between the groups, creates social change, and leads to strenuous efforts to control the individuals composing a society in the interests of the uniformity of its culture and the solidarity of its constituent members.

Social stability or social change. The nature of social control varies according to the stability of the culture or whether social change is rapidly

going on. The former condition leads to the relaxation of forceful and violent methods of control, while social change invites the use of those methods.

The stage of development of the social processes. Methods of social control vary according to whether the society is characterized predominantly by one or another of the social processes discussed in Part V. If a conflict situation exists, either within the society or between one society and another, social control is more violent and repressive than if one of the other social processes is in operation. To a less degree this is true also of contravention. When the dominant process is competition, chicanery, propaganda, and ridicule, social pressures of a sort less violent than those to be found when the processes of conflict and contravention are uppermost are likely to be found in operation. When accommodation is the social process most in evidence in a society, the nature of social control is a mixture of force and nonviolent methods. It is when the process of assimilation has brought about a fair adjustment of the various elements of culture and of the population to each other that the informal methods of social control are most in evidence. Liberty for the individual and wide-open opportunities for individuals and classes are then possible. The regulation of individuals is accomplished by the pressure of the common culture taught in childhood and youth through family and community agencies, through the schools, and by the sway of generally accepted public opinion. It is when this process of assimilation is dominant that civil liberties for the individual and respect for the rights of the minority groups are most widely accepted.

Social control and the individual³¹

The variant individual or group may be either a real menace to the general welfare or the harbinger of a new social order. Frequently in the past the originators of novel doctrines affecting human behavior have been persecuted by the dominant party because the doctrines and behavior seemed to threaten values commonly held. One needs only to recall the fact that Socrates was forced to drink the hemlock because his ideas were at variance with those held by the ruling party in Athens. Jesus Christ was crucified because his beliefs clashed with those of the dominant clique in Jerusalem. It is still true that one generation crucifies its prophets, and the next generation builds splendid tombs for them. Although control is neces-

³¹ G. H. Mead is of the opinion that social control does not crush the individual, but is constitutive of and inextricably associated with individuality, *Mind, Self and Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934, p. 255. However that may be in theory, in actual practice social control sometimes crushes the individual.

sary in any society, it requires the most careful circumspection in its application if damage is not to be done, not only to the individual, but to the whole society, by the repression or destruction of the authors of needed change. If control is so exercised that the individual of genius or of fruitful ideas is repressed, the social organization may become stagnant and the whole group suffer. If, on the other hand, the controlling group in a society disregards the necessity of a certain degree of solidarity in outlook, belief, and behavior among the members of society, it is likely to crucify those conservatives who favor careful deliberation before action is taken. The different groups of mankind have approached these questions in various ways appropriate to the elements in their respective cultures, including their systems of social values, and according to the particular situation at a given moment. Illustrative of the first is the contrast before World War II between Britain and Nazi Germany as to the relative importance of the individual and the nation. In Britain the individual had a much higher value than in Germany: the state existed for the individual in the former; in the latter the individual existed for Germany. While the difference is only one of degree, it is real.

Notice also that pressure on the individual varies within very wide limits depending upon a number of conditions affecting the relative emphasis of the group upon individual liberty or upon social solidarity. Social control is likely to be rather strenuous in the presence of real or supposed *imminence of danger* to the group. In time of war, control of individuals is exercised much more vigorously than in peace. In periods characterized by the *rapid spread of new ideas*, of rapid changes in economic or political organization, those who are in conflict with ideas and beliefs sanctioned by long usage are subjected to pressure by those loyal to the past.

Pressure upon the individual also varies according to whether there is a *high degree of concord or discord* relative to the ascendant values held by a people. These values become attached to ideals, beliefs, traditions, and customs as instruments for their realization. If there is a fairly high degree of concord concerning social values and the methods of achieving them, discussion and legal institutions will be employed to settle differences of opinion. If, however, there is a high degree of discord, as during periods of rapid change, the indirect or informal methods of control are likely to be ignored and direct action will be employed by those whose value systems seem to be threatened by new ideas and new ways of life. For example, at a time when organized religion and its agents were looked upon as inextricably intertwined with the welfare of society, as in medieval Europe, the introduction of new ideas seemed a social menace with the result that

both church and state denounced the promulgators of such ideas as heretics and repressed them. At present when the mechanization of industry is changing the relations between the employer and the employee, and thus the values held by each respectively seem to be threatened, there is an outbreak of direct action by vigilantes using violent methods of repression not stopping short of bloodshed.

Social values and the individual. In the age-long fight between the privileged and the underprivileged classes, certain values have emerged, been fought for, and agreed upon as socially desirable. These values may be called historical accidents in the sense that they have grown out of particular situations over which there has been conflict between those in authority and the subject classes. But more fundamentally they developed out of the entire social situation in which new ideas were coming into conflict with long-established customs and traditions in every sphere of life. In democratic countries they envisage wider liberty for individuals and groups in their thinking and acting. They have been established by wont and use, are embedded in the organization of society—courts, customs, schools, churches, and state. Some of these cherished values are equality before the law, equality of opportunity in economic activity, education, and social status. If one looks back four or five hundred years in English history, he can behold the slow, laborious processes by which these values obtained general acceptance, or how in Germany freedom of learning and teaching—*Lehrfreiheit und Lehrenfreiheit*—obtained general approval. They grew out of specific situations, but are stated as abstract propositions. In all democratic countries they are at least given lip service.

Equality before the law, for example, is extolled as a value, although in actual practice often it is not realized. *Equality of economic opportunity* grew out of the reaction against human slavery, and the serfdom characteristic of the feudal system. *Equality of educational opportunity* developed as a cherished value in the United States of America, where for the first time in human history public schools were established for every white child no matter what the economic status of his parents. This value has been realized in even greater measure through the compulsory school laws. It is denied in actual practice, however, by the unwillingness of certain school districts to provide proper facilities. As a result the child in the city has greater opportunities for education than the child in the country. It is also denied to colored children in some parts of the country because of the survival of the old notions concerning the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of the colored.

Among these values are what we call the *civil liberties*—the right of free

speech, of an untrammeled press, of assembly for the discussion of grievances, and of the exercise of religion. The right of free speech implies a system of government based upon free discussion of the issues of life. Upon the same basis rests the right of anyone to print his opinions. The right of assembly for the discussion of issues and for the formulation of resolutions or petitions adds the further element of the right not only of the individual to speak or write his mind but of a group of individuals to combine and through discussion to arrive at a united opinion upon issues of the day. The right to exercise one's religious beliefs as he may see fit, or to profess no religion, rests upon the theory that the individual conscience must not be trammelled by an established church or by the instruments of the state. These civil liberties are limited only by proscription of the use of them for the overthrow of government or for public disturbance. Such values, while accepted in theory in some countries, in actual practice are not always realized. They are more likely to be violated in times of crisis than in times of settled conditions.

Another valued feature in some societies is the *rule of the majority*. This dominance of one group in a country over another, however, must be expressed through established institutions and procedures for deliberation in the formulation of majority opinion. This gives us legislatures, congress or parliament, and other law-making bodies. Some practical measure for the conduct of public business had to be provided by which differences of opinion with regard to policy could be resolved by a practical program of action. The solution was hit upon that after proper discussion the decision supported by a majority of the individuals in a constituent assembly should govern. The minority must yield to that decision, but is free through discussion to have the decision reversed at a future time. This is a practical measure to prevent the use of violence to settle matters. The right of a minority to continue discussion and if possible to convert the minority into a majority must be respected. Here again the ideal is not always realized even in democracies, for sometimes minorities have been suppressed by one or another type of violent action.

Still another cherished value in a democracy is the *security in person and property of every individual except as affected by due process of law*. This ideal also grew up in reaction against the repressive tyranny of a dominant group over the rest of the population. It has led to the development of machinery devised to consider the merits of contests between individuals and groups by unprejudiced authorities. It leads to civil and criminal trials by definitely constituted processes intended to secure careful investigation of the facts in order to reach a decision between the claims of contending

parties based upon the impartial judgment of a third party. The state may not take a man's property without proper compensation for it. The rich man may not exploit the poor man. In case he tries to do so, courts are set up to which the poor man may resort for justice. Even the state may not deprive a citizen of his liberty without due process of law. That is why the law assumes that a man charged with crime is innocent until he is proved guilty. The jury system came into existence in England in order that a man might be tried not by a judge prejudiced by the judge's class interests but by a jury of his peers. However, the machinery by which it is intended to be effectuated is often imperfect. The poor man is at a disadvantage in a civil suit frequently because he is unable to hire the services of a competent lawyer, and if charged with crime, does not have the same chances before the law as a rich man. This remains true even though the law provides that in case the accused is unable to hire a lawyer, the state must provide a defense attorney. Frequently the men appointed by the state for the defense of the accused are incompetent or are desirous of getting rid of the case as soon as possible. Consequently this value is not always realized. But the defect is not in the theory but in the means provided to effectuate it.

It is easily seen that in order to realize these values there is implied a reliance on law and its instruments and on education and social pressure rather than on force. Instruments are devised by which age-old intolerance may be curbed, and by which the individual poorest and lowest in status is guaranteed by the law a chance to be secure in his person and property equally with the rich and powerful. The problem is to reconcile social control with the freedom of the individual.

Results of social control on values and institutions

With the emergence of new values cherished by some individuals or groups in a society—values which clash with other values held by different individuals or groups—the usual methods of social control are ineffective, because society is not united as to what values are primary and what secondary. During a war the safety of the state takes first place in the judgment of those interested in the particular form of government. Others may value most individual liberty. In a society which has grown prosperous under a regime of individual and corporate enterprise, security of property and freedom of action in management of a business are looked upon as most vital, but to the mass of workers some control over working conditions, hours, and rates of pay may assume primary importance. If with the vast economic changes and the emergence of different values, there have not

developed procedures whereby clashing interests can be peaceably reconciled, violent measures by one side or by both may be employed. Then the values of peaceful adjustment of differences and the institutions which embody those values are threatened. Indeed, they may be destroyed.

1. One result of such violent methods of social control is that *our fundamental institutions are threatened*. Through the distortion of news by newspapers and magazines, the very liberty of the press, about which the newspapers have so much to say, is undermined. In addition, through the news columns and editorials, often policies of violence are suggested and approved, and democratic government itself is imperiled. Activities of the "red-baiting" or of "Fascist and Nazi-baiting" organizations, did they but know it, threaten our fundamental institutions of free discussion and calm deliberation, and by inciting to violence flout the fundamental principles upon which our government is based. Overzealous Legionnaires, thinking they are defending democratic institutions when they advocate tar and feathers for agitators, are resorting to methods at complete variance with our fundamental values. The D.A.R., with its great concern for the American Flag and the American Constitution, may, by their practical activities undermine the fundamental conceptions on which that constitution rests and of which the flag is a symbol. Chambers of Commerce which represent the rich owners of property in the country cannot be found fault with so long as they confine their activities to the discussion of issues and the legal methods of settling matters in the courts, but when they suggest that violent methods be used against those who differ from them, then they are advocating a procedure at variance with the fundamental principles on which the security of property depends. Citizens' committees, such as were organized in Johnstown in the steel strike and in Syracuse, New York, in the strike there, cannot be criticized as long as they confine their activities to the formation of public opinion. When, however, they put pressure behind the police force or organize vigilantes for the violent suppression of the liberties of those with whom they disagree, they may be digging the grave of American business. The Ku Klux Klan, with its night riders, violent threats, and violent deeds; the Black Legion of Michigan; and all such extralegal organizations threaten the very Constitution which they say they are protecting. Labor organizations which by violence or threats attempt to coerce employers and consumers likewise menace orderly procedures in the settlement of disputes between groups. Labor "racketeers" exploit for their own benefit values held by labor groups, call strikes in order to extort money from employers.

2. Violent and undemocratic measures of control do not stop here. In

the attempt to control the social order in their own interests in this country, dominant groups like proprietors of great wealth, the plantation owners of the South, successors of the old slave owners, and labor "racketeers," sometimes *subvert the legislatures, the courts, and the administrative authorities, and endeavor to get their hands upon even the educational institutions of the country.*

The investigations of the United States Senate Committee on lobbying showed that the great corporations, the American Legion, and labor representatives *secretly* put great pressure upon senators and congressmen, supposedly representing all the people, to pass laws favorable to these special groups. It is well known that every time a tariff or a tax bill appears in Congress, a strong lobby of those affected by the law appears in Washington to work for or against the law by both secret and open methods. So long as the methods used are aboveboard, no objection can be offered, but when *secret* methods are employed, fundamental principles of democratic government are threatened. Money, threats, and cajoling secretly applied undermine the very bases of representative government. The present confusion following the close of World War II illustrates resort to such undemocratic methods.

Even the *courts* are not immune to these surreptitious pressures. Now and again cases appear of a bribe blinding the eyes of the judge or the jury, or of threats made to influence these instruments of justice. Lawyers occasionally, in spite of their oaths to uphold the Constitution and to serve the courts and the cause of justice, lend themselves to corruption of the very foundations of justice. Sometimes those who have an interest in securing the subversion of the processes of law see that a representative of their interests is elected to the bench. District attorneys have been known to be partial to a favored group, to prosecute individuals considered inimical to the interests of those who have secured their election. Disbarment of lawyers and impeachment of judges are rare and very difficult, because there exists such a strong class feeling that few lawyers want to initiate proceedings against them, and because it is so difficult to get those who know the facts to give testimony.

Even the *educational institutions* of the country have not been immune to secret pressures by individuals and groups which wish to control the very fountains of knowledge. A few years ago an investigation showed that an association of public-utility companies of this country was subsidizing educators in our colleges to write articles and books favorable to them. Business organizations, "patriotic" organizations, like the D.A.R., the American Legion, and the Liberty League, have brought pressure upon college

and university presidents to forbid the freedom of teaching, without which education becomes only propaganda. Teachers'-oaths laws have been enacted in some states to muzzle those in academic chairs who believe that youth should have the privilege of learning about both sides of a question.

The same condemnation should be visited upon the advocates of violence among the dispossessed classes. Some of the workers, who have most to lose by an appeal to violence, have by violent actions denied fundamental values.

3. *Too much control may result in loss of values.* Perhaps the most important result of violent and surreptitious social control is one which appears not in democracies alone but in any society—the possibility that too rigid social control means repression of that dynamic person or minority group in any population supplying the ideas and actions on which social change depends. How to reconcile the methods of control thought necessary to insure social solidarity with liberty for the individual, or for a minority, is a perplexing problem for sociological theory as well as for social practice. Often there is a tendency toward reliance upon force rather than upon free discussion, deliberation, and the working out of such compromises as are necessary to conciliate both sides to the debate. When force rather than discussion is used, then farewell has been said to hard-won liberties, and the ground has been prepared for future violence.

Until World War I, in most of the civilized countries of the world, at least lip service was rendered to the rights of the dissident individuals and minority groups. Following the profound and world-wide disturbance caused by the war in almost all countries, the historic liberties of the individual and the rights of minorities were curtailed, more in some countries (Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia) than in others.

In World War II in the United States, with the exception of the War Department's treatment of the Japanese on the West Coast, very much greater tolerance of minority groups and of individual dissent from majority opinion and attitude was shown. Public hysteria against Germans was much less marked than in World War I. Conscientious objectors, while still put under restraint and made to do work which was not the most constructive and was often distasteful, were in relatively smaller numbers sent to prison for their convictions. The handling of the Japanese was a blunder of the first order. Later more rational methods were used in screening out of the concentration camps those who were loyal to the United States and scattering them among the general population. But the breaking up of families and forcing them to sell their properties when they were

moved from the settlements of the West Coast was an act of tyranny which should be compensated for in the postwar period.

Thus it appears that so to administer social control that the society may be unified and at the same time that the minorities and variant individuals may not be repressed unduly, requires a high degree of discrimination, understanding, and patience. These are qualities very likely to be missing in individuals and groups who come into sudden possession of power in society or who have been long entrenched in privileges, but whose special position is now threatened. They must have almost an unfailing faith in the good sense, the square dealing of the mass of individuals and of minorities, and in the beneficence of free discussion. Long ago Bagehot indicated that enormous damage is done by those who believe in securing results by direct rather than by indirect methods, who believe in hasty action rather than in careful deliberation, who desire results no matter how obtained rather than those more slowly reached by discussion and deliberation.³² The impulsive "for God's sakers"—those who in the face of a problem cry out "for God's sake let us do this" or "for God's sake let us do that"—are the ones who create difficulty. Those who thoroughly believe that control through intelligent consent is best in the long run, proceed patiently, confident that the individual or the group, freely permitted to air its grievances, is much more likely to contribute something to the welfare of society than if represented by forcible measures. They refuse to be stampeded into violence by difficulties, but patiently, persistently, with open minds, and yet with sincere convictions, devote themselves to the discussion of the views they hold, modifying them as may be necessary to secure the assent of men of good will. Only so can the values embodied in "civil liberties" be made secure. Any social values can be best tested by research as to their results, not by their enforcement with acts of terror. Research is a long, laborious, and costly process; yet the facts obtained by research provide the only sound basis upon which policies of control may be grounded.

Thus there are difficulties in the exercise of social control. Some methods of control imperil values which if possible should be conserved, sacrificed only when the welfare of the group is gravely threatened as in war or times of emergency from other causes. Since people's judgments differ as to the imminence of such dangers, calm deliberation, frank discussion, and appeal to man's collected judgment in order to secure general agreement on a program of action are better than repression by violence. Historic

³² Bagehot, Walter, *Physics and Politics*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1898, No. 5.

experience shows that direct and violent suppression, except in an emergency, and sometimes even then, produces revolution. The only substitute for debate is the concentration camp. The values embodied in civil liberties have been won at such cost and the results are so important that any serious threat to them is of the profoundest sociological significance. These values are related to (1) the utmost freedom of the individual and the minority group to express their most comprehensive ideas and impulses, unhampered to the greatest degree consistent with social integrity; (2) freedom to contribute to the culture of the group new elements thus enriching its content and supplying a greater variety in the total configuration, a larger selection of alternatives from which the individual may choose; and (3) experimental variations in culture for social selection.

It is only through the free play of individual initiative that the latent potentialities of the individual can be developed. Only as the individual feels free to offer what he considers important does he experience the greatest possible satisfaction. Repression beyond that absolutely necessary for social solidarity results in neurotic personalities.

The freedom of the individual and minority group to contribute new ways of life and new ideas or to criticize existing ideas and institutions opens the way for changes which enrich the culture and provide variety.

Only as the culture is rich, not only in universal elements, but also in alternatives and specialties can the individual have a choice of the features of the culture best adapted to his capacities and desires. And only as society guarantees civil liberties can it experiment with new culture elements and select those variations best fitted to the changing conditions of a mobile world.

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734 Social control

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Exercises

1. Why is control by society of individuals and of subordinate groups important?
2. Explain in terms of (a) biological differences and (b) cultural differences, (1) the criminal, (2) the insane, (3) the gang, (4) the political party, (5) the revolutionaries in Czarist Russia.
3. Does the reconciliation of the Labor Party in Britain with the employers and the agreement of "no strikes" and "no lockouts" between labor and capital in the United States during World War II illustrate how two conflicting values may be supplanted by a value common to both parties—national security—and thus national solidarity be achieved in the face of great danger? Explain.
4. Was the method employed in Great Britain in reconciling the Labor Party and the employers during World War II different from that employed in the totalitarian states in securing national unity between workers and employers? Explain.
5. Identify the conflicting values in a time of war or of threatening war between the conscientious objectors and the advocates of conscription, between the churches of Germany and the authorities in Hitler's totalitarian state.
6. What, if any, were the differences in the machinery employed in Nazi Germany and in the United States to control individuals and groups varying in their attitudes and opinions from the policy of the government?
7. What, if any, are the differences in the methods of social control employed in primitive societies and in modern societies?
8. In the light of the discussion in the text under "methods of social control" what differences may be observed in the methods employed in totalitarian Germany and in the United States.
9. Test the discussion of leadership in the chapter by study of the following personal qualities and the circumstances under which they lived in: Napoleon, Lincoln, Mussolini, Hitler, Franklin D. Roosevelt.
10. Do you think that the fact that there had been an "emergency" ever since he was elected to the presidency in 1932 explains the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt?

11. Point out the various techniques of social control through intellectual factors, as outlined in this chapter, in the methods used by the New Deal to secure approval of policies concerning social security and the relief of unemployment.
12. Classify under one or more of the methods of social control discussed in this and the previous chapter the following: (a) the Wagner Act passed by Congress, (b) the unemployment compensation part of the Social Security Act, (c) United States law against counterfeiting, (d) the President's fireside chats over the radio, (e) the news stories and the editorials in the Chicago Tribune concerning parole of prisoners, (f) the program over the radio called "The Gang Busters," (g) newspaper and radio advertising.
13. Show how conflict of values by the subgroups in a society may make difficult measures of social control.
14. In footnote 9 reference has been made to Mead's contention that social control does not crush out the individual but is constitutive of and inextricably associated with individuality. Read the passage in Mead and discuss whether he meant social control in the sense in which we are using the term, or whether he is discussing the part which social control plays in the formation of the individuality.
15. What was the difference between the value systems of Jesus and those of the Pharisees of His time? See Matthew, 5-7 and 23.
16. Why are our civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States in greater danger in war than in peace?
17. Why do the Negroes in this country not enjoy the same equalities before the law and the same educational opportunities as the whites?
18. How do you explain the recent persecutions of Jehovah's Witnesses in this country in the light of the discussion of this chapter?
19. What is the fundamental notion at the bottom of the rule by majority in this country?
20. How can you justify the revolution of the American colonists against the British government in 1776 in the face of our theory of majority rule?
21. How does it happen that even under our theory of court procedure the poor man frequently has an unequal chance before the law in comparison with the rich man?
22. In what ways does resort to violence imperil the fundamental institutions of our country?
23. How should we meet those who agitate for the overthrow of our form of government? Is there anything in the Constitution and the laws of this country which provides for such an emergency?
24. Why is secret pressure brought upon legislators, prosecuting attorneys, judges, and juries inimical to our institutions?
25. What course should be taken with professors and instructors in high schools who are charged with teaching "subversive" doctrines?

736 Social control

26. Why is research necessary in the formulation of social policies?
27. Why is it important that individuals in variant groups should be free to express their opinion?
28. What do you think of the proposal to censor school textbooks by a committee of the legislature or by anyone else in authority?
29. What measures could have been taken with the Japanese during World War II more in accord with our constitutional provisions for the guarantee of civil liberties?
30. What alternatives more in accordance with the spirit of our institutions could have been devised in the treatment of the conscientious objectors? Would permission of the conscientious objectors to engage in dangerous services at the front, but not requiring them to bear arms, have been feasible? Why? Was it in accord with the spirit of the Constitution to allow them to act as voluntary "guinea pigs" in experiments in nutrition and the use of certain drugs?

part 7 Social pathology

chapter 29 Nature and genesis of social pathology

In our discussions in Parts IV to VI we have had to point out in the consideration of institutions, of the social processes, and of the socialization of the individual, that maladjustments occur in the interactions between individuals, between groups, and between institutions. Such maladjustments are inevitable in a changing society. They are as much a part of sociology as the discussion of the morphology, that is, the groupings of individuals into social aggregates, of the institutions, or of the social processes, that result from the interactions characteristic of human beings in association.

Some of the earlier sociologists ignored the pathological aspects of human association. Some today think that these aspects are not a part of theoretical sociology. Possibly that attitude harks back to the fact that the study of social maladjustments was introduced by practical reformers. Increasingly, however, those who are interested in studying society as a dynamic rather than a purely static phenomenon are convinced that social pathology is as much a part of sociology as medical pathology is a part of scientific medicine, as plant pathology is a part of botany, or as the study of animal disease is a part of animal biology.

Professor Giddings has pointed out that the maladjustments incident to changes in the culture are "costs of progress," that is, they are necessary if new inventions are not to be suppressed, if new ideas are not to be throttled. That is true. Many changes in the culture and in the social institutions result in removing handicaps from some classes of the population and in many cases benefiting the whole society. But often those changes disrupt the established relationships, destroy the harmony between social institutions, and work confusion and emotional strain in individual members of the society, especially if, within a given period of time, the changes are numerous and radical in nature. During the period of readjustment socially pathological conditions exist, until the various elements of the

culture and the social institutions have become harmonized with each other and until they have become adjusted to the needs of the individuals of the group.

But social pathology is just as much a part of sociology as social harmony. Social maladjustment, like social adjustment, is the result of interaction between individuals within a group, or between groups. These interactions center about standards of value, customs, traditions, and ideologies. But while social adjustment is marked by the associative processes, social maladjustment is characterized by the dissociative processes. Social pathology grows out of a matrix of conditions different from those which produce social health, but both are relative to certain values which society holds and which vary from one group to another. For example, in a class society democracy has no value. The members of the lower classes may feel no emotional disturbance in the face of their inferior position; the upper classes, no twinges of conscience before their happier condition. Both may be quite satisfied with social organization. Custom and tradition may have so sanctified the relationships between rich and poor, noble and serf, educated and ignorant, that this class organization may be quite satisfactory to all concerned. But if equality of opportunity is highly regarded, then economic, educational, or health inequalities produce a sense of emotional tension disturbing to the relationships. There may be dire poverty or deep ignorance among the lower classes in a society organized on the basis of class or caste, in which inequality is an accepted element of the culture. If, however, the culture is permeated by the ideal of equality, disorganization appears. The social processes we have discussed appear not only in social adjustment but also in social maladjustment. In discussing the social processes we noticed that there were certain factors which interfere with the integration of society and tend to upset the equilibrium established by assimilation.

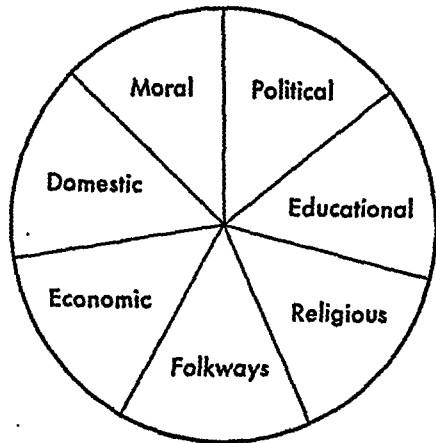
We turn next to a discussion of that aspect of dynamic sociology known as *social maladjustment*. The discipline which treats of social disintegration is called *social pathology*.

Definition. By *social pathology* we mean such serious maladjustment between the various elements in the total cultural configuration as to endanger the survival of the group, or as seriously to interfere with the satisfaction of the fundamental desires of its members, with the result that social cohesion is destroyed.

Note the various points in this definition: In a properly functioning society all the various culture elements are fairly compatible with each other. The cultural equipment, techniques for making a living, the form

of the family, religion, ethical standards, ideals, traditions, customs, and values fit together into a whole without too much friction.

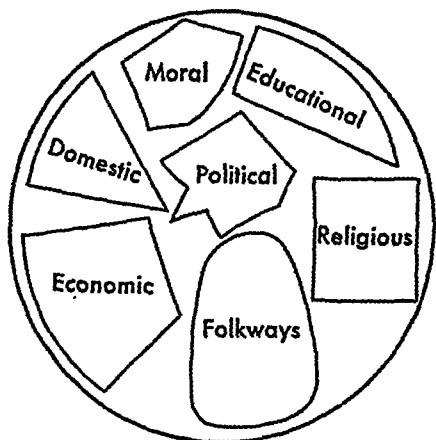
1. If one or more of these elements clash seriously with the others the social relationships are disturbed, and friction may prevent the survival



Social adjustment

All the institutions fit together into a harmonious whole. Individuals experience no stress in adjusting to the various institutions.

of the group. For example, the monogamous family may not fit the economic situation in Tibet, where the natural resources are poor and the techniques for using them are undeveloped, and where monasticism drains off large numbers of males; hence the polyandrous type of family is found there. If the free-breeding monogamous family type were introduced into



Social pathology

The social institutions do not fit together. The individual finds adjustment difficult to the various social relationships.

that country, the group would become so large that it could not survive unless the technical economic equipment were changed to enable a larger population to subsist. Again, if the use of peyote (a narcotic cactus) became a universal practice among the members of a society, its deleterious effects would so disorganize social relationships that the group might be destroyed. Hence in many Indian tribes its use is limited to certain ceremonial occa-

sions to induce visions and thus to enable individuals to come into close touch with the supernatural.¹

We have used the words "serious maladjustment" in the definition. There are often inconsistent elements in a cultural configuration which do not affect the core of the culture, and which may be present without pathological results. Only when the inconsistency is so great that it interferes with effective functioning of the group is the matter "serious."

2. The culture may be such that individuals find it difficult to satisfy their fundamental urges. These urges may grow out of their biological nature or may be socially produced. Biologically man has two fundamental hungers—the desire for food and the other means of subsistence, and the hunger for a mate. Besides these desires there have developed in man partly from biological bases and partly as the result of living in association with his fellows what are sometimes called *social* urges—for prestige, recognition, response, and status. If man cannot satisfy his biological needs, he cannot live and perpetuate his kind. If he cannot satisfy his social needs to the degree necessary to feel a sense of security among his fellows, he finds life not worth living. The "social urges" are also called "acquired drives."

Indices of social maladjustment

It is much easier to define what we mean by social pathology than to set up objective measurements by which we can determine just when changes in society have produced maladjustments of relationships. Sociologists have made various attempts to set up indices of pathological conditions in society.

Simple "rates." As indicative of socially pathological conditions, investigators have used suicide rates, incidence of juvenile delinquency and crime, the presence of gangs in the community, divorce and desertion statistics, distribution of wealth and income, and unemployment figures. Sometimes the comparison has been made between rates in these various aspects of social life, between different periods of time, between different sections of the same city or of the same state. The assumption is made that any increase in these rates is indicative of social maladjustment. The validity of that assumption, however, is open to question.

Composite indices. Therefore this simple method has been given up by some investigators, and a composite index of social disintegration has been constructed. For example, Harvey W. Zorbaugh in his study, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago, 1929), found that the rooming-house area

¹ Linton, *The Study of Man*, p. 342; La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*.

presented a distorted population pyramid and also was characterized by high rates for suicide, crime, delinquency, gang behavior, nonsupport, and burial in the potter's field. When he supplemented this quantitative study of the area by intimate case studies, he found that the area was also characterized by conflicting cultures, especially conflicting moral codes, that individuals lived their own lives quite apart from any community ties, and that the area lacked any cohesive social organization. A similar method was employed by Lind in a study of Honolulu.² Shaw and McKay, in their study for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, showed that the areas having high rates of delinquency and crime were also characterized by the mobility of their population and by an excessive amount of dependency, desertion, and nonsupport.³ Similar methods were used by Gillin, Young, and Dedrick.⁴ They also found that those areas of the city characterized by low income, a mobile population, low rentals, furnished also the greatest proportion of juvenile delinquents, illegitimate children, arrests by the police, and dependency.

Composition of population. Some scholars, after studying the changes in the population pyramid from one decade to another, or over several decades, have come to the conclusion that a population pyramid which diverges from the triangle with a broad base, indicating the proportion of children in the population, to a point indicating a small number of aged, is an index of maladjustment in the normal relationships of different age groups, and so is an index of social maladjustment.

Social distance. Bogardus has attacked the problem in a different way. He has attempted to set up indices of social distance.⁵ The theory underlying this attempt is that if people feel distinct from each other in their social sympathies, or in what Giddings called their "consciousness of kind," then there is social maladjustment in their relationships one with the other.

Participation. S. A. Queen and Jeanette R. Gruener have developed the theory of participation as an index of personal and social maladjustment. They have endeavored to test the association of individual participation in social activities with handicapped persons. They admit that there have not

² "Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1930, p. 209.

³ *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, Report No. 18, Vol. 2, published by the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Washington, 1931.

⁴ Gillin, J. L., Young, Kimball and Dedrick, Calvert, *The Madison Community*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 21, Madison, 1934.

⁵ *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 9, pp. 299-309, and *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 12, pp. 469-472.

yet been enough carefully controlled studies to warrant anything more than tentative conclusions as to the relations of handicap to social participation.⁶

Difficulties. Now the difficulty with all these attempts to set up measurements is that they rest upon the assumption that the conditions which they measure indicate social maladjustment. Are not socially pathological conditions related to our definition of normal social organization? The caste system of India before it was disturbed by the intrusion of Western ideas, represented a closely integrated system with little evidence that anyone felt aggrieved by it. At the height of the development of the feudal system in Europe, history is strangely silent about any widespread feeling that under that system there was any considerable degree of social maladjustment. The serfs accepted their position in the scheme of things apparently without feeling that they were very much abused. It too was a thoroughly integrated system, but integrated with reference to an undemocratic ideal. In our system with its emphasis upon the democratic ideals of liberty, equality, and fraterniy, the situation is quite different. Consequently, in the definition of social pathology given earlier in this chapter, the emphasis was placed upon the failure of man so to adjust himself and his institutions that he is able to survive and to satisfy his fundamental needs. As long as any large proportion of the population does not feel that it is unjustly treated or as long as man and his institutions enable the group to survive and to perpetuate itself, there is no consciousness of social maladjustment, and hence no social pathology. Pathological conditions are relative to the system of values held by society or by subgroups. Divorce and desertion statistics, while helpful in giving us a picture of conditions within families, of course give us no picture of the domestic disharmony which has not eventuated in divorce or desertion. Up to the present, therefore, we have no very accurate indices of socially pathological conditions.

We can get suicide, divorce, crime, juvenile delinquency rates, and can construct population pyramids to compare these rates at one level with those at another. All these are valuable in showing change. But whether these alterations make for or work against the welfare of the society under consideration depends on other tests. The system of values dominant in the culture or in some part of it determines whether or not these rates indicate maladjustment. Our judgments based upon our system of values lie back of any statements of whether a condition revealed by these indices is or is not pathological. To the American business man our "free enterprise" economic system is not pathological; to Stalin it is. To the Brahman, or even to the outcaste before Ghandi lived, the caste system of India was not

⁶ *Social Pathology*, Thos. Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1940.

pathological. To the Midwestern visitor, nurtured in the democracy of that region, it is grossly so. Now, our system of values is subject to change. If studies show that the conditions revealed by the indices are actually threatening the survival of the group, or are frustrating the fulfillment of the fundamental desires of large numbers of the group to a serious degree, then it is clear that there is maladjustment. But even here the definition of what is "serious" is dependent on value-judgments.

In some quarters value-judgments are suspect, and in consequence objective measurements of social maladjustments have been suggested, such as indices of disorganization. Among these are (1) the degree of participation already referred to; (2) the existence of a state of unrest or confusion among the functionaries and constituents of a group or of an institution; (3) the degree of experimentation and the introduction of innovations.⁷ But these indices are the product of value-judgments. The makers of them have assumed that they indicate disorganization.

The genesis of social pathology

Closely connected in the discussion among sociologists of the nature of social pathology, or social disorganization, as some call it, is the question of the conditions which produce social maladjustment. Here also there is a diversity of opinion. Space does not permit an adequate discussion of the different approaches.⁸ We may summarize the theory which seems to the writers best suited to explain the origin of pathological conditions in a society. It is the same theoretical framework used in the previous parts of this book, an adaptation of Linton's cultural theory.

The cultural elements in any society consist of universals, alternatives and specialties. The universals and specialties form the core of the culture, the alternatives are new elements which may or may not be incorporated in time into the core and thus become universals. Linton did not attempt to apply this framework to the analysis of social maladjustment. That framework does explain how changes occur in the cultural elements common to the group. He noticed that subgroups in the society are the carriers of the core of the culture, that is, in these groups the individual members there learn the elements of the culture, the values, attitudes, and patterns of conduct. There the social processes occur. There the individual peculiarities

⁷ Cuber, John F., "The Measurement and Significance of Institutional Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1938, p. 408.

⁸ For a presentation of the various writers on this subject the interested student is referred to Gillin, J. L., *Social Pathology*, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1946, Ch. 1.

suggest changes in the culture, which, if adopted by the members, become alternatives, which sometimes compete with certain elements in the core. If finally integrated into the core, they become universals. Until integrated, they serve to rend the uniformity of the cultural core, and cause stresses and strains due to inconsistencies between themselves and the universals. The result is what we call socially pathological conditions. Since the subgroups are the carriers of the culture in the sense explained above, the individuals composing the subgroup or subgroups which have introduced alternatives at variance with the core of the culture may find difficulty in reconciling their behavior with that of those groups that are controlled by the universals. If different subgroups have adopted a variety of alternatives, it is clear that for them, until the alternatives become integrated into the core, the universals are less controlling. The consequence is that the moral standards, the attitudes, and the system of values of the whole society are not an integrated whole and individuals feel frustrated because their fundamental wishes are not fulfilled by reason of the confusion. That situation produces personal maladjustment.

Tentatively, then, until further research enables us to formulate a better hypothesis, we may say that the social and personal maladjustments to be seen in a dynamic society are due first, to differences in the inherent characteristics of individuals plus characteristics acquired, during their development, from associates, and second, to changes in the culture and institutions of the group resulting in disharmony between different segments of the culture. With that framework in mind let us examine in greater detail the way in which social and personal maladjustment occurs.

Adjustive failure of individuals. Pathological conditions in society may result from natural lack of ability in individuals to keep pace with the changing ideals and institutions of society. Some individuals have inherited a nervous organization suited to more simple conditions of social life than those which now obtain in our complex society. For example, the imbecile may be able to function very well in a rural community where everyone knows him and understands how to use his limited abilities, while he may utterly fail in a city with its more complex relationships and graver social responsibilities. Likewise the handicapped person whatever his disability—blindness, deafness, illness, injury through accident, or anything else—may be able to support himself, establish normal social relationships, and discharge fairly well his responsibilities in a simple society where mutual aid and human sympathy prevail, while in a group in which success depends upon meeting more exacting competitive conditions he may utterly fail.

Personality and social disorganization. In this connection consider the

relationship between the social organization and the kind of personalities which grow up under that organization.

Psychologically the struggle of every individual in society is to secure a status and to play a role which is satisfactory to his fundamental wishes. If the social organization in terms of the current mores, laws, folkways, and ideals is such as to provide a satisfactory role and status for each individual or even for the majority of the individuals, we can say that the social adjustment of the organization is practically perfect. In no society has that ideal ever been attained. There are always variant individuals who do not fit well into any scheme of social organization. Over long reaches of time, however, these divergent individuals tend to be eliminated by the agencies of social control we have already discussed, or are flexible enough in their personal make-up to fit into the social organization and to feel fairly comfortable. Or the organization gradually becomes adjusted by its flexibility to the needs of an increasing proportion of the population. That is more likely to occur in a static society where few changes are occurring than in a dynamic society where rapid changes are taking place. If the social structure does not provide opportunity for its constituent members to play a fairly satisfactory role and to achieve a fairly comfortable status, personal maladjustment may result. Frequently we have referred to the fact that individuals may get along well in a simple society where the necessary adjustments are few and easily made. In such groups there are the face-to-face contacts which allow individuals of superior capacity and greater flexibility to help those with limited capacity to adjust themselves to the circumstances of life. With rapid changes in society and the breakup of the face-to-face personal relationships, these less adaptable persons find adjustment very much more difficult. In such conditions they struggle to achieve a role and status which will satisfy their fundamental urges. Sometimes this takes the form of an escape mechanism such as daydreaming and fantasy. They create for themselves in contrast to the difficult real world an unreal world in which their wishes can be accomplished. Another device by which people achieve role and status within the wider community is to organize or to join smaller groups, the pattern of behavior in which is better suited to their capacities. Thus, in these smaller segments of society, they find new experience, security, recognition, and response (to cite Thomas' fundamental wishes), as they are unable to find them in the broader social organization. These are the individuals who make up the membership of gangs, whether juvenile or adult, become members of reactionary or radical groups, or by reason of their living in the slums of the city are drawn together as chronic dependents. The social conditions under which such

people have lived either prevented the development of an integrated personality or have destroyed that integration. In any case they fail to do their part in coöperative life, are a burden upon the group, sometimes menace persons and property, pervert the established agencies of government and bend them to their own purposes. "Bossism," "racketeering," pressure groups for special privileges, and criminal gangs are examples. Often the inefficient obtain positions in government to the detriment of the general welfare.

Thus the maladjusted personality may be instrumental in causing social disorganization. On the other hand, the social order not adjusted to the needs of individuals may distort personalities which under other conditions might have become adapted to the society in which they live.

Maladjustments of culture. Again, the social changes discussed in Chapter 23 disturb the adjustment between the various parts of the organization and between individuals and the whole cultural complex. Without attempting to make the list exhaustive, we may note four factors of cultural maladjustment which contribute to social pathology: (1) fundamental changes, (2) war, (3) cultural lag, (4) incapacity of individuals to fit into a given situation.

1. *Fundamental changes* may consist of technical changes in the shape of new inventions; or they may be changes in ideas and in the conception of the nature of things; or they may be alterations in culture patterns owing to conquest or the settlement, among a given group, of large numbers of people with another culture. These were discussed in Chapter 23 and need not be repeated here in detail.

2. Another very important factor in social disorganization is *war*. After the conquerors impose their rule and culture upon the conquered, vast changes are necessary, disturbing the ordinary relationships of the conquered and requiring readjustments often difficult to make. In modern warfare the whole economic organization is upset. Debts are created which impose great burdens upon the survivors; international trade is interfered with; whole peoples are often reduced to poverty; and the economic organization has to be reconstructed. This point does not need laboring for those of us who have observed what has occurred since the close of World War II.

3. A third factor is what Ogburn denominated as *culture lag*. This term is used to describe what happens when innovations occur in one phase of human activity, for example, the economic, which require adjustment in other phases of the culture, but when the readjustments occur much more slowly than the disturbances to which the innovations give rise. We have already noted that governmental machinery has not yet caught up

with the changes wrought in the economic sphere by the great technological inventions and by the enormous changes in economic organization which followed them. There is a lag in the adjustment of the family, which was made to fit an agricultural situation, to the present industrial order. So with education, religion, and morals.

4. The fourth factor in producing socially pathological conditions is the failure of the social organization to adapt itself to *the incapacity of a certain percentage of a given population to fit into that organization* with satisfaction to themselves and to play their part in the social division of labor in a given society. Under the rigid operation of natural selection incapable individuals would perish or would be put out of the way by their fellows. The latter has occurred among many peoples in the past. The Spartans, for example, destroyed deformed children and the mentally incapable. However, among many primitive people, adjustments are made whereby such individuals can live and perform certain functions in the society to their own satisfaction and to win the approval of the group. Illustrative of such adjustment is the treatment in some primitive societies of those who in modern society would be called the *insane*, the *psychopathic*, or the *epileptic*. In those societies such persons are believed to have unusual knowledge and supernatural powers and are highly venerated, and thus play a socially desired role in these groups. Furthermore, in many communities with a simple culture, "simpletons" and those generally recognized as less mentally capable than others were able to function as participants in the economic and social life of the community because the attitude of the latter was one of helpfulness and protection. In our highly complex industrial society such types of people appear as industrial incompetents, dependents, and delinquents. In addition to these are certain classes of handicapped persons—the blind, the deaf, the chronically ill, the crippled, and the aged. These incapables usually find it difficult to adjust to a society, complex in its relationship and demanding a high degree of individual flexibility.

Fields of social maladjustment

With this understanding as to the nature of social maladjustment, let us notice briefly a few of the various fields of associated life in which social disorganization arises.

1. **The economic order.** The functioning of the economic order is closely related to the proper functioning of our social institutions. The maldistribution of wealth and income has a vital relationship to the values we hold in our democratic society with reference to the opportunity for

each man to make a living for himself and his family. It is closely related to poverty and to the class of dependents found in our society. Many have the feeling that when 2.3 per cent of the population of the country owns 42.5 per cent of the wealth, there is a maldistribution of property which does not make for the attainment of a good life for a certain proportion of the 97.7 per cent who own the other 57.5 per cent of the wealth of the country. It leaves those who own no property without defense against sickness, death, and old age, unless society makes provision for their care. Also some feel that when the situation with regard to income is that which existed in 1929, a very prosperous year in this country, the ideals currently held with regard to the opportunity of each individual and each family cannot be realized. In that year 21.5 per cent of the families of the country had an average income of \$491; another 21 per cent had incomes averaging \$1,250. Thus it is clear that 42.5 per cent had an average income of very much less than \$1,250.

A later report, that of the National Resources Committee in 1938, covering a twelve-months period, July, 1935, through June 1936, showed that nearly one-third (32 per cent) of the total number of families and single persons had incomes of less than \$750, nearly half (47 per cent) less than \$1,500. How can the families with such incomes make savings against accident, sickness, old age, and at the same time provide proper opportunities for their children? How can they buy insurance? How can they live in communities where their children will have proper surroundings? The fact that over a period of years, good and bad, from 10 to 12 per cent of the population are always unemployed in private industry indicates that there is economic maladjustment, which affects men in all their social relationships.⁹

2. Government. Another field in which social disorganization appears is that of government. The political machinery set up in the early days in our country, adapted to rural communities and to small cities, in many respects is quite maladjusted to the present situation. The way government levies taxes has a bearing upon the general welfare. It is generally agreed that the tax system in most states is not one adapted to the ability to pay. Favoritism, graft, and inefficiency often appear in our political system. Cities sometimes are boss-ridden. Lobbies for special privilege infest Congress, state legislatures, and city councils. The common citizen suffers. The state often tends to override the individual. Government has not yet caught

⁹ Harrison, Shelby M., et. al., *Public Employment Offices*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1924, pp. 8, 9; *Consumer Incomes in the United States, 1938*, National Resources Committee, Washington, August, 1938.

up with the rapidly changing conditions in the life of Western society, although statesmen are endeavoring to adjust government machinery to the requirements of a predominantly urban society.

3. Crime. In the field of human behavior crime is a manifest sign of maladjustment between man and his institutions. Juvenile delinquency, vice, and immorality are challenges to the established relationships in society.

4. The educational system. The public educational system is a new institution. It has had constantly to meet rapid changes in industry, in government, in ideologies, and in the family. Often as a result of the failure of the school system to adjust to the needs of the individual in present-day society, the child and the youth are not properly prepared to play their parts as adults in the present scheme of things. Education, however, is making great strides to adjust its machinery to the needs of the present day.

5. The religious organization. Likewise in the field of religion great changes are taking place which lead to a rupture of the established relationships between the individual and the church. It is charged by some that the church as a conservative institution represents ideas and ideals which belong to an age which is past. Here, again, however, the church is making strides to adapt itself to the changed conditions of the present day. The Pope's encyclicals with regard to the relation between labor and capital, the social creeds of the Protestant churches, and many other indications point to the recognition by the church authorities of the responsibilities of the church to adjust its message to the present situation.

6. Morals. In the same way the moral standards of the past are being undermined. One cannot dogmatically assert that every change is a disaster. Nevertheless in the process of change from an old moral code to a new one, fitted to the present situation, much demoralization occurs in the conduct of individuals. Sexual morals are undergoing vast changes, and business morals are in state of flux.

7. The family: The family is one more field in which great changes are taking place, which many believe are disastrous to the values that the family in the past has helped to realize. This list of the various fields is not exhaustive but is intended only to indicate some of the areas of our social geography in which social maladjustment appears most clearly.

Society's attempts at adjustment

Face to face with these recognized socially pathological conditions in our highly dynamic society we are contriving arrangements to alter our

social institutions in ways that will better adapt them to the protection of some of these handicapped individuals. Institutions for their special care and treatment have been set up, as hospitals for the mentally disturbed or deficient, for the epileptic, for those handicapped by blindness, deafness, crippling, etc. Special provisions have been made for a vocational training better fitting them for self-support and for that self-esteem that is necessary for the restoration of personality integration that is essential for life in a free society. Also we are experimenting with changes in our institutions that are intended to adjust the various institutions to each other in order that the stresses and strains due to changes in one or more institutions may be reduced, and that the frustrations now experienced by individuals due to institutional inconsistencies may be obviated. These are to be found especially in the disharmony between the economic institutions, the family relationships, the moral order, the scientific ideologies, and the religious institutions. These latter maladjustments are more difficult to resolve, because they are more deeply embedded in the traditions and customs of society. But some progress is being made, as seen in our marriage laws, divorce laws, educational and religious advances. Experiments are also being made in regulations of the economic order governing corporations, labor relations, and the international relationships. Much still remains to be done.

Space does not permit a discussion of all the fields of social disorganization. Let us turn for a more minute study to two fields in which social maladjustment appears—poverty and dependency, and crime.

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Exercises

1. Show that competition, contravention, and conflict are processes more characteristic of social pathology than of social adjustment.
2. Can the condition of society produced by the introduction of rapid changes be called pathological, even though efforts are being made to readjust institutions to the changes? Illustrate.
3. Why is it difficult to construct indices of social disorganization?
4. In some of the "native" states of India there is much greater disparity of wealth and income than in the United States; yet in the former there is very little evidence of a feeling that this situation is wrong, while in the latter there is a growing tendency to assert that the situation is pathological. Explain the difference.
5. Cite passages from the Declaration of Independence and from the Constitution of the United States which provide the ideological formation for the current conviction in the United States that corruption in government is pathological.
6. Is divorce always indicative of social pathology? Explain.
7. Show that social pathology grows out of the lack of adjustment of individuals to the social order, and of different social institutions to each other.
8. How does the disorganized personality affect the social order? The social order affect the individual personality?

chapter 3 O Poverty and dependency

By coming to grips with certain specific aspects of social pathology, we shall be able to understand better the general problem. Let us first look at poverty and dependency.

Sociological framework

We may suggest a sociological framework in which to place this phase of social pathology. Poverty is an economic condition, but it also connotes a social position, since in our society, in contrast with some others, one's economic status is connected rather closely with his social rank or class. Classes, whether determined by wealth, prestige, birth, function, or education are dependent on the values held by any society. By values we mean the things which by common consent are held to be important in social relationships. The poverty-stricken and the dependent are classes just as are the wealthy and the independent. In the past history of our culture these classes became institutionalized, i.e., they were held to be "natural" in the sense that they were due to "the will of God," or to "Fate," or that they were due to differences in the endowment of the members of these classes. Since the Industrial Revolution with the consequent widening economic opportunity for the common man and the weakening of the old feudal system of social relationships, our culture has tended to set a high value on a degree of economic welfare and of economic independence. Linked with these are certain social values—esteem of one's fellows, self-respect, etc. These have tended to become institutionalized. Witness the statement widely made until recently, "Every able-bodied man can get a job if he wants one," or, "Poor folks have poor ways," or, "The poor are no good." The converse was expressed in the public esteem in which the hard-working, self-supporting common man was held. "He must have good stuff in him" and "He asks no odds of any man" were some of the praises awarded him. The poor came to be classed apart from the rich as sharply

as formerly the serf from the noble. Also some of the disesteem in which the serf was held in former times was transferred to the poor. That valuation gave rise to the "rugged individualism" characteristic of a young, dynamic culture.

Moreover, when the feudal system broke down, and the villein of the manor no longer was cared for by his lord, and when commerce and the factory type of industry arose, large numbers became poverty-stricken. The burden was too great for the charity of the church to bear. New methods of caring for the dependent were devised—public aid began to supplement and even to displace private and ecclesiastical methods. The charity of the church and private philanthropy had long been institutionalized. Now public measures gradually became a social institution. At present these various methods of caring for the dependent are undergoing vast changes under the impact of new ideologies. The old institutions are being transformed into new ones as new theories of the etiology of poverty and new methods of treatment are developed. This aspect of social life is subject to the same processes as every other phase of human society. There is a similar conflict between theories as to why people are poor and as to the way to treat them as is to be seen between various explanations of family discord and proper ways of preventing it. The divergent methods of handling the poor are gradually converging, but the process is slow. At present one can see the different institutionalized methods of poor relief sometimes competing and sometimes supplementing each other (church relief, nonsectarian private agencies, and public methods), but each learning from the others, and gradually working toward an integrated program. For example, the public agencies are borrowing from the private casework procedures, the principle of adequate relief and reconstruction of the individual or family. Thus, poverty and dependency are the products of human interaction; the poverty-stricken and the dependent are classes in society; and the processes observable in connection with their social treatment become institutionalized just as do the relationships between other individuals and groups.

With this background recall the analysis of culture made in Chapters 6 and 7 and the particular application to social maladjustment in the chapter immediately preceding this. There we saw that in any culture there are three categories of the cultural elements—the universals, the specialties, and the alternatives. The core of the culture of any society consists of the universals and the specialties. The category of the alternatives furnishes a society with new elements that by the social processes discussed in Part V either disappear or are integrated into the core of the culture. The alterna-

tives usually arise when new inventions in the cultural equipment occur; or when new ideas and values at variance with some of those in the core of the culture come into conflict or competition with some of those constituting the core; or when particular individuals with peculiarities of endowment or experience observe that changes in the cultural equipment or in social institutions have created inconsistencies in the culture that interfere with the happiness of a considerable number of the members of the society. These changes may be in ways of making a living, systems of government, religious ideals and practices, theories of the relationships between different classes in society, or the growth of science. New systems of value compete with those generally accepted.

Let us apply this analysis to the concept of the "poor," and the method of their treatment in the history of culture from the time of the prophets of Israel in the eighth century B.C. (or if one considers the Egyptian writings, still earlier), down through the period of the Roman Republic and Empire, the Middle Ages, the breakup of European feudalism, the Industrial Revolution, and finally to modern times.¹ In all these cases over long periods of time the core of the culture contained the concept of the "poor" as a constituent part of the social group, and a method of treatment consisting of attitudes and practices based upon a system of values. For example, let us take the people of Israel in the eighth century B.C. As long as they were organized on the tribal basis, and even after they became settled agriculturists and pastoralists in Palestine, their pattern of treatment of the poor was that of mutual aid characteristic of tribal organization. But with the rise of commercialism a little before that date, and with the supplanting of the tribal organization by a monarchical form of government, economic classes appeared, and for the first time in the writings that have come down to us complaints are made about the way the poor are treated. The new class structure had broken the bonds of tribal kinship and mutual aid to those in distress. The rich were exploiting the poor instead of helping them. These newly rich were introducing alternative elements into the culture at variance with the long established universal elements of justice and brotherly kindness to those in distress. The prophets thundered against the introduction of these new attitudes based on a new system of social values. They railed at those who "sold the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes," who "turn aside the needy in the gate" (where justice was administered), and who "justify the wicked for a bribe and take away

¹ Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934, pp. 167, 179, 188, 189, 193, 212, 221, 313-317, 320, 361, 381; Niebuhr, Richard H., *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1929, Chs. 2, 3.

the righteousness of the righteous from him." (Am. 2:6; Isa. 5:22). They sought to maintain in the midst of fundamental changes in the social order the old values and the kindly, fraternal treatment that had characterized the former economic and religious patterns of culture. Out of their protest grew a modification of the treatment of the poor different from that characteristic of the old tribal organization, or even from that of the agricultural economy and the political monarchy, the outlines of which are to be seen in the Deuteronomic legislation and many of the later Old Testament writings. The processes of conflict, competition, accommodation and assimilation are to be seen in this development during the eight centuries before the birth of Christ. New alternatives constantly cropped up under the impact of the vast changes in that area due to the conquests of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome in turn, with Israel crushed between them, carried into exile, and scattered to the winds over the vast Mediterranean and Mesopotamian basins. Among these alternatives was the social valuation of poverty in the whole system of values, and the accepted methods of treating the poor. Did space permit, the history of Egypt two thousand years before the birth of Christ could be used to illustrate a similar development of attitudes and values with reference to the treatment of the poor, as shown by Breasted in the book referred to.

Thus the concept of poverty and system of treatment varies with the changes which occur in the core of the culture of a society due to the emergence of alternative elements that gradually become integrated into the core, if time permits the working out of the social processes from conflict or competition to assimilation. With the rapid changes which have occurred from the fifteenth century to the present in the economic, religious, and scientific elements of the culture, time enough has not elapsed between changes for a program of treatment of the poor consistent with other elements in the culture to be worked out and integrated with the core. Hence we have diverse concepts of poverty and of its treatment characteristic of Western civilization. No phase of our culture better illustrates the inconsistency of the various phases of our culture, and the consequent social maladjustments which we treat under the title of social pathology.

Definitions

Poverty and *affluence* are relative terms. The poor and the rich have been in existence ever since history tells us anything about mankind. The problem of the poor and of the dependent was faced by the Mesopotamian law-giver Hammurabi (*c.* 2200 B.C.). The Mosaic law had provisions for

their care. One method or another was devised among all historic peoples for the care of the poverty-stricken and the dependent. Today, with business organized on an international basis and dependent more or less upon a world market, with workers and employers organized separately with diverse functions, poverty and dependency of the many stand out in bitter contrast with the enormous riches of the few. Today it is one of our most important social problems.

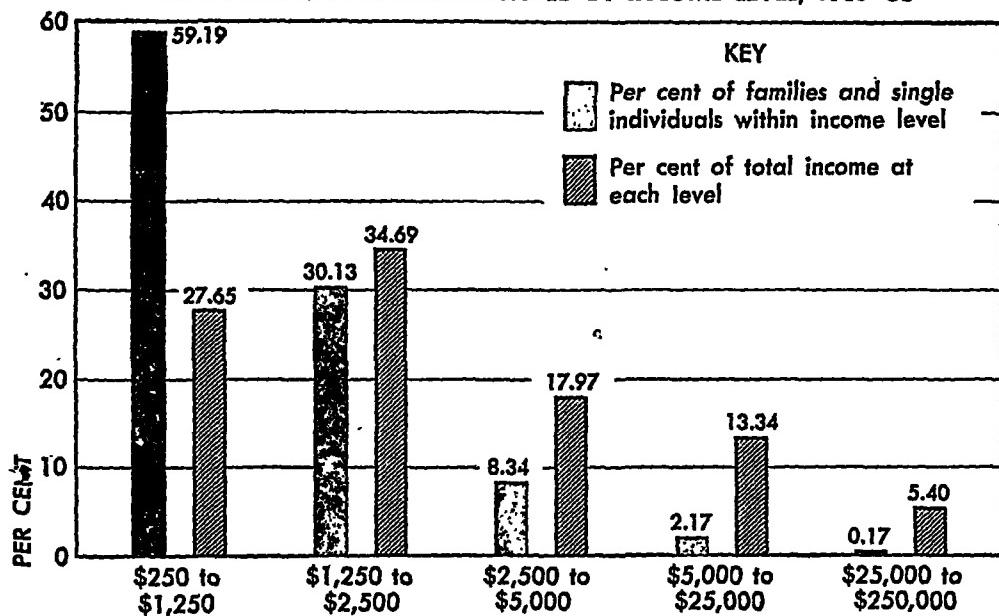
The poverty line in any given society is determined by the customs and modes of living. The poverty line in India is not at the same point as in the United States or in England. Let us define, then, what we mean by the term *poverty*. *Poverty is that condition in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditures, does not maintain a scale of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member.*

Dependency may be used in a broad sense which has no relationship to our subject. For example, a young child, we say, is dependent upon its parents although they may be rich. A wife is dependent upon her husband for support. These relationships, however, are not pathological; but a child placed in an orphanage or with a family not its own, or boarded out, is known as a dependent child, and a wife left without means of support by the disablement, the death, or the imprisonment of her husband is dependent in the pathological sense of the term. Therefore, we may define pathological dependency as that condition of life in which one depends for his subsistence either in whole or in part upon some other agencies than his natural supporter. Our term *dependency* here has the same connotation as the older world *pauperism*.

If we remember that poverty is relative to the scale of living in a given group, we shall not fall into the error of measuring the situation in one culture with that in another. We cannot compare the economic situation of, let us say, the population of a valley in Mexico with the farmers scattered over a given region in Massachusetts or Iowa. Why? Because when all the people in a community are on about the same economic level, there are no invidious comparisons on the economic basis between individuals or groups closely associated. They may all be lacking the incomes of groups in other cultures, but they are not conscious of being worse off than their neighbors, or on the other hand, they may be relatively better off than a whole group in another culture and yet feel poor in comparison with others in the same community. Poverty is relative to the condition of others in the same culture group. Status is determined by relative position.

The following discussion relates chiefly to the situation in the United States of America. The scale of living here is higher than in many countries. Each group tends to formulate a *standard* of living—what is considered necessary for a decent life. That standard is higher in some parts of the country and in some classes in our society than in others. The actual *scale* of living compared with the *standard* of living measures the extent of poverty.

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND SINGLE INDIVIDUALS AND OF AGGREGATE INCOME RECEIVED BY INCOME LEVEL, 1935-36



SOURCE: *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, National Resources Committee, Washington, August, 1938, p. 6, Table 2.

Extent of poverty and dependency

In 1919, Miss Lathrop, then head of the United States Children's Bureau, wrote, "We still cling to the shaken, but not shattered, belief that this free country gives every man his chance and that an income sufficient to bring up a family decently is attainable by all honest people who are not hopelessly stupid or incorrigibly lazy. The fathers of 88 per cent of the babies included in the Bureau's studies earn less than \$1,250 a year; 27 per cent earn less than \$440. As the income doubled, the mortality rate was more than halved. Which is the more safe and sane conclusion—that 88 per cent of all fathers were incorrigibly indolent or below normal mentality, or that sound public economy demands an irreducible minimum living standard

to be sustained by a normal wage and such other expedients as may be developed in a determined effort to give every child a fair chance?"²

Consider the situation revealed by various scientific and legal studies as to the conditions in this country in 1929 discussed briefly in earlier chapters (Chapters 12 and 16).³ What was the situation in 1935 to 1936 after six years of economic depression? The answer is supplied by a report of the National Resources Committee. The poorest third of the 29,400,300 consumer units studied received 10 per cent of the total income of the nation or about the same amount as the richest 0.5 per cent. The poorest half of the consumer units received 21 per cent of the total, just a little less than the highest 3 per cent, and the poorer two-thirds received 34 per cent of the aggregate income, somewhat less than the highest 10 per cent. This study showed that the families and single individuals making up the poorest third of the nation received yearly incomes of less than \$780. They were not a distinct and unusual group. They consisted of all types of consumers living in all kinds of communities and belonging to all major occupational groups.⁴ Is there any question that the poorest 14 per cent of these consumer units with an average income of \$471 a year had grave difficulty in so managing affairs that the family could perform its functions in the best possible way, that children were given the food, clothing, medical care, and other opportunities necessary to well-rounded citizens? Would it be remarkable if some of these people became discouraged and gave up the fight for independence, self-support, a decent family life, and did not play their part in society?

As to dependency consider the following facts. According to the Social Security Board of the United States government in August, 1939, there were 6,000,000 households containing 17,600,000 persons who received public relief in the United States. It was estimated during that month that the cost for the relief of this large number of persons was \$276,200,000,⁵

² Lathrop, Julia, "Income and Infant Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1919, p. 274.

³ Leven, Maurice, Moulton, Harold G., and Warburton, Clark, *America's Capacity to Consume*, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1934, p. 55.

⁴ *Consumer Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935-36*, National Resources Committee Washington, 1938, pp. 3-7. In 1939 when conditions were better than in 1935-36, of the families receiving wages or salary and other income, 24.4 per cent received less than \$600 per year; 41.1 per cent less than \$1,000; 49.5 per cent less than \$1,200; 75.3 per cent less than \$2,000; while only 10.8 per cent received from \$1,600 to \$1,999 annually. *16th Census of the United States, 1940: Population: Families: Family Wage or Salary Income in 1939*, Washington, 1943, Table I, p. 2.

⁵ *Public Assistance*, reprinted from the *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 10, October, 1939, Social Security Board, Washington, p. 1. We are citing these rather than more recent figures because they represent a situation between the conditions during the

Let your imagination play with those figures for a moment and see whether you can come to the conclusion that they indicate that there is no social pathology due to poverty and dependency in this country. With those facts staring us in the face how can we dream of a society in which there will be "domestic tranquility," "the blessings of liberty for ourselves and for our posterity," healthy individuals, educated children, socialized men and women interested in the progressive development of our social organization, proud of our country and of its institutions? During World War II the situation radically changed. Every capable person was employed and incomes increased in dollar values. But already there are signs of a regression.

Factors in poverty and dependency

What are some of the factors which produce this social maladjustment? Let us begin with the individual.

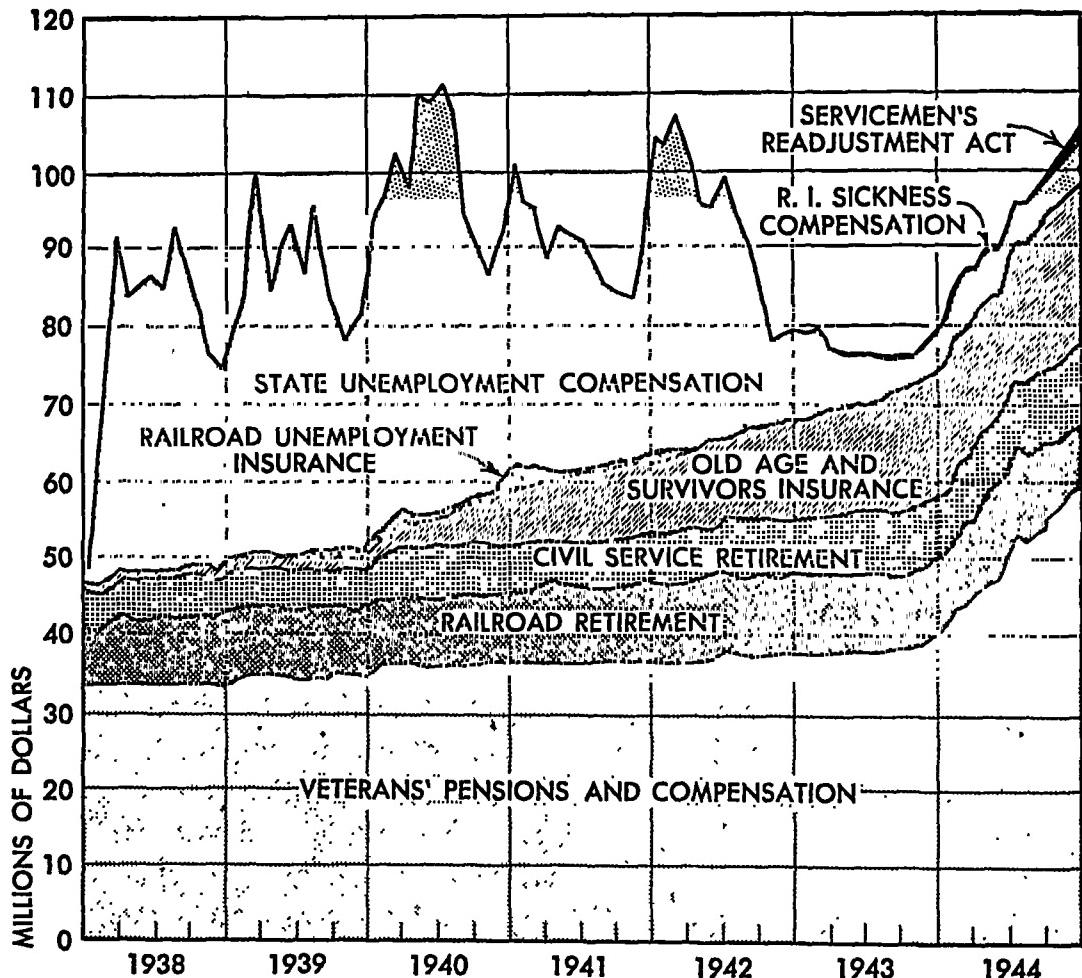
Incapacity of the individual. There is an old belief handed down by long tradition that each individual is responsible for the condition in which he finds himself. For a long time if an individual was poor, society in this country considered that it was his own fault. He was incapable of making any better living. This individualistic doctrine had wide acceptance during the early development of the country. With more careful study it is coming to be seen that it is not always the fault of the individual; the problem cannot be solved by praising or blaming. The argument later took the form that the individual is incapable and therefore in the competitive race of life he cannot expect any better conditions than those in which he finds himself. He is lazy, or he is improvident, or he is vicious, or he drinks; therefore he is in poverty. Any careful thinker will question why he is lazy, why he is vicious, why he is improvident, why he drinks. Whatever the answer to these questions, the fact remains that some individuals are more capable of making their way in this competitive world than others; some are stronger, or brighter, or more persistent than their fellows.

Some of this individual incapacity may be due to *inherited incapacity*, but certainly some of it is due to the conditions under which the individual has grown up. It is not known at the present time what proportion of the poverty and dependency is due to inherited incapacity. Some are born weak and sickly with what are apparently inherited tendencies toward certain diseases like tuberculosis, or lack a natural immunity from attacks by disabling diseases. Possibly some people are born with hereditary tendencies

depression and those during World War II. The former were abnormally low; the latter abnormally high.

toward certain activities like music, art, mechanics, etc., while others are born lacking any taste for these things. If that is true, then it follows that some of these individuals come into the world without those inherited capacities which make for success in our economic system. However, we cannot be dogmatic in the present state of our knowledge with respect

PAYMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS UNDER SELECTED SOCIAL INSURANCE AND RELATED PROGRAMS, BY MONTH, 1938-44



SOURCE: *Social Security Yearbook, 1944*, Social Security Board, Federal Security Agency, Washington, July, 1945.

to this matter. Those aptitudes and attitudes may be the result of early conditioning rather than of hereditary tendencies.

From the knowledge available at the present time we may conservatively say that 2 per cent of the population of this country are mentally defective, about the same proportion insane, and a similar proportion epileptic—a total of 6 per cent who are mentally incapable of efficiently

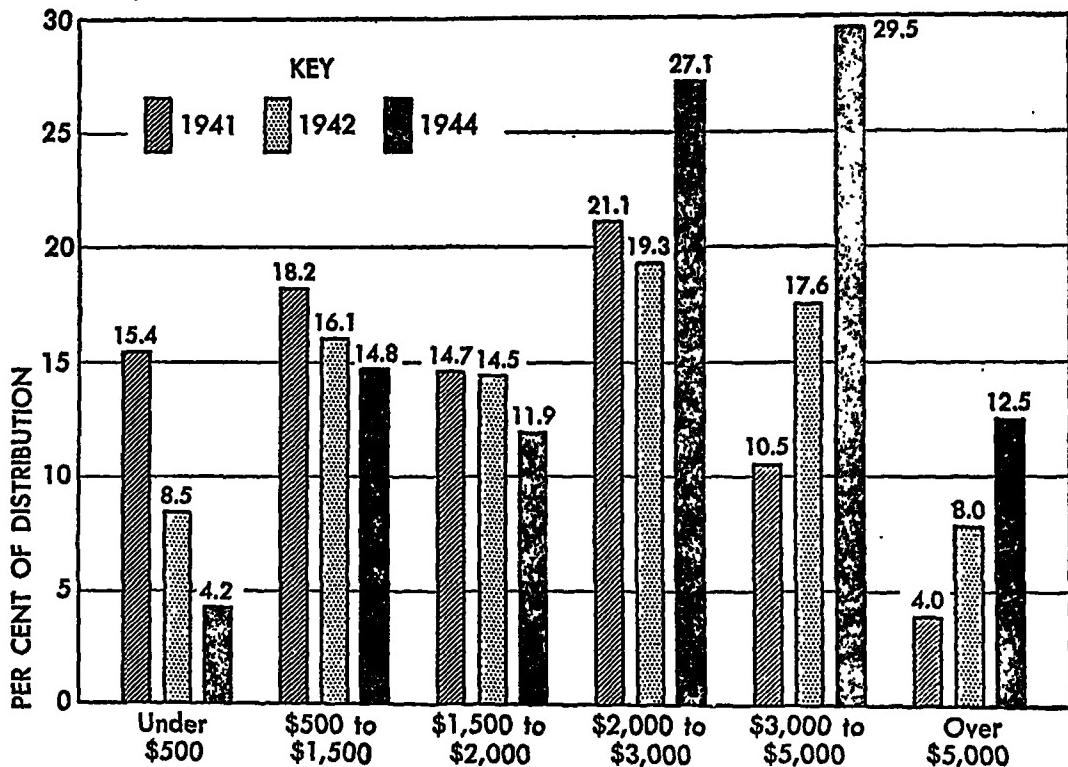
supporting themselves. Many estimates have been higher, especially with reference to the insane. What proportion of these mental conditions are inherited we do not know. It has been estimated that about 50 per cent of the mentally defective are such by inheritance. No agreement has been arrived at on this matter with respect to the insane and the epileptic. We shall not be overstating the truth if we say that at the present time 25 per cent of the almshouse dependents, 10 per cent of those dependents aided in their homes from public funds, and 5 per cent of those helped by private charitable organizations are mentally defective. Of course, these percentages probably would not hold with respect to the large numbers of dependents in this and other countries being supported by old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, the blind, the disabled, etc. An uncertain proportion of those in poverty and of those dependent are such probably in part because of inherited incapacity of one sort or another.

There is a much larger class of people who are incapable of supporting themselves in the present organization of our society by reason of *conditions which they have experienced as they grew up*. While in these cases it cannot be said that the biological inheritance has nothing to do with it, so far as we can tell, the experiences of life often account in large part for their incapacity. The biochemists are now engaged on the problem as to how the functioning of the ductless glands affects the personality and the economic and social efficiency of people. They have reason to suspect that those incapables whom we call *lazy* may be such by reason of the improper functioning of these glands. But at the present moment the psychologist and the sociologist can throw more light upon these incapacities than the physiologist. It is quite certain that many children are so treated by their parents and others during the early years that they develop an attitude of helplessness with reference to the problems of life which sometimes continues through their whole career. They have not been so handled by their parents and teachers that they have developed initiative in solving the problems of life. Others become resistant and aggressive personalities who find it difficult to get along with other people and fit into a job successfully. They are always carrying a chip on the shoulder, suspecting that somebody has it in for them, flying up in anger at a suspected slight, quitting their jobs, and blaming the world in general because of their ill fortune.⁶

There is another large class of incapable individuals who are such primarily by *accident*. A disabling accident sometimes makes them psycho-

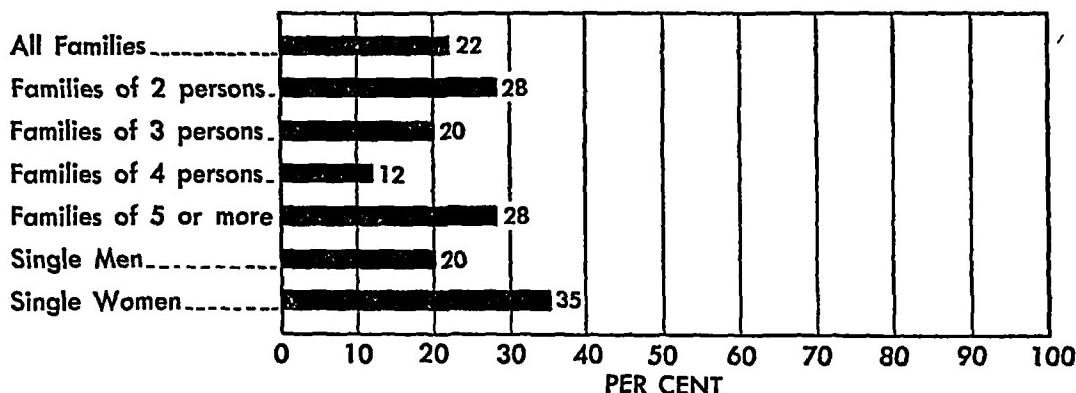
⁶ For such a case, see "The Seldon Family," in Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1937, p. 120.

**DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME TO FAMILIES AND SINGLE INDIVIDUALS
IN THE UNITED STATES**



SOURCE: For 1941 and 1942, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1947, p. 275, Table 305; for 1944, *Ibid.*, 1947, p. 274, Table 307.

**FAMILIES BELOW STANDARD BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU
OF LABOR STATISTICS, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, MARCH, 1946**



SOURCE: *Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, February, 1947.

pathic or neurotic, or destroys hope and ambition. Thereby they are incapacitated to support themselves in our modern economic society. Some of the blind and the deaf are to be included here. Frequently the victims of these conditions lose all hope of re-establishing themselves in life and

settle down to become chronic dependents. Killing and disabling accidents play their part in producing poverty and dependency. Nearly one hundred thousand people are killed every year by accidents in this country. Most of our states do not have workmen's compensation acts, but even in those states that do, many accidents occur outside of industry.

Sickness is one of the most important economically disabling conditions met by individuals.⁷ The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company found that of white persons of both sexes and of all ages over one year, roughly 2 per cent were so sick or injured as to be disabled. On the average each of these persons lost 6.9 days per year.⁸ It has been estimated that illness costs the people of the United States about \$10,000,000,000 per year.⁹ Since this loss falls most heavily upon gainfully employed persons, its effect in producing poverty and dependency among those near the poverty line is apparent. Falk says that among gainfully occupied persons, considering only wage earners and salaried workers between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five, about 28 per cent will have one or more disabling illnesses during a year. He estimates that in ordinary times from one-third to one-half of all cases of family dependency can be traced directly or indirectly to the effect of illness.¹⁰

Also included in this factor of illness are the hundreds of thousands of people who are *mentally ill or disordered*. The daily average of patients in the state hospitals for mental disease in the United States during the year 1943 was 431,415.¹¹ This large number by no means measures the extent of mental disorder in the country. In New York a few years ago it was estimated that of the population in the state at that time, within the next few years 4 or 5 per cent would be candidates for a mental institution. The bearing of this condition on poverty and dependency is evident. Besides these there is a large number of psychopathic and neurotic individuals whose economic efficiency is very much lowered by reason of their mental condition. The presence of large numbers in the population was further indicated by those discharged from the armed forces owing to neuropsychiatric conditions. Hence whether because of heredity or the

⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁸ Mills, Alden B., *Extent of Illness and of Physical and Mental Defects Prevailing in the United States*, Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Publication No. 2, Washington, October, 1929, p. 26.

⁹ Falk, I. S., *Security Against Sickness*, Doubleday Doran and Co., New York, 1936, p. 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

¹¹ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1943*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1945. In 1940 the American Medical Association estimated the average number of nervous and mental patients occupying hospital beds in this country in 1939 was 577,103, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 30, 1940.

circumstances of life, individual incapacity has an effect upon poverty and dependency.

The physical environment. Every study of the poverty-stricken and the dependent reveals the influence of the physical environment. Almost everyone knows individuals or families which have been reduced in their economic status because of this set of factors. Among these factors in the physical environment are: (1) poor natural resources, (2) adverse climate, (3) adverse weather, (4) insect pests and the like, (5) natural disasters, (6) bacterial diseases.

Different parts of the country vary from each other in their *natural productiveness*. The difference is symbolized by the type and condition of the buildings to be seen. The soil survey of every state shows wide variety in the fertility of its different parts. Enough studies have now been made by the United States Department of Agriculture and by the state experiment stations to show clearly that unless fertile land is handled carefully, it washes away, becomes gullied, and is less fertile than it once was. The present conservation movement is an endeavor to correct these evils; to preserve what facilities remain in these abused acres, and to put back into the soil by rotation of crops, liming, phosphating, and other measures, the elements of fertility which have been washed away, leached out, or otherwise depleted.

In mining regions one sometimes sees abandoned mine shafts, stores, and dwellings now falling to pieces, and in some places entirely deserted cities. The mines have been worked out. Scattered all over our forested areas are communities where once were prosperous sawmills, woodworking factories, and fairly large communities, now decayed because of the disappearance of the lumber. On the coasts sometimes the same thing appears because the fishing waters have become exhausted. People who have owned property in these communities have suffered inevitable loss and often have been ruined financially. In the period of adjustment from one kind of industry to another frequently a certain proportion of the population suffers. The more energetic and loosefooted among the inhabitants of such places move on, the less energetic and those who cannot dispose of their properties often remain and suffer a declining economic status. In some of the semiarid regions depending entirely upon rainfall, a change in the weather cycle brings calamity every now and then to the inhabitants. The semiarid regions of our West provide illustrations. Anyone acquainted with the area from the western part of the Dakotas, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas to the Rocky Mountains knows how uncertain is the rainfall in that region. At times there is plenty; enormous crops are raised; and people prosper. Then

will come a series of dry years which turns that area into a great dust bowl, leaving the inhabitants poverty-stricken and dependent.

Adverse weather conditions are not quite the same as adverse climate, although they are frequently connected with it. In the grain-growing part of our Central West frequently a fine crop is blasted by two or three days of hot winds. In the tobacco regions of Wisconsin and in the corn belt an early frost may destroy the prospects of a good crop. Again, in various parts of the country too much or too little precipitation during the growing season causes crop failure. In certain parts of the continent hail destroys the crops—in some areas provided against by insurance. These adverse weather conditions not only destroy the crops of the farmer and reduce him to poverty, but affect adversely those who are dependent upon the farmer's crops for their livelihood—grain- and stock-buyers and merchants who supply his needs. As far as water and money are available, regions subject to an excessively dry climate and dry seasons can be provided for by irrigation. Some of the other calamities due to these conditions can be provided against by insurance. Nevertheless these factors play an important part in every farming country in the world in producing poverty and dependency.

Closely connected with these conditions of climate and weather are certain of the *natural disasters*—floods, tornadoes, ocean and lake storms, fires, volcanic eruptions, and earthquakes. From time immemorial it has been recognized that "those who go down to the sea in ships" are engaged in an extrahazardous occupation. Storms at sea and on large bodies of water sink the ships, drown the sailors, and leave their families dependent. Floods, such as have inundated the Mississippi Valley and the valleys of its tributaries, cause the loss of enormous amounts of property, bringing poverty and dependency to large numbers of people. In forest areas fires destroy homes and sometimes entire cities and villages. Volcanic eruptions overwhelm cities and even whole districts, often killing thousands of people and destroying property. Every summer in the Mississippi Valley tornadoes sweep away property worth millions of dollars. According to the United States Weather Bureau from 1916 through 1946 there were an average of 140 tornadoes per year with an average loss of life of 232, and of property of \$11,957,261. The West Indian hurricanes, which sweep frequently over the Gulf states and occasionally even as far north as New England, every year kill many people and destroy an unknown amount of property.

Man has constantly to battle with *insect pests*. This is especially true of farmers, stock-raisers, and lumbering companies. In certain sections of the

country pests are destroying many of the trees. The corn farmer is threatened with the corn borer, the chinch bug, and the grasshopper. The cotton-raiser must fight the boll weevil. The stockman is menaced with such diseases as the foot-and-mouth disease, murrain in the sheep, the cattle tick, hog cholera, and other animal diseases. Tuberculosis in dairy herds and the disease which causes abortion in milch cows have brought many a farmer to poverty.

In addition to insects there are the various *bacterial and fungus pests*, which threaten crops and animals as well as man. A few years ago cabbage diseases in the region around Racine, Wisconsin, nearly destroyed the industry in that area. The tobacco-raisers are constantly fighting various fungi and other organisms which affect the quality of the crop and sometimes destroy its value. In the fruit regions there is an unceasing battle against all kinds of insects and bacteria which affect the prosperity of the fruit-growers. It is easy to see the bearing of this set of factors upon the problem of poverty and dependency.

Economic factors. When we speak of *poverty* and *dependency* we are using terms which are largely economic in their meaning. These conditions are expressed chiefly in terms of income and expenditure. The economic factors, therefore, are very important. We can do no more here than indicate by a simplified analysis some of the fundamental economic factors.

Once the problem of economic sufficiency was that of production. It is so no longer in those countries with modern mechanized plants, a well-developed businesss organization, and easy access to raw materials. In certain countries like India and China, with antiquated methods of producing goods, there is still scarcity of production. China with its 450,000,000 and India with its 390,000,000 have difficulty with the methods in use to produce sufficient consumers' goods to satisfy their populations even according to rather low standards of living. Japan, with only 14 per cent of its land area arable, and with 70,000,000 people to feed, must have rather wide areas from which to secure the raw materials which it does not produce in order to sustain this large population. Germany and Italy are likewise circumscribed in many respects by the poverty of their own countries in the raw materials which they need. Further, all these countries must have also a wide market for their finished goods in order to buy the raw materials for their industries and for the support of their people. In spite of these instances it is still true that taking the world as a whole, modern processes of production are able to provide consumers' goods sufficient in quantity to supply the fundamental needs of the world's population. But before those processes can achieve their potential results, free access to raw materials

the world around and worldwide markets are necessary. If that is so, then why are such a large number of the world's population in abject poverty, and why is so large a proportion of the people of even the United States and of Great Britain dependent? The answer is that the distributive process has not kept pace with production in our modern economic organization.

The *distribution of wealth* is very uneven. For example, in the United States in 1929, 2.3 per cent of the people of the country owned 42.5 per cent of the wealth.¹² But the actual ownership is not as important from the standpoint of our subject as its control. Through the device of the corporation great aggregates of wealth can be controlled by a comparatively small number of individuals. In 1930, 200 of the large corporations in the United States had assets of \$81,000,000,000, which equaled half of all nonbanking corporate wealth. By 1934 this had increased to nearly 60 per cent. These 200 largest corporations were controlled as follows: 4 per cent were privately owned; 2 per cent were controlled by majority ownership; 14 per cent by minority ownership; 22 per cent by legal devices; and 58 per cent by the management. It has been estimated that if the 1924 to 1929 rate of concentration of wealth continues, by 1950, 85 per cent of all corporate wealth will be held by 200 corporations.¹³ What is the difference if the large aggregates of wealth are held and controlled by a few individuals? The answer is that the great mass of people each own such a small amount of property that they have no backlog against the "rainy days" of sickness, death, and old age. Savings in one form or another are the means by which people protect themselves against these disasters. The small amount of savings possible to great masses of the people is shown by the fact that in 1929, 40,266,000 individuals in the United States with incomes under \$2,000 saved only \$56 each.¹⁴ That the lower income group has very little ability to save is indicated by a study by Faith M. Williams of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States. She found on investigating the families of white wage earners and lower salaried clerical workers with annual incomes from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year in thirty-five cities of the United States, almost half of the entire group studied showed a deficit for the year.¹⁵

There is the further difficulty in connection with few men having con-

¹² Doane, Robert R., *The Measurement of American Wealth*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1933, p. 33.

¹³ Berle, A. A., and Means, G. C., *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, pp. 17, 28, 40, 94.

¹⁴ *The Business Week*, August 31, 1932, p. 16; Chase, Stuart, *The Economy of Abundance*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1934, p. 143.

¹⁵ *Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, November, 1938, p. 979.

trol of enormous amounts of wealth: they control the lives and destinies not only of the millions of our workers, but except as they may be restrained by ethical codes and by legislation, also the destinies of millions of consumers. That is economic feudalism, certainly not economic democracy.

Even more important than the maldistribution of wealth in the production of poverty and dependency is the *maldistribution of income*. The study by the Brookings Institution of Washington, cited earlier in this chapter, showed the situation on this point in 1929, while the study by the National Resources Committee indicated a far more uneven distribution in 1935 to 1936.¹⁶ One of the conclusions of the Brookings Institution study is that vast potential demands for basic commodities and for conventional necessities are to be found in the unsatisfied wants of the masses of the people, both rural and urban. It also finds that it would require but a moderate increase in the consumption of millions whose standards of living even in 1929 were below the requirements for health and efficiency to absorb the full productive capacity of the United States. The authors of the study suggest that if \$1,000 were added to the income of each family which in 1929 received less than \$10,000, the increase in the consumption demand would be about \$27,000,000,000. Or if the income of all families with incomes below \$2,500 were raised to \$2,500 with no changes above that level, the increase in actual consumption would be more than \$16,000,000,000. This interesting study makes it clear that the low incomes of the lower masses of the population need to be raised for their own welfare and for economic progress. The study makes the further suggestion that the way to accomplish this is not by reducing the working week to thirty hours, but to lower the prices of goods in order that the people may buy more.¹⁷

Also important among the defects of our economic organization in producing poverty and dependency are the *business depressions* which occur every now and again in all industrialized countries. One needs only to be reminded of the enormous loss of savings and businesses which occurred in the recent depression. How many people have had their life savings fade away? To be sure, this class does not include those who had no savings, but large numbers of those who had saved and invested in certain types of business and investments lost all they had. Probably greater in

¹⁶ *Consumers' Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935-36*, National Resources Committee, Washington, 1938, pp. 127-128.

¹⁷ Moulton, Harold G., *Income and Economic Progress*, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1935, Ch. 8.

numbers than those who lost their life savings were those who lost their jobs.

Out of the depression of the thirties have come certain measures intended to safeguard people's savings—the Securities Exchange Commission, the purpose of which is to prevent the listing of bonds and other securities on the New York Stock Exchange which have no sound basis, and also to control the issuance of all securities by firms concerned with interstate commerce. Some of the states also have commissions dealing with this same problem. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is intended to provide insurance for deposits in banks coming under the authority of this corporation. The Government insures deposits up to a maximum of \$5,000. These measures protect depositors from loss during a depression. The insurance and the old-age assistance provisions of the Social Security Act are intended to take care of those who for whatever reason come to the age of sixty-five without resources adequate to care for their old age.

Probably much more important, measured by the number of people affected, is the widespread *unemployment* due to business depressions. The only protection devised before the Social Security Act was passed was the provision by business concerns for a guarantee of so many weeks' employment to employees who had been with the concern for a certain number of months or years. The extent of this practice, however, was very small. The other device is unemployment compensation provided for under the Social Security Act of the United States government and now in force in every state in the union. This measure, beneficent as it is, does not cover, however, all employed people, and the benefit is limited to a certain number of weeks. The great problem for society at the present time in Western civilization is to devise some method by which stabilization of industry can be increased.

Factors in the social organization. In another connection we have called attention to the maladjustment due to the fact that adaptation of our social machinery to changed conditions has not occurred as rapidly as the economic changes, especially those due to the invention of new processes and new forms of economic organization, or as rapidly as changes in the realm of theories and ideas. Technological changes are much easier to make than economic and social rearrangements to fit the new situation.

Among the maladjustments of the social organization for illustrative purposes we may note (a) educational shortcomings, (b) the imperfections in our machinery for the protection of health, (c) inadequate provi-

sions for the housing of the population, (*d*) improper preparation for marriage and parenthood, and (*e*) maladjustments in the machinery for adjusting childhood and youth to the present situation.

One of the greatest achievements in social organization in the United States is *our educational system*. The public school system is less than one hundred years old. As testimony to its importance among the people of the United States is the fact that more money is spent for education in the United States than for anything else, except to pay for the results of past wars and national defense, and for roads and bridges. Yet so rapid have been the changes in our industrial and social life since the introduction of the public school that constant criticism is made of the system because of its frequent failure to prepare young people for life and livelihood:

Herbert Spencer in 1880 wrote of the educational system of his date, "Of the knowledge commonly imparted in education, very little is of any service in guiding a man in his conduct as a citizen."¹⁸ The criticism is less true today than it was when he wrote it, but it is still true that our educational system is far from being perfectly adjusted to social conditions. How many are turned out of even our higher educational institutions—to say nothing of our elementary and secondary schools—without anything but the most meager knowledge necessary for self-preservation! The fact that large numbers of those who after a college education are not prepared to make a living is perhaps a sufficient commentary on the way in which our educational system is failing to fit people for the fundamental conditions of living. Also, while our school system is doing something to teach children and youth the fundamentals of good health, it is lamentably lacking in giving them the knowledge on which human breeding for a better race must be based. It is doing too little in teaching them the principles of moral character, of business and political ethics, and the relationships which govern life in its general and special phases. In too many of our colleges and universities one may graduate without taking a single course in the natural sciences, government, economics, or sociology, although these sciences are fundamental to human behavior in every occupation and relationship in life.

In spite of these shortcomings our educational system is slowly trying to adapt itself to the situation. There is increasing flexibility of the curriculum in our high schools. There are in many schools classes for those with

¹⁸ Spencer, Herbert, *Education*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1880, p. 71. For some recent discussions see Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945; Klapper, Paul, "The Harvard Report; Its Implications and Applications," *Bulletin, American Association of University Professors*, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 541.

special aptitudes and for handicapped pupils such as the crippled, blind, deaf, and retarded. There has been a great growth of the vocational school system, or at least the introduction of vocational courses into the high schools. Mental measurements and aptitude tests are enabling teachers and school administrators to adjust the school system to those of varying capacities. New methods have been introduced into teachers' colleges and training schools. Visiting teachers are to be found in many school systems in order to connect more closely and effectively the classroom teacher with the family and community conditions which affect the child. Child hygiene clinics, health service provided free to the students and attention to the child's nourishment are innovations attempting to adjust the school system to the actual needs of the children of the present day. The adult education movement has been making rapid strides. Physical rehabilitation and training of the disabled have begun to fill a long-felt gap in the educational system.

Nevertheless, the adjustment of the school system to the needs of the young people of our time is still so imperfect that much remains to be done. While the system has been making commendable progress, it is still not well adapted to the capacity of each individual, to too great a degree ignores the social conditions under which the pupils live; it does not adequately provide for the education of adults who have been denied earlier educational opportunities; too frequently it does not prepare pupils and students to make a living; in only a limited sense does it prepare for life in the largest sense of the term; its methods of selecting and training the most promising individuals for leadership are still very inadequate; and too often it fails to orient the student to the multifarious aspects of the natural and the social worlds in an adjustive sense.

Next in importance to the educational system in our social organization are the institutions for the protection of *the health of the people*. Compared with a hundred years ago here also great advances have been made. Science has provided us with the knowledge on which a program for the prevention of many serious diseases may be built. People need no longer die of typhoid; few need die of pneumonia. Among the children's diseases which have very greatly decreased and are subject to social control are pneumonia, cholera infantum (due largely to the feeding of improper food), diphtheria, and smallpox. The death rate from tuberculosis is constantly diminishing; yellow fever has disappeared from the United States and from many other areas where modern medical knowledge has been applied; rickets in children and pellagra in adults are controllable, and many diseases of the digestive system have been eliminated. We do

not know enough yet to control cancer, heart disease, infantile paralysis, and many of the diseases of old age, but advances in knowledge are constantly taking place. With all these advances, however, the social organization necessary to control the 45 to 50 per cent of deaths which are preventable or postponable is altogether inadequate. The public health services intended to prevent disease by the control of the sources of their infection and by educating the people in the care of their health are starved for want of support. It is estimated that a budget of at least \$1 per capita is necessary for reasonably adequate public health preventive service. That amount with our present population would require an expenditure of \$130,000,000 a year on public health service alone.

It has been estimated that in the aggregate illness costs the people of the United States about \$10,000,000,000 a year.¹⁹ On any day about 2.25 per cent of the total industrial population of the country are incapacitated by illness for their ordinary occupations. The loss of earnings because of illness or disability amounts to an average of over \$30 per year for each gainfully employed person. If this loss were equally distributed over all the workers of the United States, the burden would not be unbearable. It is not so distributed. It falls upon people in the lower income brackets. Of the \$1,500,000,000 a year lost in wages because of illness, \$900,000,000 is lost to employed persons, members of families with incomes of less than \$2,500, while the remainder falls upon those with salaries in the higher brackets. This is seen more clearly when one remembers that the average loss per employed person in families with incomes of from \$1,200 to \$2,500 is \$32, and in the families with less than \$1,200 is \$25. At the present time and under the present system of treating the sick in this country, the total cost for medical care is about an average of \$30 per person in the entire population. This cost, together with the loss of wages due to disability falls disproportionately upon those persons in families with low incomes. The average cost at present for medical care per family with an income from \$1,200 to \$2,500 is \$86 a year, and for those with an income of less than \$1,200 is \$49 a year. It is at once apparent that the burden on those in the lower income brackets is very much heavier in relation to their income than it is for those with an income adequate to take care of this cost. The tragedy of the situation is that the burden falls upon about 28 per cent of the gainfully employed people in the country. The other 72 per cent escape. The total expenditures for medical care amount to about 4 per cent of all the income of the country. This would not be a heavy

¹⁹ Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

burden if it were equally distributed, but actually it falls most frequently upon those least able to bear it.²⁰

It is this situation which has led to much recent agitation among those concerned with this problem of the cost of medical care. It produces in many cases such dire distress that it has led to suggestions for some method of distributing the burden of medical care more equally over a larger part of the population. Out of it have grown feeble attempts at group medicine, the proposals for health insurance and "state medicine." It is clear that our social organization is poorly adapted to provide a proper health minimum at the present time.

Inadequate housing for the people of this country is another instance in which our social organization has failed to adjust itself to the rapidly changing conditions. In both rural and urban districts it is estimated that at least one-third of the people live in houses inadequate to fulfill the purposes for which houses are built. We call them *slums*. They are characterized by buildings so crowded upon the lots in the congested portions of our cities that adequate light and air for the health of the inhabitants cannot be provided. Rents are frequently so high for the low-income groups that the renters must secure houses quite inadequate from the standpoint of health and decency. A minimum standard is one room for each person in the family. Millions of homes in this country do not meet that standard. It is difficult to bring up children with proper ideas of personal decency when the house does not provide a certain degree of privacy. Housing up until quite recently has been left to the private initiative of homeowners, of real-estate operators, or of people who buy houses for investment. Speculation in these properties has often increased the rent to such a degree that some families have to move into houses either too small for their requirements, or improperly built and equipped to protect health. It is coming to be seen that this individualistic attitude will not provide us with adequate housing. During the last few years before 1939 England, with about one-third of the population of the United States, built twice as many houses. It has been conservatively estimated that in the United States we are over two million houses short of our actual needs at the present time. Based on the five-year average of 1935-39 as 100, the index number of the value of new residences built fell from 481 in 1925 to 41.7 in 1944. It is commonly felt that the government must intervene in this matter in order to provide low cost, but decent, housing for our people since the end of World War II.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

Poor housing, by imperiling health, destroying self-respect, cutting the root of ambition, allowing children to be reared in indecent conditions, is certainly a factor in poverty and dependency.

Improper preparation for marriage and parenthood is another indication of the lag in our social organization to meet the change brought about by our highly industrialized civilization. One might suppose that with the removal of many of the former functions from the family, its efficiency in performing the functions left to it would be increased. Quite the contrary. The fact that except in the country the children and their parents do not work together, and are actually associated together very little after the child starts to school, destroys much of that intimate contact made possible in the former days when the association was in common work centered within the home. Further, in the modern city at least, distractions which take the children out of the home also to a degree tend to take the parents out of the home. Consequently, as someone has facetiously said, the home in the modern city is simply "a filling station and a roosting place." Moreover, the home has been invaded not only by the Industrial Revolution but by the whole complex of new ideas, among them the emancipation of womanhood, the obligation of women to take a larger part in civic responsibilities, and the right of a wife to her own career. Also, many of the girls as they grow up do not have adequate training in the running of a household, in the duties and responsibilities of wifehood and motherhood, go to work as soon as they are eligible for a job, and find themselves at marriage inadequately prepared for the family functions which they are supposed to perform. If that is true of girls, how much more applicable is it to the boys, most of whom marry and establish a family!

Up to the present moment we have done very little to prepare young men and women for marriage and parenthood. At the present time a few of the women's colleges and still fewer universities are offering courses to that end. Such a problem is very much larger, of course, than the problem of preparing women to care for the material needs of the family. That kind of preparation is important, but more important is their preparation for the management of children and husband. Here no adequate substitute for the old-fashioned home has been as yet provided.

Another situation showing the inadequacy of our present social organization to meet the changed conditions of our times is that which produces so many *thwarted children and youths*. The occupational insecurity of youth is one element in this situation. In a study by the Works Progress Administration issued early in 1939, entitled *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Pros-*

pects, it was found that there were 7,000,000 rural out-of-school youths between their sixteenth and twenty-fifth birthdays; that a large part of this number is surplus so far as the economic demands for their services are concerned, and that this surplus will steadily increase until between 1940 and 1945. Up until the depression beginning in 1929 many of these surplus rural young people found employment in the industrial cities. Between 1920 and 1930, 2,000,000 farm youths went to the cities to find work.

The war changed all that. So great was the demand for labor that millions of young people left school in order to engage in war work. With the war's end there are still many unsatisfied demands for workers. Yet, because the kind of skill demanded is lacking there is considerable unemployment, but not as great as was anticipated. It remains to be seen whether private enterprise can absorb the man power represented by the millions of veterans returning to their homes plus the new crop of young men and women coming out of our schools and homes. The President's proposed full employment bill was intended to provide against the mass unemployment characteristic of the thirties.

Growing out of the present economic situation, partly owing to the loosening of the old social controls over the relationship of the sexes, is the thwarting of the desire of unemployed young people to marry and establish homes. Some do so in spite of economic insecurity. Many, however, postpone marriage or marry ill-advisedly because no new methods of controlling these matters have been devised by society. The consequent demoralization which goes on is registered, not only in the divorce courts and in the desertion statistics, but in the illegitimacy rate and in the illicit sex relationships which have caused so much comment in the last few years. As a result many of these young people drift upon a sea of uncertainty and instability, with lowered morale and consequent poverty and dependency.

Thus in these ways the inadequacy of our social organization in the face of the present situation is a factor in producing poverty and dependency.

War. The last great factor we shall mention in the production of poverty and dependency is war. In discussing conflict we mentioned the economic waste of war. We shall not repeat that here (see Chapter 27). Who that has lived through the last twenty-five years can doubt that war is a factor in producing widespread poverty and dependency? World War I and its consequences have practically bankrupted the nations of Western civilization. World War II is finishing that job. We, our children, and perhaps

our grandchildren, will be denying ourselves necessities, and millions of people will be deprived of proper subsistence, to say nothing of those culture elements which contribute to the development of personality and proper social relationships, because of the results of war. But consider other ways in which war contributes to poverty and dependency.

Contemplate the *dysgenic effects* of war. By that we mean the effects of war upon the stock of the people. Who are first selected as fighters in modern warfare? Are they the old men, the decrepit, the mentally defective, the insane, the convicted criminals? On the contrary, they are the young men of the nation. Only after war has lasted long enough to exhaust the supply of those in the early years of manhood, and to cause those with the finest physical qualifications and the greatest mental alertness to be killed or wounded, are the less physically fit called to the colors. The very prime of the physical and mental manhood of the nation, probably between the ages of twenty and thirty-one; the most alert, the strongest, the most active; those most easily moulded into a fighting machine—these go first to fight and therefore are first to be killed or disabled. Most of them have not yet had children. They are chosen because they are the men best able to bear the physical and mental strain of war. By the same token they are those who by physical and mental characteristics are most fit to be the fathers of the citizens of the future. One has but to look at the figures of the number of men who were killed in action in World War I or who died of disease to see that war is one of the most dysgenic forces of selection to be found anywhere. By reason of the vastly larger numbers in World War II the dysgenic effects are that much greater. It is said that the Napoleonic Wars lopped two inches off the stature of Frenchmen. Whether that is true or not, modern warfare selects for death and disablement the finest that we breed. The children of the next generation are for the most part produced by those left at home. In addition, by slaying the young males, war unbalances the relative proportion of the two sexes in the population, leaving some eugenic females without partners in a monogamic society.

Both during and after the close of a war *the whole system of social and economic relationships* is so disturbed that there is always a period of transition during which people find it difficult to settle down into steady habits, to find their places in society, and to contribute to their own support and the welfare of the country. They are restless. Often several years pass before they settle down into stable relationships and prepare to support themselves and a family.

Who has not noticed the enormous increase in *emotional instability* regis-

tered in commitments for the mentally disturbed to hospitals for the insane, following World War I? What will follow World War II in this respect remains to be assessed. Leave out of account the thousands of ex-service men in every land who are now shattered wrecks, languishing in some hospital for nervous and mental disease, most of whom never will recover. Consider only the enormous growth of numbers of those in the civilian population committed to such institutions. This cannot be accounted for merely by the increase in facilities for those suffering from mental disturbances. Certainly this instability and emotional disorder do not make self-supporting, independent individuals.

War creates also economic disturbance in every land. The peaceful economic arrangements for *international trade* are disturbed. During war, trade routes are disrupted and remain so for some time after its close until new arrangements can be made. Every nation has to raise more money after a war in order to pay for it. Therefore individuals have less to spend on necessities. Protective tariffs are put upon imported goods in order to raise money and supposedly to protect home industry. In addition to disturbing international trade such tariffs inevitably increase the price of consumers' goods and usually result in the *lowering of the standard of living* for the masses of the population. Money, which otherwise would have been devoted to an increase in the cultural opportunities of children and youth and the easing of economic pressure upon the population, is taken for increased taxes. Hospitals which might have been built are postponed; expenditures upon schools are curtailed; the institutions of religion languish; out of the economic disturbances grow restlessness and radicalism of all sorts based upon the resentment of injustices felt and opportunities denied.

It has been sometimes suggested that war has good results in spite of its evils. Malthus, in his *Essay on Population*, contended that war is one of the natural checks upon the superfluous growth of population. He argued that population tends to outrun the means of subsistence. Therefore, he said, inevitably population tends to press upon subsistence until its growth is checked by war, famine, or vice. Without doubt an extensive period of warfare does tend to reduce the population, not only by killing off the young men but by preventing their having progeny during the time that they are in the army and the navy. At the present time, however, there are better ways than war to hold in check excessive population.

Also war disrupts many social arrangements in the culture that were outdated. And stimulates scientific discoveries. But it disrupts the core of the culture and tears apart the integral parts of that culture with disas-

trous results to all the arrangements promoting economic and social adequacy in individuals.

In our cultural system, however, there are values so precious that the society will normally resort to war if *no other means* can be found to preserve them. Among these values is the right to deal with social problems, such as poverty, through enlightened democratic processes.

Summary

In summary, then, we may say that poverty and dependency play such a great part in our modern civilization; create such a waste of manhood and money, of childhood, womanhood and youth; disturb so many human relationships, that they demand attention. We have also pointed out that the factors producing poverty and dependency are individual incapacity, due partly to heredity and partly to accidental causes, to certain features of the physical environment over which man has not yet obtained adequate control; to the maladjustment in our economic organization to meet adequately human needs; to defects in our social organization with respect to education, health, housing, improper preparation for family life, thwarted childhood and youth—all caused by lag in the social arrangements to meet adequately the changes characteristic of a dynamic society. Finally we have pointed out that in modern civilization war is a great factor in producing social change in economic and social arrangements, in destroying young manhood, in wasting enormous sums of money, in creating restlessness with respect to social relationships, in disturbing international relationships and international trade, in depriving the people of a large part of their income through taxation and tariffs and thus bringing down the level of the scale of living.

Up until the introduction of science into our culture and its application to social relationships, the alleviation of poverty and dependency depended on charity and repressive "poor laws." Recently the emphasis has been on legislation to outlaw conditions that threaten health, to improve working conditions and wages and thus prevent poverty and dependency. Beginning with the German insurance under Bismarck, most countries have enacted legislation providing for what has come to be called "social insurance" intended to provide economic and social security. These measures include unemployment insurance, old age "pensions," aid to dependent children (mothers' pensions), aid to the blind (pensions and other helps), and general assistance. The labor union movement has for one of its objectives the improvement of working conditions, increase of wages, and stability of employment. Some countries have adopted insurance schemes against disability and illness. Among these are Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. The United States and most of the individual states of the Union have adopted some of these provisions. The Social Security Act of the United States adopted by Congress in 1935 has made a beginning of provision for the safeguarding of the economic security of the aged, the blind,

the disabled, dependent children, and the widows and other survivors of deceased workers. We still have no national law providing for insurance against illness. More and more people, however, are providing protection for themselves and their dependents through voluntary insurance schemes. Much still remains to be done.

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Exercises

1. Is each of the following a dependent in the pathological sense: (a) the recipient of (1) a mother's pension, (2) a soldier's pension; (3) old-age

782 *Poverty and dependency*

assistance, (4) an old-age benefit under the Social Security Act; (b) a child in (1) an orphanage, (2) a foster home, (3) his parents' home?

2. Show that poverty is relative to the standard of living in a society.
3. What difference does it make (a) that most of the property in this country is held by a few corporations; (b) that most of the people receive only a relatively small proportion of the total income while a few get a relatively large proportion?
4. Is it true that in our economy everyone gets about what his abilities deserve?
5. What accounts for most of the poverty— inherited incapacity or economic and social arrangements?
6. Which of the factors of poverty discussed in the text in your opinion is the most important?
7. In what respects does our educational system fail in preventing poverty?
8. Are our present arrangements for preventing sickness and caring for the sick equal to our needs? If not, what improvements can you suggest?
9. What new difficulties face the youth of today? Suggest methods whereby these difficulties can be overcome. (See Floyd W. Reeves, "Educational and Vocational Planning for Older Children," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1940*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940, pp. 91-108.)
10. What methods can you suggest to lessen the poverty caused by war?
11. Where is the greater challenge to the ingenuity of human beings—in the field of technological invention or in social and economic arrangements?
12. Since World War II brought unprecedented employment and high incomes, explain the statement in the text that war produces poverty.

chapter 3 I Delinquency and crime

Crime as a pattern of social interaction is to be explained in terms of the same frame of reference as other forms of pathological behavior. Biologically it is rooted in individual differences of inherited capacity. Sociologically it is conditioned by (a) the differences in personality developed by experiences playing on the inherited traits and (b) the variations between the alternative cultural elements and the universals and specialties. Some of the subgroups of which society is made up adopt alternatives at variance with the core of the culture. The result is that the individual members of those subgroups have a system of values and patterns of behavior diverging from those which conform to the core of the culture. Moreover, some of these subgroups, such as criminal gangs, have a culture looked upon by the dominant group in the society as positively dangerous. The actions of these gangs are prohibited by custom or law or both, and those found guilty of such actions are punished in the endeavor to repress them and to deter others from committing them, and either to intimidate the guilty or to reform them. These actions are called delinquency or crime, depending on the age of the actors. As in all other types of behavior differing from those approved by the core of the culture, this particular type known as crime is the upshot of the confusion in the individual resulting from the competition between the core and the alternatives inconsistent with that core. For example, the core of the culture may have honesty as one of its important values. The subgroup may say, "Honesty, yes. But honesty in dealing with a member of my group. In dealing with members of other subgroups, let them beware." Or, "Strict honesty in dealing with individuals, but when dealing with a corporation, on the one hand, or with a union on the other, get away with anything possible." Thus honesty is defined differently with reference to different individuals and groups. There is no one standard of conduct prevailing throughout all the subgroups, the real carriers of the culture, that is, the

groups in which the individual has its values inculcated into his system of values and in which its patterns of behavior become his. Here occurs what Giddings called "discriminate association" and what Sutherland entitled "differential association." The universals have diminished in number and the alternatives have multiplied; the core of the culture is shrunken to so few universal elements that the individual is not controlled by those incarnated in the dominant moral codes and in the laws, but by those alternatives dominant in his subgroup.

The pathology of social relationships strikingly registers itself in public attention not only in poverty and dependency, but also in delinquency and crime. Most other forms of social disorganization strike the popular mind as the result of circumstances beyond the control of the individual, but the historic attitude of society toward the criminal has been very much more hostile than that toward the poor or even the chronic dependent. This attitude toward the criminal has emphasized his personal responsibility. He has been looked upon as a depraved sort of human being. Modern science has shown that there is just enough truth in the theory of individual differences to make that attitude last a long time. The law has recognized this position in its theory of the criminal's personal responsibility. He is a rebel against society of his own free will.

It must be said, however, that the modern study of the criminal has opened to question the age-old assumption that the criminal is personally responsible for his antisocial conduct. The studies initiated by the Italian school of criminology threw doubt upon that ancient dogma. They emphasized the variant character of the criminal and tried to make out a case for the physical differences between the criminal and the noncriminal. Modern study has greatly widened this concept by emphasizing less the anthropological variation of the criminal and more his deviation in mental make-up in emotional balance, and in social experience.¹

Definition of a criminal and a delinquent

From the legal point of view crime is an offense against the law of the land. A mild offense in Anglo-American law is called a *misdemeanor*; a serious offense is called a *felony*. The only difference between a felony and a misdemeanor is in the assumed gravity of the offense, and since the estimate of the seriousness of an act varies from place to place, the legal definitions

¹ However, E. A. Hooton has recently called attention to what he regards as characteristic physical differences of prisoners from samples of the general population. See his *Crime and the Man*, and *The American Criminal: An Anthropological Study*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Vol. I, 1939.

of misdemeanor and felony are not the same in different states. In early society, when natural justice prevailed, and each man settled his own difficulties with his fellows, crime in a legal sense was unknown. Cruelty, savagery, and bestiality existed, but the fine distinctions civilized society makes between acts, such as immoral acts, injurious acts now called *torts*, and criminal acts, were the results of a long process of social development. Many acts now not considered criminal were punished as such in early society, and some acts now criminal were not then considered as such. Sometimes harmful acts were looked upon as affecting only the injured person or his kindred. But now every criminal act is considered an offense against society.

In practice the distinction between what we now call the *criminal* and the *delinquent* is as old as the common law. Yet in actual treatment history shows that the child was often treated as an adult criminal, in total ignorance of the humane provisions of the common law. In England down to a very recent date children were confined in prison with adults, and occasionally, in some parts of our country, children are still found in the county jails. However, a little over a century ago some people in this country began to be conscious of the difference between the criminal and the delinquent. In 1815, in New York City, Thomas Eddy, a New York Quaker, and some of his friends began to discuss the importance of erecting a juvenile reformatory so that the children could be taken out of the common prisons.²

In 1942 all of the 48 states of this country, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and Hawaii had institutions for juvenile delinquents. There were 112 state institutions, 4 in the District of Columbia and 51 county and municipal institutions.³

In this sense of the term, then, the distinction between the terms *criminal* and *delinquent* rests upon a difference of age. It was so in the English common law. Any child below the age of seven was not considered capable of committing a crime. Upon the ability to distinguish between right and wrong rested the theory of responsibility. Hence, in legal practice, the criminal in most of our states is an adult above the age of sixteen, while below that age he is a delinquent. A criminal, according to our legal notions,

² Flexner, Bernard and Oppenheimer, Reuben, *The Legal Aspects of the Juvenile Court*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 99, Washington, 1922, pp. 7, 8; Ives, George, *A History of Penal Methods*, Stanley Paul, London, 1914, pp. 126, 130, 179, 180, 234; Gillin, J. L., *Criminology and Penology*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1945, Chs. 18 and 30.

³ *Directory of State, District of Columbia, County and Municipal Training Schools Caring for Delinquent Children in the United States*, U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, Feb., 1943.

may be punished; a delinquent is taken in charge by the court for his protection.

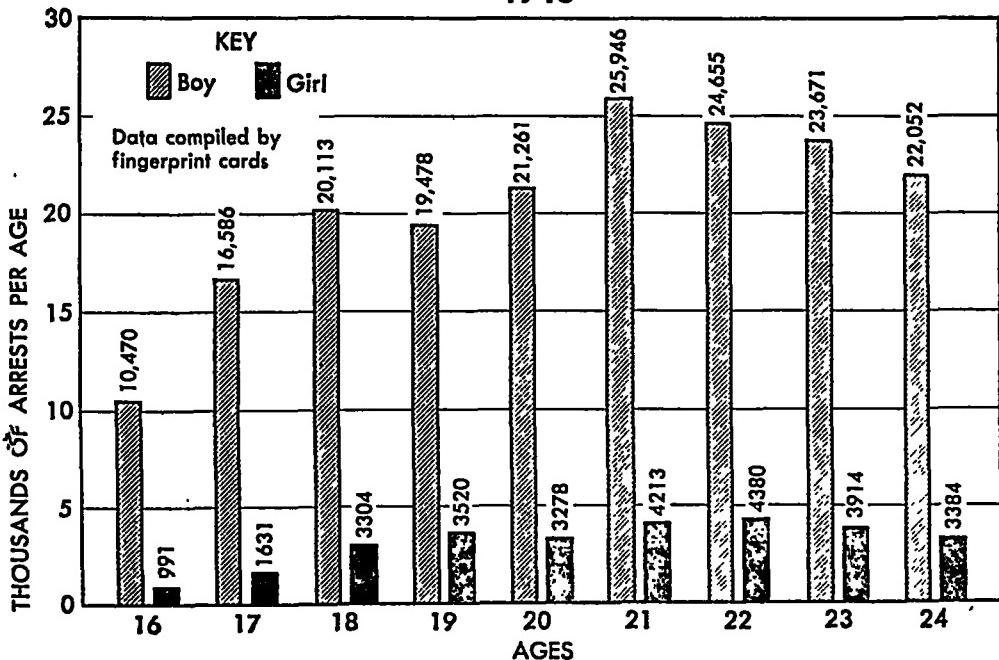
The criterion of age will no longer hold as the mark of distinction between the criminal and the delinquent. What about the feeble-minded person forty years old, but with the intelligence of a seven-year-old child? Is he a criminal or a delinquent? What shall we say about the adult insane person guilty of a crime? As a matter of fact, the legal distinction between the criminal and the delinquent is sociologically unsound. *Sociologically either a criminal or a juvenile delinquent is one who is guilty of an act believed, by a group that has the power to enforce its belief, to be injurious to society and therefore prohibited.* In short, crime is defined by the particular culture of a people. What is crime in one culture may not be in another. The culture determines the patterns of behavior to which the individual is expected to conform. To certain elements of the way of life, the social values of the group attach themselves, and these values are the criteria of conduct. Around them cluster the activating emotions—love, hate and fear—which enforce with great power the standards of behavior. These values motivate the approving and disapproving attitudes and the various methods of social control. Hence crime, the violation of socially accepted standards of conduct, arouses the emotional reactions of the group, since socially disapproved conduct is believed to menace the cherished values.

Out of the cultural configuration grow the methods used by various societies to punish criminals. If crime is looked upon as a violation of the will of the gods, death or mutilations as expiations are appropriate punishments. Thus the divine anger is turned away. If the deity is viewed as merciful and desiring the repentance of the offender rather than his death or mutilation, punishment is used as the means of his reformation. In these ways the welfare of the group is preserved. When religion is not quite so closely tied up with group welfare, measures of treatment are modified to correspond with the altered cultural configuration.

The only sound sociological grounds for society's taking from the individual his liberty and subjecting him to a course of treatment are: (1) *the protection of society* and (2) *reformation* or training of the individual so that he may become a useful member of society rather than remain a menace. As a by-product of the measures necessary to secure these two purposes, such treatment of the delinquent and the criminal may result in (3) *deterring others from the same or similar socially proscribed acts.* From the stand-point of the social purposes of punishment it makes no difference whether these acts are committed by a juvenile or by an adult. It is fortunate, how-

ever, in view of the historic attitude taken toward the punishment of criminals, that the distinction between the criminal and the delinquent has been made. Such distinction has made possible under our ancient theory the introduction of modern methods of treating the delinquent and of radical changes in the treatment of the adult criminal. Here, again, a little child has led us. Perhaps some day observation of the results of the treatment of juveniles will suggest sensible treatment of adults.

NUMBER OF MALES AND FEMALES ARRESTED 1946



SOURCE: Data from *Uniform Crime Reports*, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, Vol. XVII (1947), No. 2, Figures 17 and 18, pp. 118, 120.

Extent of the problem

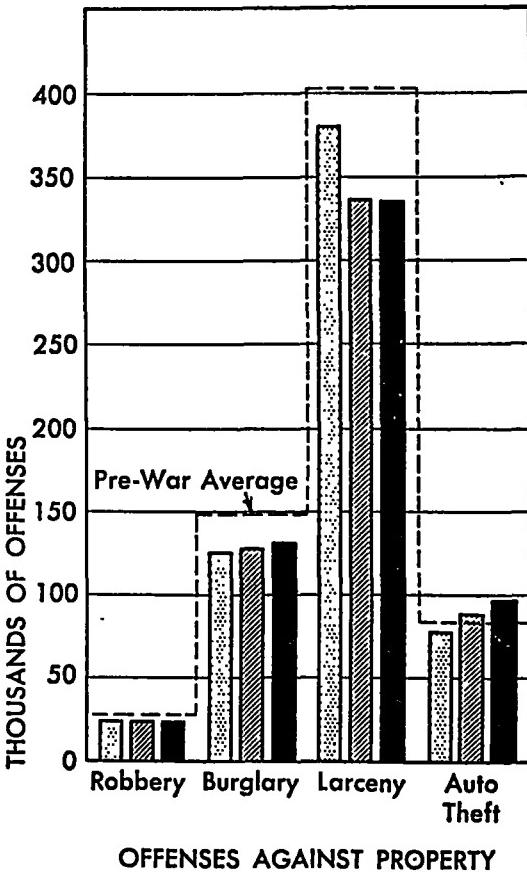
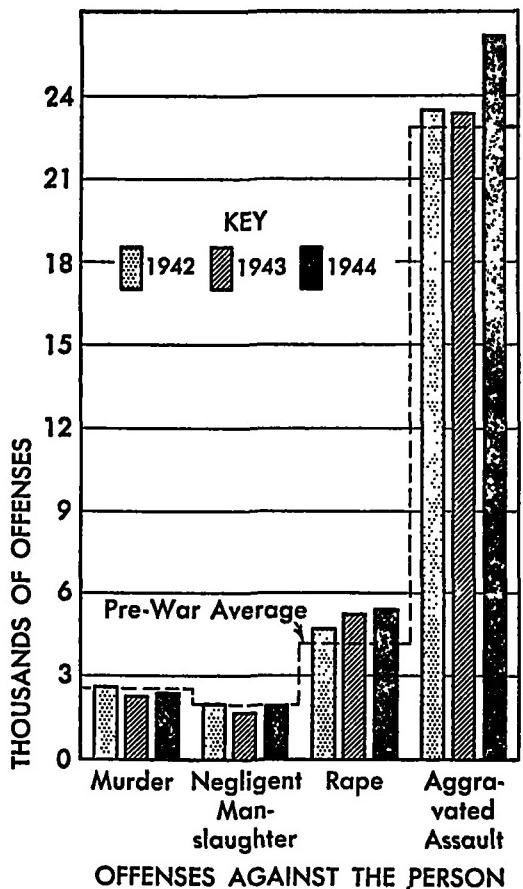
How criminal are we? How can we find out? What does it cost to take care of our criminals and delinquents? Unfortunately we cannot answer with exactitude any of these questions. In the United States from official figures we can say how many were committed to institutions for criminals and delinquents or placed on probation in a given census year, or we may take the report of the number of crimes known to the police of our largest cities as reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and published in *Uniform Crime Reports*. These figures, of course, do not tell us the amount

of crime. They reveal only the numbers who have been convicted, arrested, or the known crimes committed. Besides these, very many have been charged with crime but not convicted. In addition to these, some were charged with crime and convicted, but were put on probation or had sentence suspended. Also many who committed acts contrary to law were dis-

ANNUAL CRIME TRENDS

1942-1944 VS. AVERAGE FOR 1939-1941

OFFENSES KNOWN TO POLICE - 318 CITIES, TOTAL POPULATION 45,062,198



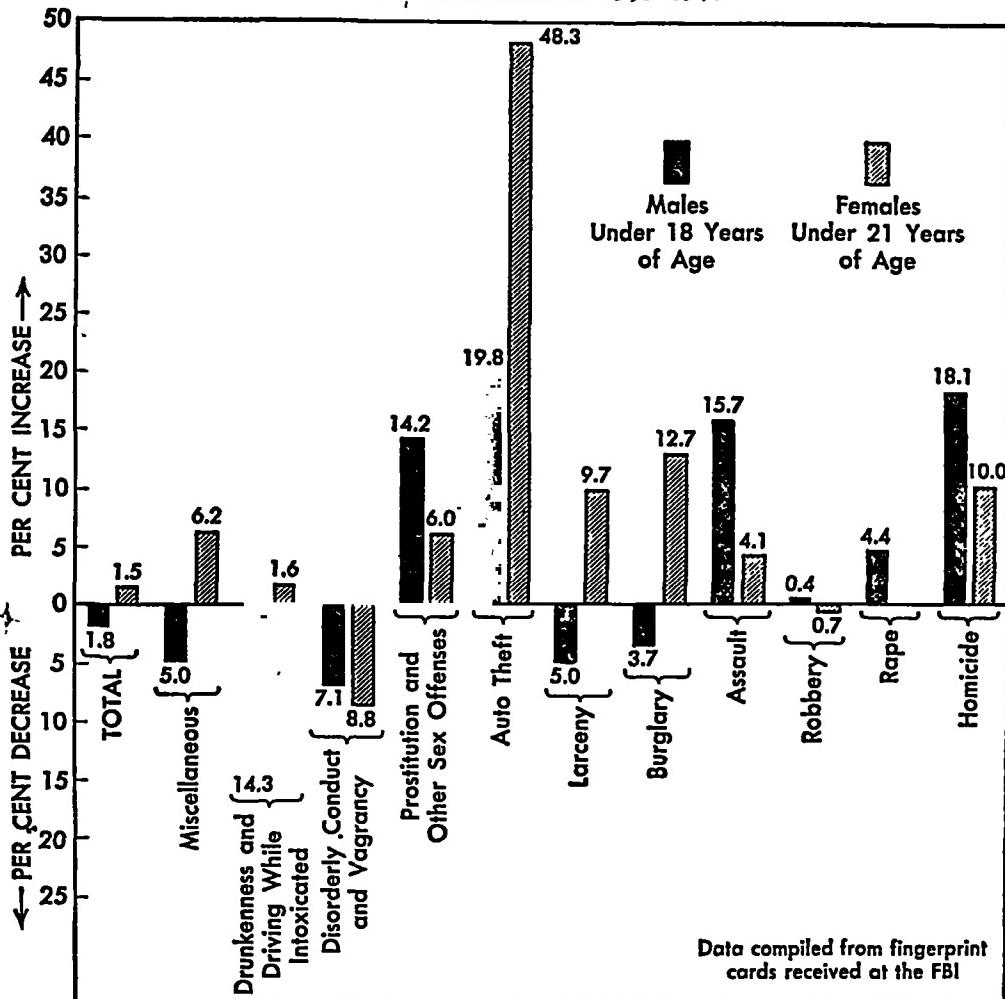
SOURCE: Data from *Uniform Crime Reports*, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, Vol. XV, No. 2 (1944), p. 62.

missed because of insufficient evidence or for other legal reasons. Further, other large numbers of perpetrators of criminal acts were not discovered. Consequently, these figures give us no adequate measure of the number of criminal acts committed in any year, or of the number of individuals involved.

However, it comes to one with somewhat of a shock to learn that in 1910, 1 out of every 200 of our population was committed to some correctional or penal institution. Fortunately in 1923 this ratio had dropped to

1 in 325, and in 1933 it was 1 in 300. Dr. Sellin estimates that if all major offenses committed annually were known to the police, they would total 1,300,000 each year, and the minor offenses, not counting liquor or motor-

ARRESTS OF MALES AND FEMALES PER CENT CHANGE 1943-1944



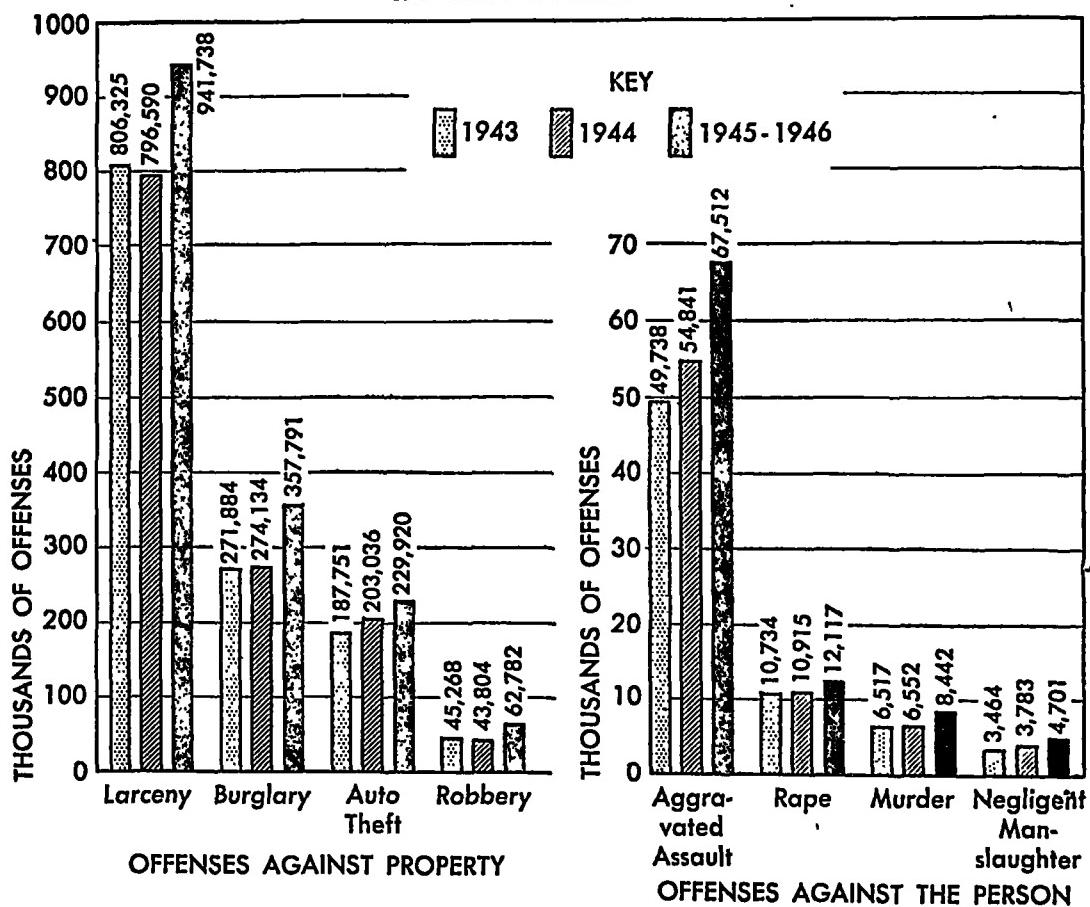
SOURCE: *Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. XV (1945), No. 2, pp. 97, 99.

vehicle violations, would exceed 15,000,000. In 1944 the F.B.I. estimated that in that year 1,393,655 major crimes were committed.⁴

⁴ *Social Work Yearbook*, 1937, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1937, p. 108; *Uniform Crime Reports*, Annual Bulletin, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, 1944, p. 56. This estimate (p. 88), did not include many miscellaneous offenses, such as embezzlement, fraud, forgery, counterfeiting, arson, receiving stolen goods, drug violations, carrying concealed weapons, etc. The definition of "serious crimes" in the *Reports* is not very clear.

Crime trends during war. War always disturbs the crime rates. Youth is the predominant criminal age if all crimes are counted. With 10,000,000 of the youth of our country taken out of civilian circulation, it is reasonable to assume that, unless factors other than those operating in peacetime become active during the war, the crime rate should drop during wartime.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MAJOR CRIMES IN THE UNITED STATES



SOURCE: Data from *Uniform Crime Reports*, Bureau of Investigation, Dept. of Justice, Washington, Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 113.

As a matter of fact, commitments to institutions decreased decidedly beginning in 1942. The same thing happened during World War I. But some curious increases occurred in arrests. Whereas in 1944 the number of males arrested, fingerprinted, and reported to the F.B.I. decreased 1.5 per cent, under 1943, the number of females increased 5.7 per cent. The following table shows the data on arrests reported to the F.B.I. in 1941 and 1944.⁶

⁶ *Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. XV, No. 2, Annual Bulletin, 1944, p. 94.

Age	Males			Females		
	1941	1944	Per cent of	1941	1944	Per cent of
			Change			Change
Under 18	34,408	40,892	18.8	2,662	5,798	117.8
18-20	66,689	44,234	-33.7	7,013	16,838	140.1
Under 21	101,097	85,126	-15.8	9,675	22,636	134.0

Juveniles were evidently incited by war to delinquent activities. But as the accompanying figures show, war affected certain ages more than others, and was associated with different crimes and delinquencies in varying degree. Certain crimes, measured by the fingerprints submitted to the F.B.I., increased during the war; others decreased.

The cost of crime in the United States. Various estimates have been made of the cost of crime in the United States. None of these pretends to any great degree of accuracy. The estimates range all the way from \$3,000,-000,000 to \$16,000,000,000. On the basis of a study in Massachusetts, Mr. Spaulding in 1910 estimated that one-tenth of all the money raised for taxation purposes in that state went to the struggle with crime. Wisconsin in 1921 to 1922 spent between five and six cents out of every dollar raised by taxation in an effort to control the criminal. Certainly an estimate of \$3,000,000,000 is conservative.⁶

Whatever be the cost of our struggle with crime, there is no question that it is a heavy burden upon the taxpayer and thus diverts money from other uses, such as health and education.

The proportion of each class of crime. In England about the year 1920, 8 per cent of the offenses were against the person, 18.5 per cent against property, and 73.5 per cent other offenses.

Is crime increasing or decreasing? It is very difficult to be certain whether crime is increasing or decreasing. After World War I a great furor was raised concerning the increase of crime. This has been chiefly newspaper talk, and there are but few adequate statistics on the question. Except for the homicide death rate the Federal Bureau of the Census does not afford us very much material.

We get used to crimes with which we are familiar. Their commission does not make an impression upon our imagination. However, new crimes impress us to such an extent that we feel there must have been an increase. Furthermore, the newspapers, in seeking for the new and the sensational,

⁶ Gillin, J. L., *Criminology and Penology*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1945.

convey to the reader the impression that there has been a great growth. However, if one looks back over newspaper discussion and comment in other periods, he will find that every so often there has been a "crime wave." So far as one can tell from the figures, it has been largely psychological. Another general impression is that a crime wave follows every war. the period following World War I.

Based upon arrests reported to the F.B.I. there was an increase of crime following World War II. The Annual Bulletin of the *Uniform Crime Reports* for 1946 published statistics as to offenses known to the police of 373 cities with over 25,000 inhabitants with a total population of 50,616,919 showing a percentage decrease of most property crimes between 1941 and 1945, an increase of rape and aggravated assault between 1939 and 1946 and of murder and negligent manslaughter over the 1939 level after 1944 and 1945 respectively (pp. 85, 87). In spite of the statistics quoted by the sensation mongers, the careful scholar has to admit that except for the report of a few crimes there is very little evidence one way or the other. What facts we have indicate that during a war the crimes committed by men decrease and those committed by women and juveniles increase. Sutherland says that there is no reduction in the number of crimes in sight whether we consider the major or the minor crimes. The fact, however, that the major crimes reached an approximate level in 1925 and since that date have maintained that level suggests that we need expect no greater increase in the immediate future.⁷

Repeaters in crime. We call our institutions "correctional" institutions. How well do they "correct"? Let us see. In Massachusetts in 1921 of all prisoners sent to the various institutions, 51.3 per cent, and in 1922, 55.1 per cent, were repeaters. In Wisconsin in 1920, of the inmates of the state prison, 45 per cent, and of the Milwaukee House of Correction 53.5 per cent, had been convicted of crime before. About the same time in the West Virginia state prison 51 per cent, and in the Georgia state prison, 42 per cent, were "repeating the course." In Detroit about the year 1920, of 1800 unselected misdemeanors, 55.4 per cent had had previous contact with the police or the courts.

Of felony prisoners released in 1943 from Federal and state institutions in this country 54.1 per cent had records of prior commitments. Of the arrest records examined by the F.B.I. for 1947, 55.4 per cent had finger-print records on file in the Identification Division.⁸

⁷ Sutherland, E. H., "Crime and Punishment," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933, Ch. 22, p. 1167.

⁸ *Prisoners Released from State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories*, 1943 and 1942,

These figures represent an enormous failure. Practically half of these men have been in difficulty before. What a comment upon our methods of treating the criminal! When our universities send home every year from 2 to 8 per cent of the students enrolled because they have "flunked out," sometimes a great cry is raised against the failure of our school system. What if the high schools and the universities flunked half of their students? And yet is not that what these figures of recidivism really mean? Half of the criminals in our correctional institutions have "flunked the course" once or more. But wait a moment. Is the analogy between college and prison fair?

Every study of recidivism shows that repetition of crime increases as the average mentality lowers. What this means is that we are sending to our correctional institutions the failures of our schools and of our communities, and expecting those institutions to do what the schools, the playgrounds,, the homes, and the probation officials have failed to do. Naturally into our prisons will flow those who have failed to respond to every other influence to make them good citizens. To our colleges we send the more promising young people; to the prisons, the least promising. On the other hand, these institutions should not be forced to let criminals out when they well know that they will fail again; yet in most of our states the criminal law provides for the ultimate termination of the sentence, in most cases at a very definite period, whether the man has reformed or not. This is a great mistake and accounts for a part of the repetition of criminality among the inmates of our institutions. Back they come again and again in spite of the fact that there is no hope of another term doing them any good. These are custodial cases which ought to be kept indefinitely within an institution.

In summary then, the situation may be expressed as follows: (1) In 1934 in all institutions of higher learning in the United States there was a total of 1,055,360 students. In 1933 there were committed to penal and correctional institutions of the United States 693,968 people, i.e., two-thirds as many as were in all the institutions of higher learning.⁹ (2) We spend more on our struggle with criminals than on any other aspect of state and

Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1945, p. 55; *Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Dept. of Justice, Washington, 1947.

⁹ *World Almanac*, 1938, The New York Herald Tribune, New York, 1938, p. 382, and *Prisoners*, 1933, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1935, p. 1. Comparison on same basis at later dates is impossible because of change in reporting prisoners. The statistics in recent years are limited to those in prisons and reformatories, omitting confinements to jails, etc.

local government except education and good roads. Hence it must be one of our major social problems. (3) We do not know whether crime is increasing or decreasing, except such serious crimes as homicide, which seems to be on the increase. (4) Approximately 50 per cent of those in our penal and correctional institutions are "repeating the course."

Factors in the making of the criminal and the delinquent

The conduct of every man, including the criminal, is the result, in general terms, of two sets of factors: (1) the native characteristics of the individual handed down to him by heredity from his ancestors and (2) the various external influences that play upon him during his development. In order to make more precise the analysis of the factors producing the criminal, we may divide these two general classes into the following sections: (a) physical environment, (b) physical and mental characteristics of the individual, (c) hereditary characteristics—thus giving special emphasis to the physical and mental characteristics that are inherited in contrast with those which are developed on the basis of heredity through the influence of the environment, (d) economic factors, (e) social factors.

The physical factors: the physical environment. Early in the scientific study of crime and the criminal it was noticed that *crimes vary with geography, the climate, the seasons, and the weather*. Lombroso believed that of crimes against the person the minimum number occurred in the level parts, a slightly greater portion in the parts that were hilly, and the maximum number in the mountainous districts. On the other hand, his statistics seem to indicate that rape was more common in the level country than in the mountains and hills. Furthermore, he found that the districts of Italy most subject to malaria showed the maximum number of crimes against property. Those parts of France and Italy where goiter, resulting in cretinism, prevailed, had less than the average number of homicides, thefts, and sexual offenses.

It was observed by certain students that countries with a warm *climate* have a higher rate of criminality against the person, while those in cool climates have a comparatively high rate of crimes against property.

Again crimes vary with the *seasons*. In winter, crimes against property increase, while in summer the peak is reached in the crimes against the person. This variation of different kinds of crime according to the seasons led to Lacassagne's so-called "criminal calendar." According to this calendar infanticide held first place in the months of January, February, March, and April; homicide and assaults in July; parricides in January and

October; rapes upon children in May, July, and August, with the minimum in December; rapes on adults reached their maximum in June and the minimum in November; while crimes against property seemed to reach the maximum in December and January.

As the result of the discussions which have grown out of these statistical findings it is now generally agreed that *the effects of these physical factors are indirect rather than direct*, i.e., it is not that cold induces sluggishness, and hence lessens crimes against the person, but that the crimes against the person in cold regions and in the cold seasons are fewer because human contacts are less frequent during those periods and in those countries, while crime against property increases in the cold climates and in the cold seasons because of the greater economic distress.

More recently some attention has been given to the relationship of the changes in *the weather* to criminality. Dexter found that the number of arrests varied directly quite regularly with the temperature in any given place. As the barometer fell, the number of arrests rose. He thought that air pressure directly affects the nervous condition of people. Assaults vary inversely with the degree of humidity. He explains this on the basis of the depressing effect of a high degree of moisture in the atmosphere. On the days when the winds were mild, there was a high pugnacity rate. During the days of calm and days of high winds the number of arrests was smaller. Cloudy days showed the fewest number of personal encounters such as attract the attention of police. More careful investigations will have to be made, however, before these conclusions can be accepted at their face value. Here, too, it is probable that the weather affects conduct, on the whole, indirectly rather than directly. In general we may hold tentatively that the physical environment affects man's conduct largely through its influence on his closeness of contact with his fellows, ways of getting a living, the form of occupation that the climate makes possible, the unemployment and therefore the pressure of needs due to seasonal occupation, and the ease or difficulty of obtaining a living through the exploitation of natural resources.¹⁰

The physical and mental characteristics of the individual. What are the chief physical and mental factors having unusual weight in the production of criminals? Consider first the *physical characteristics of the individual*. Society has set up certain standards in its requirements for its members which can be met only by a fairly well-developed physique. For example, the individual must have fairly good health; he must be physically well-

¹⁰ For a more thorough discussion of the factors of the physical environment, see Gillin, *op. cit.*, Ch. 5.

formed and capable of certain economic activities; and his physical appearance within limits must make a pleasant impression upon those by whom he is surrounded in order that he may get along well economically and personally. If he is not strong enough to work at an occupation that will yield him a livelihood, he is handicapped on the economic side. If he has suffered disablement, either by disease or by accident, it may be impossible for him to hold a job, or he may hold one that pays a very small wage. Economic pressure may become too great, and he may, by reason of this fact, develop into a thief. Goring's study of the criminals in Parkhurst Prison, England, showed that the inmates were, as a whole, physically inferior to the general population of the same age. Similar studies in the United States have shown the same situation. Sleyster found that the convicts in the state prison of Wisconsin averaged 1.4 inches shorter than the stature of the average freshman at the University of Wisconsin, and 2 inches shorter than the average Harvard student. The Wisconsin convict lacked 1.3 inches of the height of the men and boys who enlisted in the Civil War, and was 3 inches shorter than the fellows of the Royal Society of England and than English professional men.¹¹ Other studies of convicts have shown an unusual number of physical defects and diseases.

On the other hand, studies by Healy among juvenile delinquents in Chicago showed that 13 per cent had some abnormality of development. From 50 to 64 per cent of the 2,000 juvenile recidivists in Chicago and from 72 to 73 per cent of the females among them were overdeveloped physically.¹² In juveniles physical overdevelopment seems to result in sexual maturity before judgment and self-control have developed equally, leading, therefore, to sex delinquency.

Recent studies on the endocrine glands, or the glands of internal secretion, promise light upon the relationship of the functioning of these glands to crime. Research has not gone far enough yet, however, to make certain that the lack of their proper functioning leads to criminality.

The *chief mental defects and characteristics* that seem to have a bearing upon the making of the criminal are mental defect, epilepsy, and mental disorder, and certain emotional disturbances apparently partly the result of inherent tendencies and partly of the individual's reaction to his life's experiences.

¹¹ Sleyster, Rock, "The Physical Bases of Crime as Observed by a Prison Physician," in *Physical Bases of Crime, a Symposium*, Papers and discussion contributed to the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the American Academy of Medicine, Minneapolis, June 14, 1913, American Academy of Medicine Press, Easton, Pa., 1914, pp. 115, 116.

¹² Healy, William, *The Individual Delinquent*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1924, pp. 135, 136, and Book II, Ch. 4.

Mental defect, or feeble-mindedness, as a characteristic of delinquents and criminals has received marked attention in recent years. The figures differ with the examiner and with different parts of the country as well as with the type of crime. Goring, in his study of 948 convicts, found that the largest percentage of mental defects appeared among those guilty of setting fire to stacks (52.9 per cent). Then the percentages decrease: for other types of arson (16.7 per cent), for rape on a child (15.8 per cent), for robbery and violence (15.6 per cent), for unnatural sexual offenses (14.8 per cent), for blackmail (14.3 per cent), and for burglary (10 per cent). Among those guilty of counterfeiting, mental defect was practically negligible (3.3 per cent). In the United States figures vary from prison to prison, one of the most conservative findings being that of Anderson in the correctional and penal institutions of Wisconsin. In the Wisconsin state prison only 12 per cent, in seventeen county jails 16 per cent, 8.8 per cent of the boys in the industrial school, 10 per cent of the inmates of the Milwaukee House of Correction, and 10.5 per cent of the inmates of the Girls' Industrial School were definitely feeble-minded. We shall not be far off if we say that at least 12 per cent of all criminals in institutions are mentally defective. Zeleny has shown that the mentally deficient in prisons have a ratio of 1.36 to 1 in the general population. In the Wisconsin institutions recently the ratio was higher—1.63 to 1 to those in the Wisconsin draft during World War I. It is plain that feeble-mindedness has been a potent factor in making the criminal, or else that the criminals studied have been caught because of their condition. A study of cases, however, indicates that the feeble-minded person who is not properly supervised is not capable of ordering his conduct in accordance with the standards of society and, therefore is more likely than the ordinary person to come under the influence of those who will induce antisocial conduct.

Epilepsy, probably because of our neglect of epileptics, seems to furnish a number of criminals and delinquents. Healy in Chicago, in a study of 1,000 young repeaters, found 7 per cent that were known to be definitely epileptic, whereas in the general population it is estimated that there are only 3 epileptics per 1,000.

Mental disorder, thirty-odd varieties of which have now been recognized, plays some part in the production of criminals and delinquents. Sometimes it leads to quarrelsomeness and the starting of lawsuits. The person concerned feels that he is unjustly treated, has delusions of persecution, and easily becomes a fraudulent person, or even a criminal of violence. However, the number of criminals who are insane under the legal definition in any prison population is small compared with those mentally deficient.

Perhaps even more important are the *emotional disturbances* that result from unhappy life experiences in the young. We have as yet no definite statistics on the number of cases in a given criminal population who have been started on their career of delinquency by reason of these emotional disturbances. Recent studies, however, have shown that a great many of the young delinquents are suffering from mental conflicts which have resulted from unpleasant experiences in their lives. These emotional upsets may result from severe repression at home, lack of appreciation by schoolmates, a shock from premature sexual experiences or from the conflict that may arise between natural curiosity and the moral standards of society. Studies in juvenile courts and in schools have shown that many problem children are suffering from such emotional disturbances.¹³

Heredity and crime. The beginner in sociology will often meet the expression "hereditary crime." Can crime be inherited? To speak of crime as "hereditary" is a loose usage of terms. Crime is a social manifestation in conduct, while heredity is a biological matter. Crime cannot be inherited in any scientific sense of the term. What is meant by those who discuss heredity in connection with criminality is that certain physical and mental characteristics may be inherited which under certain environmental conditions result in crime. Among these are the inheritance of early sexual maturity with a lag in mental and emotional maturity, nervous instability, and mental defect. Healy found in his study of 1,000 juvenile delinquent repeaters in Chicago, of which 668 provided adequate family histories, that epilepsy or some grade of mental defect was present in 245 of the families, and 152 cases showed criminal individuals in the ancestry. In 61 per cent of 823 cases he found distinct defects in the family.¹⁴ Usually individuals with these hereditary traits become delinquent only in a criminal environment.

Economic factors. Many writers have called attention to the fact that most of the delinquents belong to the poorer classes, that crimes increase with economic depression and unemployment, and that crimes against property are more common in a capitalistic organization of society. There can

¹³ For a detailed discussion of these points see Healy, *op. cit.*, Book II, Ch. 10; Sayles, Mary B., and Nudd, Howard W., *The Problem Child in School*, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York, 1926; Sayles, Mary B., *The Problem Child at Home*, The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1928; Glueck, Sheldon, *Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1925, pp. 287, 815, 317-318; Van Waters, Miriam, *Youth in Conflict*, Republic, New York, 1925; Hoag, Ernest B., and Williams, Edward H., *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law*, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1923, Ch. 13. *Judge Baker Case Studies*, Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, 1922, Series 1; Burt, Cyril L., *The Young Delinquent*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1925, Chs. VII-XIII.

¹⁴ Healy, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-57.

be no question as to these facts. The problem is their proper interpretation. Do men steal because they are hungry? Do girls enter a life of prostitution because of need? In both cases the question can be answered by both "Yes" and "No." Some men steal because they are hungry or because their families are in need. Some girls enter a life of prostitution, or that course of conduct which may lead to prostitution, by reason of the pressure of necessity. On the other hand, some people in the very deepest distress do not commit crime, and some girls in the direst need do not stray from the path of virtue. It is clear, therefore, that in most cases economic factors act indirectly rather than directly. Need becomes a circumstance to which a certain type of individual responds by antisocial conduct. Whether, therefore, the economic factors be direct or indirect in their operation, they provide the environment under which certain natures give way and break the standards set by society. There is a very close statistical correlation between delinquency and child labor. Certain trades seem to be extra-hazardous morally. Street trades especially are dangerous to children. Night work in factories provides circumstances that are a menace to the morals of girls and young women. Working boys exhibit a delinquency rate from two to ten times as high as that of those who are not working. Boys employed in messenger service seem to be especially liable to delinquency. Compelled to enter all kinds of resorts at all hours of the day and night, they become habituated to scenes of vice and lawlessness that break down their moral standards. Waitresses in hotels and restaurants on the one hand are living on the smallest wages, perhaps lodging in some cheerless room, denied ordinary recreation, and on the other hand, are subjected to the solicitations of conscienceless men. In a recent study 62 per cent of the waitresses in hotels and restaurants were without "normal" homes.

Social factors. The social circumstances of life affect one's conduct. Like the economic, they help form the medium in which personality develops. If the social circumstances are of such a nature as to bring out the inherent qualities of the individual that are adapted to social life, and to inhibit those characteristics which lead to antisocial conduct, experience leads us to believe that the individuals will develop conduct in accordance with the standards of society.

In our civilization there are many social factors which are highly influential in the development of social personality, and maladjustments in them are frequent. These social factors in a general way may be classified as follows: the factors connected with (1) the home, (2) the playground, (3) the school, (4) community influences, (5) customs and beliefs current in a given society, (6) companions, (7) class feeling, (8) religion, (9) the

courts and prisons, (10) the fundamental elements in a given culture. Consider in this connection our discussion of attitudes, group patterns of conduct, and the way in which the conduct patterns of different groups come into conflict in the experience of many persons. In the study of the problem child and the delinquent child, and of the criminal man and woman, the results of these clashing standards upon the allegiance of the individual come clearly to view. Nowhere else is the process clearer or its disastrous consequences more vivid than in the case of the boy or girl struggling to adjust his inborn propensities to the social order.

The *home* as the fundamental social institution has an enormous influence upon the development of the personality of the children. Consider the facts brought out in Chapter 30 on acculturation and assimilation. A study by Healy and Bronner in Chicago showed that one-fourth of the cases in their new series of studies were from homes so poor that poverty was a factor in the delinquency.¹⁵ Recent studies have shown that the broken home, in itself, is not as important a factor in delinquency as the *home conditions themselves*.¹⁶ When the home is immoral, perhaps the situation is worse for the child than if he were separated entirely from his parents. The fundamental importance of a good home in the prevention of delinquency is well recognized everywhere. Frequently home conditions are made worse by the presence of drunken, immoral, epileptic, insane, or feeble-minded parents. Healy and Bronner found that 20 to 28 per cent of the homes from which these children had come were cursed with alcoholism, immorality, or criminalism.

Many of these homes are so crowded that decency is impossible. The child from his earliest years becomes habituated to scenes from which he should be protected. Breckinridge and Abbott, studying 584 delinquent boys and 157 delinquent girls in Chicago, found that 47 per cent of the boys were from families with six or more children, and 21 per cent from families with eight or more children. Among the girls 34 per cent were from families with six or more children, and 13 per cent from families with eight or more children.

Moreover, even where the families are not broken, lack of wise parental management is to be seen in many cases of delinquents. Healy and Bronner

¹⁵ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, July, 1916, pp. 50, 51.

¹⁶ See Weeks, H. Ashley, and Smith, Margaret G., "Juvenile Delinquency and Broken Homes in Spokane, Washington," *Social Forces*, October, 1939, pp. 48-55; Weeks H. Ashley, *The Relation of Broken Homes to Juvenile Delinquency Based upon Data Gathered in Spokane, Washington*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wis., 1939.

found that extreme lack of parental control ranged from 23 per cent of the cases in the first series of their studies to 46 per cent in the second. Extreme parental neglect was found by them in 16 per cent of the second series of 1,000. Of this 1,000 only 5 per cent of the homes were very good.¹⁷

The *play activities* especially in a great city have some bearing on juvenile delinquency. Undirected use of leisure time is a peril to a child. Thurston found in his study in Cleveland that over 50 per cent of his delinquents spent their leisure time in desultory unguided pursuits. In Gillin's study of 160 "wholesome citizens" he found that only 0.7 per cent spent their leisure time in such pursuits. No community can afford to neglect playground facilities with proper guidance for its children.

The relationship of *education* to crime has often been studied. Very few college graduates are found in our prisons and reformatories. This may mean either that education results in a course of conduct which does not end in a prison, or that those who graduate from educational institutions do not get caught. There are, however, a number of reasons why the ignorant have a higher crime rate, other things being equal. The uneducated man usually has greater difficulty in making a living. He has to take the less well-paid employment; usually he does not have as wide a range of employment open to him; he is less likely to have a varied use of his leisure time and therefore may easily drift into bad companionship.

However, it must be admitted that education in the simple elementary subjects has only an indirect bearing upon the prevention of criminality. It has been found that the type of crime varies with the degree of education. Crimes of violence are more frequently committed by the uneducated, while crimes of skill and cunning, such as embezzlement and forgery, are the crimes of the educated.

Furthermore, children who do not get along well in *school* are likely to become truant and to wind up in the juvenile court. Evidently our schools are not yet perfectly adjusted to maintaining the interest of all the children who come to them. Too often the schools are built to fit the average student, and too little attention is given to the variant child. More and more attention is being given to fitting the school system and the curriculum to the needs of the individual. At the present time, however, too frequently the children drop out of school from lack of interest and go to work at the first opportunity, and as we have seen, working children are under special hazard. Consequently it must be said in all fairness that the school with inadequate staff in both numbers and quality must incur

¹⁷ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta, *Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926, p. 125.

the probability of making some delinquents. The teacher, loaded with forty pupils, some of whom present special problems, cannot be charged fairly with this result. Some schools are introducing rooms for special classes of students, guidance clinics, and visiting teachers whose business it is to follow up the child who is not doing well in school or who presents special problems. It is her duty to see that adjustments are made in that child's life, and that the school adapts itself to his individual capacities and peculiarities, in order to produce a "wholesome" personality. Too many times the teachers are interested only in earning their salaries, although there are some glorious exceptions who follow children into their homes and into their community life in order to assist in adjustment to the circumstances of school and community. Moreover, it is being recognized that the chief business of the school is to form social personality. Mere formal education will not always accomplish that.

The influences in *the community* have a great deal to do with the development of conduct. Young children especially, and adolescents, are subject to the attitudes and opinions operative in their group and community. How often when a delinquent is brought to court, the story is told of how he has a good family, comes from good stock, and yet went astray because of the untoward influences in the community in the midst of which he lives! Sometimes the influences of the community are positively demoralizing. Consider the difficulty that well-intentioned parents have in stemming the effect upon their children of evil influences in the congested district of a great city. The uplift of the home is neutralized by the tide of immorality that flows out of saloons, dance halls, vicious resorts, and the uncontrolled life of the gang in the alleys, back yards, and along the railroad tracks and docks, which often characterize the slum areas. Even when the home is of the best, it has great difficulty in fighting against such influences. It is especially difficult for the foreign-born family whose ideals and traditions seem hopelessly out of place to the children who have more rapidly become Americanized in the new environment in which they live.

Moreover, consider the influence of *customs, beliefs, and conduct patterns* that are at variance with the customs, beliefs, traditions, standards, and ideals of the society in the midst of which a group of citizens may live. Contemplate the foreign-born family, coming with a set of social standards and traditions from another country, yet subject to the standards, beliefs, ideals, and traditions that have grown up upon American soil. Many traits of their culture are different from those they find in this country. Consider the contrast between sex morals of an immigrant from an eastern or southeastern European country and those which are tolerated in an American

community. Struggling with poverty in a great American city, the foreign family sees no reason why it should not take in numerous boarders. Every available space is occupied, and perhaps the boarder sleeps with some of the children; thus immoral relations are often established, and the parties involved sometimes are haled into court. The group mores that held matters in hand in the old country have weakened, and the families have not yet adopted the standards of the new. The drinking habits of many people are a fertile source of delinquency and crime. Numerous studies show that from 33 per cent to as high as 67.4 per cent of the serious crimes of violence are due to drunkenness.

Moreover, many *beliefs* conducive to criminal conduct become current among certain classes and groups of society. Confirmed criminals are usually cynical and bitter. They see no reason why they should be punished for acts similar to other acts which are within the law. Open assault on a rich man seems to them less ignoble than the cautious combinations of fraud sometimes practiced by respectable citizens. The criminal is subject to the system of values of his own class rather than to that of the larger society.

With the social and economic development of a population, classes inevitably arise, both social and economic, and *class hatreds* are likely to thrive unless adjustments are made between them. In every period of social and industrial unrest, of political or economic oppression, class hatreds are bound to arise. Out of these hatreds develop beliefs and standards of action that frequently lead to violation of law. There occurs to one's mind such examples as the violence that often breaks out in industrial strikes, the so-called "race conflicts" between the Negroes and whites in some of our great cities, and between Orientals and the whites on the Pacific Coast. In Europe even the different religious groups sometimes come into conflict. A special example of this is the anti-Semitic pogroms in certain European countries. Certain other class hatreds, arising chiefly from the industrial struggle, are exemplified by the clashes between organized labor and the employers, or between certain groups of Communists and non-Communists.

Religion is another social factor that has been considered in connection with crime. One would suppose that a religion which has for its doctrine the love of one's fellow men would prevent clashes, would produce tolerance, and would make for peace and good conduct. Curiously enough, however, even Christianity has not always been characterized by such traits. Wars have been fought over religious questions, and a careful study of prison statistics shows that religion does not always have the effect of curbing the antisocial propensities of men. A study made by Aschaffenburg in Germany has shown that in certain countries of Europe, Catholics have a higher

criminal rate than Protestants, both of them a higher one than Jews, and all three religions a higher than those professing no religion whatsoever. However, Aschaffenburg points out that probably the economic conditions of the people rather than their religion account for this curious situation. But it must be confessed that religion does not always curb the evil propensities of men. If religion is chiefly of a ceremonial rather than of a more social nature, it should not be expected that it would have much influence upon conduct. The only religion that seems to have any constructive bearing upon the problem of crime is a socialized religion, *viz.*, a religion devoted to social ends and purposes. Sometimes religion is invoked for criminal ends—the prostitute who hangs the Crucifix over her bed, the confidence man who seeks to induce religious people to invest in fake religious institutions, the anti-Semite who incites to violence against Jews in the name of Christianity.

The courts are intended to be the instruments of justice set up by the state to protect the citizens and to bring offenders to book. On the whole they serve that purpose well. Yet there is evidence that certain practices of the court *make* criminals instead of curing them. Consider the effect of bringing before a court, charged with an offense, a poor man unable to hire a lawyer, but who has to take whatever lawyer the court sees fit to appoint to defend him. Whether he is correct in his conclusion or not, is he likely to believe, when he sees rich men defended by very capable lawyers and himself defended by a novice, that justice is even-handed? Frequently also the delay in bringing to trial the accused, who perhaps cannot get bail and must lie in jail in contact with hardened criminals, corrupts many a young offender. Consider further the numerous technicalities on which skillful lawyers may cheat justice in the case of influential criminals, in contrast with the speedy hearing and the swift punishment meted out to the poor or uninfluential man. Again, what must be the effect upon many individuals under our theory that no matter what the difference in the personality of different criminals, the same crime merits the same punishment? Although extenuating circumstances may be considered by the jury, and the judge may in the imposition of sentence consider such circumstances, nevertheless any careful study of the sentences imposed for crimes shows that even-handed justice is quite impossible under our system. The effect upon the minds of men who feel that they have been discriminated against may be easily imagined. Put yourself in the place of the man who has received a sentence of ten years for a certain crime, when he knows that another man just as guilty of the same crime receives a sentence of two or five years. The psychological effect upon the minds of those who

feel that they have been unjustly treated is often the development of a grudge against society which sometimes results in making a confirmed criminal of a man who to begin with was not criminally inclined.

In many of our states our *prisons* are conceived to be institutions for the reformation of the criminal. In other states the theory is that the purpose of punishing the criminal is retribution. If the theory followed by the prison officials is that of retribution, then the purpose of the prison is to make the punishment as disagreeable as possible so as to make certain that the prisoner is punished as much as he made others or society suffer. Under that theory he will go out feeling that he has been mistreated and that he has a right to exact vengeance of a society which has taught him the doctrine of vengeance. On the other theory that the prison is for the reformation of its inmates, what must be the effect upon the prisoner's mind when, instead of being so treated as to cure him of his malady, he is handled so that he feels that society, instead of trying to reform him, is brutally punishing him? Moreover, in most prisons first offenders are thrown into contact with hardened criminals, and the prison often becomes a school of crime. Innumerable cases might be cited that show such results from a prison experience.¹⁸

Our Western culture itself, in one sense of the term, accounts for some of the criminality. Our social relationships are growing ever more complex. They are most complex in our great cities. Groups often have alternative culture elements at variance with the universals. Membership in one of these subgroups provides values at variance with the core of the culture and determines the patterns and behavior. Such a civilization requires nice adjustment on the part of the individual. Consider then the individual who by nature is perhaps defective or unbalanced and finds difficulty in adjusting himself to new conditions. Unless civilization throws protecting arms about him and guides him, civilization itself may be fairly charged with accountability for his delinquency. Again, consider the man who has been brought up in the simple relationships of the country, has formed habits of living there, adjusting himself to the simple conditions of the countryside, and then finds himself endeavoring to live in a city. Often he finds the accommodation difficult. If in addition to that he is by nature limited in capacity, his difficulty is doubly great. Or again, contemplate the foreigner habituated to norms of conduct in another country, with different standards from ours, who comes to this country in middle life and attempts to adjust

¹⁸ If the student is interested in reading examples of such a case, let him consult Lowrie, Donald, *My Life in Prison*, Kemmerley, New York, 1912, or Nelson, Victor F., *Prison Days and Nights*, Little Brown and Co., Boston, 1933, or Winning, James R., *Behind These Walls*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1933.

himself to the complex conditions of one of our great cities. Here, again, if civilization does not give constructive guidance, the very complexity of the life in the midst of which he lives will be too much for him. Finally, consider the foreigner who in his own country has never had a chance to vote, a simple peasant man who worked hard and had to be content to have someone else govern him. He comes to this country and finds after a few years that the vote is put into his hands. Too often, instead of the patriotic citizens of the country guiding him, teaching him the spirit of our institutions, and preparing him for good citizenship, some political boss in a great city helps him get his naturalization papers and then through money or influence controls his vote. One such man wrote back to his friend in the old country that this was a great country, a land of great opportunity; a man could get two dollars for his vote on election day! This man was not a criminal in any true sense of the word; he was simply an uninstructed citizen, much less culpable than the man who bought his vote.

When we consider that all these conditions surround every one of us from childhood to old age, that many persons are somewhat defective in intellect, that others are lacking in education, and that our civilization is so organized that there are great gulfs between the opportunities of different groups; when we remember how our economic life puts upon us stresses that only a sound mind can meet and bear successfully, and only good training in adjustment to these complex conditions can prepare one to face them as a good citizen should, we conclude that it is remarkable that the rate of criminality is not higher. The marvel is that so few fall by the wayside, in the face of the discordant values and the consequent variations in the patterns of behavior in the subgroups. Let us now turn to consider some of the methods that society has devised to deal with the delinquent and to prevent maladjustment.

Methods of dealing with the delinquent and the criminal

The police. The officers of the law are the first persons who deal with the criminal. Their chief functions are to preserve the peace and to arrest offenders and bring them to trial. In this country until recently we have had very few police schools, and consequently most of the men are untrained, except for what training they get on the job. Only in exceptional cases has a policeman any special training such as the doctor gets for his profession. The policeman is often appointed because of his friendship with some politician, or if a sheriff, he is elected by popular vote. If a town constable, he may be appointed by the mayor or elected by the city

council or the town board. So long as our civilization was a rural or semirural civilization, almost any man could be a good peace officer. With the growth of our large cities, however, the responsibilities of the policeman have very greatly multiplied. If he is to fulfill his responsibilities, he must be a very high type of man, trained for very difficult duties, and selected with the greatest care. The office of policeman is not looked upon with great favor; very few college men look forward to a career in the police. The office is looked down upon because of the kind of men who have been appointed to it in the past. The policeman is the butt of all the jesters and is a favorite theme for the cartoonist. He is usually pictured as flat of foot, large of person, and fat of head. Yet in this man's hands lie the protection of the person and property of the people of our cities. He must know the law and the court decisions as to what a policeman may do and what he may not do. He may be the bogeyman with which to scare children, or he may be a constructive force among the children and youth on his beat. He may turn the erring feet of youth into the paths of good conduct, or through his bungling and lack of understanding of human nature he may be the means whereby a reckless youth is turned to destruction. He must not only arrest offenders but he must also discover evidence on which a trial can be based. He must understand criminals and their ways, but he must also understand the psychology of the noncriminal population.

A new day is dawning for the policeman. We have just begun to appreciate his great opportunities and responsibilities. Some day we shall select and train him with much greater care; perhaps then we shall look upon him with due respect as we regard the schoolteacher or the banker. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is training policemen sent by cities, and these in turn often conduct police schools when they return home. At present the schools of the F.B.I. train men chiefly in methods of investigation. Much more than that is needed. A few universities are coöoperating with municipal police systems in giving in-service courses.

It has been charged that at the present time policemen make as many criminals as they catch. Without question most of them do not know how to handle juveniles, and many do not understand how to get along with adults. When the policeman comes into his own and measures up to his opportunities, he will be one of society's finest agents for the prevention of crime as well as for its detection and punishment.

The courts. After a man is arrested, he is either placed in jail to await trial or is let out on bond. In due time he comes before the court for trial. He pleads either guilty or not guilty; if the latter, he stands trial for the

charge against him. As our courts are organized at the present time in this country, the trial is a legal battle between the prosecutor and the defender. The judge is pretty much an umpire in a game. He conducts the game according to time-worn rules of procedure, many of which seem to be quite outworn. The statute covering the offense tells the judge within what limits he may sentence the man if he is found guilty. The jury hears the evidence and in some states judges even of the law as well as of the facts of the case. It decides whether the man is guilty or not guilty and in some states determines the punishment. In case the man is acquitted, the whole matter is ended, but if he is convicted, the law provides for appeals on the part of his attorney to a higher court, on the theory that every chance should be given to the man to prove himself innocent. However, in the course of time so many technicalities in regard to the rules of evidence and procedure have been developed that it is very difficult to convict a man if he is able to hire good lawyers, and easy if he is not properly advised as to his rights. A study in St. Louis County, Missouri, illustrates some of these difficulties. Out of 443 for whom warrants were issued, 163 were finally sentenced, of whom 137 pleaded guilty. Could we study the number of appeals and the disposition of the cases on appeal, and could we look into the minds of those who escaped punishment, as well as those who were punished, we should have a more adequate picture of the failure of the courts in the administration of criminal justice. Then we should be prepared to appreciate former President Taft's statement that the administration of criminal justice in the United States is a disgrace.

Here and there, however, states are making improvements in the criminal procedure which give promise of making the courts more adequate to their social purposes. Some are making use of clinics to study the individual who is on trial. Some courts and correctional institutions have laboratories to determine how the convicts shall be treated in order to fit the treatment more perfectly to the needs of each individual. In several cities the juvenile courts have the services of expert psychologists and psychiatrists to aid them in determining what to do with the juveniles who come before these courts. In Detroit a clinic is connected with the court to study each adult before sentence. In Massachusetts the Briggs Law provides for an examination before sentence of each one accused of a serious crime. Thus, step by step, science is being introduced into the determination of the nature of the offender in order that the institutions provided by society for his treatment may better perform their duty. We shall not get far, however, until we limit the function of the court to the determination

of the guilt or innocence of the man and, after conviction, commit him with an indefinite sentence to a scientifically qualified board of treatment. The Youth Correction Act, formulated by the American Law Institute, and at present adopted with adaptations to the situation in California, Minnesota and Wisconsin, is a promising experiment in that direction. The model act as formulated by the Institute is limited to offenders below the age of twenty-one. The judge has discretion to sentence those guilty of a crime that carries a penalty of less than death or life imprisonment and more than thirty days to the Youth Correction Authority to dispose of as it thinks best after carefully considering all the facts in the case.¹⁹

Probation. Probation is another device to mitigate the maladjustment of criminal justice to the needs of the individual. We adhere to the old theory that the lawmaker should say just what treatment should be handed out to each individual who contravenes a certain law. However, that has worked so unjustly that we have devised *probation*, by which the judge is empowered in certain cases to use his discretion as to whether he will send a convicted man to an institution, or whether, in view of all his characteristics and the circumstances surrounding the commission of the act, he might not better suspend sentence and put the man in charge of some one who will give him careful supervision. If probation is carefully used and applied only to those who give promise of doing well at liberty under supervision, and if the probation officers are properly qualified persons who take an active, sympathetic, and wise interest in the person committed to their charge, probation is a most beneficial contrivance. The man is saved the stigma of a prison sentence, is put to work, and his earnings are devoted to his family or saved for himself; moreover, he himself may be rehabilitated.

Juvenile reformatories. Juvenile reformatories were devised to remove from prison juvenile offenders. They are now usually called "industrial schools." The history of these institutions is not reassuring. Too often those in charge of them have been men and women without special qualifications for their difficult tasks. As a consequence, they have been largely juvenile prisons. In a study made by Dr. Miriam Van Waters a number of years ago of twenty-eight girls' industrial schools in the United States, she found only six that were doing constructive work. In all these six cases the schools were manned by people who understood children and youth. Under such circumstances they are valuable institutions, because there are some children who have failed on probation and who do need an

¹⁹ The American Law Institute, *Official Draft, Youth Correction Authority*, Philadelphia, June 22, 1940, pp. 11, 12.

institution in which they may be trained for good citizenship, but otherwise they are worthless.

Adult reformatories. Adult reformatories were started in this country with the establishment of the Elmira Reformatory for men in New York State in 1876. This was an experiment to apply reformatory methods to young men. It was limited in its original intention to first offenders who had committed certain offenses. Schools were established to teach the elements of an education and certain trades. At one time thirty-odd trades were taught. In addition, the attempt was made through military drill and physical exercise, medical service, religious services, and certain classes in citizenship and ethics to bring before the young men new ideals, to establish new habits, and to prepare them to go out into the world as useful citizens. Elmira was copied in a large number of states, in most places with somewhat indifferent success. With a few rather notable exceptions these institutions have turned out to be merely young men's prisons. Here, as with the industrial schools, the difficulty was that those in charge of them were persons not fitted by native endowment or by training to handle these difficult problem cases.

The indeterminate sentence. Another method that has been devised to adjust treatment to the individual offender is the indeterminate sentence. Unfortunately the term is a misnomer. In all of our states it is not absolutely indeterminate but is limited by statute to the period between a minimum and a maximum, the latter being the sentence the offender would have received had he been sentenced for a determinate period, and is applied only to those who commit certain types of crime or are below a certain age or are first offenders. It must be admitted, however, that it has meant the retention of some men in prison longer and others for a shorter period than under a definite sentence. Therefore even the limited indeterminate sentence means some social advance. What is needed is that the sentence should be absolutely indeterminate, that is, release should depend upon the judgment of those who know the man best and are qualified to determine when he is fit to return to society.

Parole. Closely connected with the indeterminate sentence is parole, another method of individualizing the treatment of offenders. While probation means putting the man under supervision *before* he is sent to an institution, parole means that *after* a man has spent a certain length of time within an institution and has shown the possibility of his doing well on the outside, he is released under the control of parole officers. Here again inefficient officers have been the rule. Without special training for their tasks, they have frequently not understood how to handle the men

under them, and they have been too few in number to have frequent and effective contact with those paroled. Often men have been paroled who should never have been admitted to parole outside the institution, and as a consequence this method has not had the hoped-for success. The legal limits on parole, such as that a man may not be paroled until he shall have served half of a definite sentence or the minimum of an indefinite, have hampered its usefulness. In spite of all these drawbacks, however, parole as a method of individualizing treatment has great possibilities under an adequate number of well-trained officers. No one knows how large a percentage of those paroled have done well. Originally the estimates were as high as 85 per cent. More careful study has reduced the percentage. But even if 50 per cent, or even a third, of the men do well on parole, it probably has justified itself. With carefully selected men for parole, with plenty of qualified officers, parole would be one of our most promising devices for the reclamation of offenders. In 1943 every State in the Union, except Mississippi, had a parole system. Space does not permit detailed discussion of the different systems.²⁰

The prison. The last penal and correctional institution to be discussed is the prison. To this institution are committed those convicted of the more serious crimes and those above a certain age who are not eligible for the reformatory. Its history has been a sad one. In spite of clear statements in the statutes that it shall serve a reformatory as well as a punitive purpose, it is usually run under the strictest discipline; often the rule of silence between the men prevails; and frequently it is officered by men who have no special qualifications for the task, either by nature or by training. From the standpoint of reforming men and restoring them to society as good citizens, it has been a colossal failure. Even the highest officer in a prison, the warden, usually has had no special educational background for his work. The lesser officials are even less adequately prepared. Hired for a wage that will not attract many capable men, the guards for the most part are uninspiring, repressive automatons. We shall not have better prisons until we pay as high salaries to a warden as we pay to a university president, and select him as carefully. Perhaps we should not expect that the same standards would be applied to guards as to college and university professors; nevertheless it is probable that until we pick these lesser prison officials with as great care as we select university teachers, or at least highschool teachers, we shall not get far in making our prisons really reformatory institutions.

²⁰ For details see American Parole Association, *Parole Directory with Brief Digest of the Pardon and Parole Laws*, New York, November, 1943, pp. v-x.

The consequence of our blundering methods of handling delinquents is shown in the fact that our prisons go on year after year failing to reform half, or even more, of the men in them. Too often the history of a prisoner shows that he has come first into the juvenile court, where he has been put on probation. Failing on probation, he is sent to the industrial school for boys. After release there, he finds his way to the reformatory for men, and finally he winds up in the prison. It should be recognized that in the prison we have two classes: (1) those who ought to be subject to custodial care as long as they live and ought never to be permitted outside and (2) a class of young men who have seen the error of their ways and have decided to reform. These men ought to be let out into society as soon as they are fit to return. Every effort within the institution should be bent to prepare these promising offenders for social life. Often the second class must under our rigid laws stay in prison too long, and too many of the former cannot be retained long enough. At present over 90 per cent of prison inmates are released into society.

Perhaps the day will come when we shall apply science to discover which of our offenders are such by reason of their native incapacity or by warps in their nature. These we should treat accordingly and use our best efforts to retrain them for normal life on the outside. Those who cannot thus be retrained should be kept as custodial cases during their lives. Under our laws usually these can get out in a certain length of time. They have not been reformed; they look forward to following their criminal careers when they are released and ought never to be released until it is certain they have reformed.

As we look back carefully over the whole history of the treatment of the criminal, we see that here society has made one of its most dismal failures. It fails in its detention of the offender before trial, and in his trial. That failure is repeated when he is sent to an institution that is not properly equipped in personnel and methods to exert society's pressure to change his way of life. We are only beginning to apply science in treatment. We often fail by putting the wrong person on probation, by letting the wrong persons out on parole, by giving improper supervision to those who are released, by giving them a sentence the length of which is set by the legislators rather than by an administrative body, and by releasing them whether they are fit to return to society or not. Often we do not apply good educational measures and principles to the treatment of these men whom we are trying to reform. If we applied the same ingenuity and science to the treatment of criminals that we do to the breeding and training of horses and dogs, we might get farther.

After all, the place to begin on this problem of crime is at the beginning. Here the old saying is true that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. If our study of the matter has shown that the lack of playgrounds makes for criminality, that slums produce offenders against society, that the school is failing to set the feet of young people upon the right path, that even the church is failing in the great task of directing young people into the paths of social righteousness, that our economic system sometimes provides the occasion that drives men into crime, and that our political system promotes criminality rather than prevents it, we know the points at which the attack on the problem of crime should be made. Steadily year by year, as we obtain more complete knowledge in psychology, in sociology, in education, in religion, in politics, in economics, we must apply this knowledge to adjusting the conditions of life to the capacities of each person so as to enable him to function in the very best possible way according to his natural capacity.

From the facts about heredity we should learn that there are certain people born into the world who are unable to function under the present organization of our social life. Eugenics suggests that certain of these people should be selected for nonpropagation. The feeble-minded, certain classes of the insane, epileptics, the mentally abnormal, and other defectives challenge us to give our attention to this problem of the racial stock. Some people are less capable of adapting themselves to the social requirements of life than others. Either we must eliminate those incapable of making adjustments, or we should adjust society's requirements to them rather than make demands upon them which they are incapable of meeting.

The social pathology of criminality

Effects upon the family. Consider the disorganization in social relationships brought about by the conviction of the delinquent and the criminal. Think first of the effects upon the family. If the delinquent is a child, the prestige of the family is sadly injured; his parents feel that they are disgraced; his brothers and sisters are looked down upon by the community. The family is harrowed because of this change in its status in the community, and its morale is often seriously damaged.

If the one convicted is a bread earner upon whom others are dependent, the *economic status* of the family is very seriously affected. Consider the situation in which a wife and mother is left with a family of children, whose father is sent to a penal or correctional institution. In but a few states is there any provision for a mother's pension to care for the prisoner's

family. Unless the family has independent means, it becomes dependent upon public or private agencies for relief. The husband and father, whatever crucifixion of spirit he may experience, is assured food, clothing, and housing. Frequently the family, however, must undergo severe privation. The man lives among those of his kind and shares a common fate. *His wife and family are socially isolated and frequently shunned.* The frequency with which divorce is secured by women whose husbands are sent to prison testifies to the terrific strain placed upon the marital relationships by the conviction of the spouse.

Stand in the lobby of a state prison just before Christmas or Easter; watch the crowds of people coming to bring to their sons, husbands, and fathers some gifts for the occasion. What tragedies lie back of the scene! What lonely hours, what shrinking from public gaze, what shame! what sacrifices have been made by those left on the outside in order to bring some light and hope to members of the family hidden behind the grim walls!

Demoralization of the prisoner. Reflect upon what occurs, by reason of his *loss of status*, to the spirit of the man or boy sent to prison or reformatory. Here is a society the spirit of which is altogether different from that on the outside. The inmates are beings apart, treated as no other group of men in all the world. Frequently the laws of the state forbid the officers and guards to have any conversation with the prisoners except upon necessary business. Isolated in cells through many hours of the day and night, forbidden, in many places, to have any social intercourse with their fellow beings, they have impressed upon them the loss of their status. An individual without status is not a person.

They are *bound to their fellow prisoners* by the consciousness of likeness in disaster, by being shut away from the outside world, and by never being allowed to forget that they are creatures different from their fellow men. Deprived of liberty, they have few rights which need be respected. Conscious of the loss of status in "the great society," they struggle to obtain standing among their fellow prisoners. Hence the self-glorification by describing their criminal exploits and by hating the "screws" (guards) and the "bulls" (police), the representatives of noncriminal society. They build up, therefore, attitudes essentially nonsocial and frequently antisocial. They come out under the stigma of disgrace and habituated to social reactions which are quite other than those they will need for successful contact with men on the outside. No wonder prisoners have grave difficulty in readjusting themselves to social life!

Shut away for years from the economic struggle, without the operation

of the economic motive, frequently not permitted to do a hard day's work, physically degenerated by long confinement and inactivity, they come out into a world of competitive struggle *unfitted for economic life* in a free world. They have been sheltered, fed, and clothed without the thought or effort required on the outside, to face a suspicious and hostile world. Then we wonder why prisoners do not make good!

Furthermore, the psychological effects of their incarceration have often been the destruction of that spirit which is needed in the world outside. Long hours they have brooded upon their troubles. *Their initiative has been stifled.* They have become more or less automatons. Ambition has been crushed. Hope, long deferred, has made the heart sick. They come out not only enfeebled in body but deteriorated in mind. In too many cases they are unable to meet the perplexities of life.

Can anyone doubt that crime involves tremendous cost to all normal social relationships, both in the family of the man concerned and in the man himself? Did we wish to cripple for life the physical and social capabilities of men, we could hardly devise a better system.

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Exercises

1. In our law what is the difference between a delinquent and a criminal?
2. On what theory is a child below a certain age considered incapable of committing a crime?
3. Why does the text define a crime as an act which is *believed* to be injurious to society?
4. What are some of the reasons for the large number of repeaters among the inmates of our prisons and reformatories?

5. What is meant by the statement of the text that the physical environment acts indirectly rather than directly in producing criminal conduct?
6. Explain the statement in the text that adult prisoners are undersized, while juvenile delinquents are physically overdeveloped.
7. Why cannot crime be inherited?
8. Explain why some individuals pressed by severe economic need commit crime while others do not.
9. In the present state of knowledge are we able to state the relative weight of the various crimogenic factors?
10. In order to make our present methods of dealing with the criminal and the delinquent effective, what changes would you suggest in: (a) the police system, (b) the courts, (c) probation, (d) juvenile and adult reformatories, (e) the sentence, (f) parole, (g) prisons, (h) aftercare of the ex-convict?
11. What objections can be made to the Youth Correction Authority Act?
12. Prepare a paper setting forth the provisions of the law in your state for handling (a) juvenile offenders, (b) youthful offenders, (c) adult offenders.

part 8 Recapitulation and the forward view

chapter 32 Summary and conclusions

In the realm of social experience it is often a temptation to be unscientific. The cynic takes the view that social and cultural science can never explain or analyse anything of significance. The philosopher often holds that deduction, without investigation, from certain "self-evident" principles or premises will alone light the way through the jungle of social problems. And many an otherwise enlightened citizen, noting that mankind has survived thus far by rule-of-thumb procedures in social life, feels that such will do for the future. Yet there is among North Americans a yearning for orderly and rational methods, and these characteristics perhaps are, as Myrdal¹ has pointed out, essential features of the national *ethos*. Certainly the scientific approach characterizes much of American culture, particularly those aspects concerned with adjustment to the natural environment and with the handling of material objects and physical forces. It is not too much to say that the present prominence of the United States as a leading world power is due to the Americans' relatively advanced mastery and comparatively wide application of the principles and methods of physical science. The scientific approach, in short, seems to be consistent with general American culture and congenial to the American character, at least when dealing with the material aspects of experience. On the whole Americans appear to like systematic and verifiable explanations and they prefer, although they may not always practice, orderly and organized approaches to the solution of problems. These characteristics seem to exist along with a tendency toward individualism, a high valuation of freedom and liberty, and a professed abhorrence of regimentation. Despite boastful peans to the "American Way of Life" most Americans are aware that their own culture and society are not perfect and they yearn for cultural and social readjustments which would render certain problems of living less onerous. Perhaps it is a healthy sign that in the United States there is no unawareness of "problems" and no dearth of panaceas for their solution.

¹ Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1944.

The question is, Can social and cultural science be of more service than the non-scientific methods presently in use for the solution of problems in many areas of our social life? At the end of a long introductory book on Cultural Sociology it behooves us to take stock briefly of the present status and future potentialities of the science of man in society.

In general the usefulness of a science, if well developed and soundly applied, is that it enables us to understand past events, explain present events, and predict future events with more reliability than any other approach. If a science does any of these things, it is worthy of the energy put into it, but all three objectives are desirable and are consistently linked together in the most useful type of science. Of greatest concern to the modern world, of course, is the ability of a science reliably to explain what goes on in the present and to predict what may happen in the immediate future. Is social science in a position to do any of these things and are there reasonable grounds to believe that with continued development it will do them better as time goes by? Our general answer to both of these questions is affirmative, but with certain qualifications. Among the qualifications, the following should be pointed up. This is that "science" of any kind is neither a personality nor an autonomous force: its future and its present depend upon human beings. Therefore the usefulness of social science rests upon the willingness and ability of specialized scientists and laymen alike to do the work necessary to success.

In the first chapter we mentioned a distinction between historical and generalizing science. The former, even in sociology, has had considerable success in analysing and explaining affairs after the event. We have fair explanations of "what happened" in the past regarding many events of sociological interest. It is no depreciation of the labors of historical investigators to state the old truism that "hindsight is easier than foresight." But it is more to the point to emphasize that there are two types of scientific investigation. On the one hand, it is possible to gather facts, to verify them, and to relate them together in such a way as to provide a valid (or plausible), but *unique*, explanation. For example, the events in the life of Abraham Lincoln may be searched out and their relationships one to another analysed. Such a procedure "explains" the personality and historical role of Lincoln to some extent, but since no other person had exactly the same career as he, and since no other historical person displayed exactly the same personality and took exactly the same part in historical affairs as he did, the result is *unique*. The value for the present day or for the future, aside from the satisfaction of curiosity, emerges only when one finds certain facets of Lincoln's personality or place in history which may be *generalized*.

One must remember, however, that it is illegitimate scientifically to generalize from single cases. Lincoln, for example, was a tall, gaunt man who was frequently morose, but given to occasional flashes of dry, unconventional wit. Does this mean that all tall, gaunt men are melancholy, but adept with a rare "off color" joke? Obviously a great many cases, in addition to Lincoln, must be investigated before such a conclusion is justifiable.

In the use of science for the solving of problems it is generalizing science which we need. We require reliable principles which, when applied to phenomena under a given set of conditions, will explain them as they exist and enable us to predict their future course. Ideally the principles applicable at one time and place would be equally applicable upon suitable analysis to any time or place. Let us now review briefly certain seemingly "safe" generalizations we seem to be able to make about man and his social life. We do not attempt to be exhaustive in this place. The present discussion is more in the nature of an attempt to stimulate the reader, first, to review the material already presented with a view to grasping fairly reliable conclusions, and, second, to continue the exploration of social science material in order to appreciate its possible usefulness and perhaps to add something to it himself.

It would in the long run be useful to set all of these "principles" out in the form of a formal logico-deductive system, because in such a form their implications and the corollaries and deductions which could be drawn from them would emerge clearly and could in turn be followed up for investigation. Such a procedure does not appear to be pedagogically expedient in an elementary book of this kind, and, in any event, would, if properly performed, require another volume to itself. In connection with the few informally stated generalizations following, however, the reader should remember that each one implies derivative generalizations which may not be explicitly stated. He should try to think through these implications and to subject them to empirical testing. These, then, are some of the things regarding man and his life in society by which science is willing, on the basis of present knowledge, to take its stand.

In the first place, man is an animal, and this implies that he requires for his existence the same *general* conditions required by animal life in general: food, water, air, appropriate conditions for reproduction, etc. All of this will be true so long as animals in general maintain their present characteristics and so long as man remains an animal.

The human species is a special kind of animal requiring, in addition to those required by all animal life, certain special conditions if it is to continue to survive. For example, the human animal is unusually susceptible

to high and low ranges of temperature, unless its skin is artificially protected; in the mature state it is capable of sex activity at all times of the year and almost continuously seeks sexual satisfaction; it is omnivorous or capable of being trained to eat anything not immediately lethal or poisonous; its locomotion is on two legs, leaving the two fore limbs, which are very adaptable, free for manipulatory activity; etc. Most important is the fact that this animal is provided with a large and complex brain capable of forming concepts and that it is able verbally and otherwise to transfer these ideas and concepts from one individual to the other by means of symbols. Associated is the fact that the animal is not governed by innate, goal-directed patterns of response, but that the great majority of its adaptive responses are learned, modifiable, and adjustable to changes in surrounding conditions. Finally the process of reproduction is such that the infant can normally survive only under social conditions involving care and protection provided by older individuals; although social life may not be absolutely necessary for the survival of the adult animal, the fact is that because of childhood conditioning and for other reasons, the normal human individual spends all of his life in the society of his fellows: social life, in short, is the normal human condition. All of these things will continue to be true until human beings either become extinct or evolve into some other type of animal.

We know that human biological evolution has apparently conformed to the same general principles which govern all changes in species. One characteristic of evolution in general which is to be found in the record of human development is slowness. The record shows that no significant evolutionary changes have appeared among humans during the past 25,000 years. There is, then, no reason to expect rapid evolutionary changes in the immediate future. Barring some unforeseen interference with the evolutionary process we may expect to see human affairs in the hands of essentially the same species for at least several thousand years to come. The most probable "interference with evolutionary process" we may foresee at present is self extinction of the species through war or other man-made catastrophe. This possibility is, of course, a social and cultural problem, the most outstanding problem of human history.

As regards features significant for social life and culture the species is undifferentiated within itself. Hereditary differences in appearance do exist whereby it has been possible to classify the members of the species into races, but the criteria of race, so far as science has been able to show, seem to have no correlation with intelligence, learning ability, inventiveness or other characteristics functionally significant in social life and culture.

Furthermore, the intertypes which defy clear-cut classification into any of the recognizable racial categories are almost as numerous in the modern world as the "pure" racial types and their numbers seem to be increasing at the expense of the pure types. Although the differences in appearance between races have no fundamental function they have been used as symbols in some societies whereby persons are sorted into separate categories and assigned distinct social roles. The symbolic function of racial differences is therefore the only important one for cultural sociology, but in any given case it depends upon cultural definition. Analyses and predictions regarding "race" problems, then, must be made on the basis of cultural, rather than biological, principles.

Human beings everywhere normally live and carry on their life activities in groups. The minimal definition of a social group is: two or more individuals in position to interact with each other. Since interaction means interstimulation and interresponse, a social group is not only a physical aggregation but also a dynamic psychosocial system. We have discussed the various conditions necessary for interaction and have classified some of the types of interaction which may result in such conditions. On the basis of such criteria it is possible to make a certain range of predictions regarding future activities of the members of the group either as individuals or as a collective unit. However, in addition to conditions of interaction, type of interaction, and such matters, the scientist should also know in detail the composition of the group and its cultural patterns, if his predictions are to be of high reliability.

Large, more or less autonomous and self-sufficient groups are called societies. They in turn are always subdivided into a number of constituent subgroups formed on the basis of certain interests which tend to draw their respective members together. Among general group-forming interests are those concerned with locality and territory, family and kinship, and physical characteristics, especially age and sex. Groups based on some form or other of these interests are found in all societies. A fourth type of group is that based primarily on interests invented and developed in the culture. Groups of this general type are also practically universal, but the specific interests involved may vary from society to society depending upon the advancement and orientation of the cultural system in any given case.

Every human society has a culture, by which is meant that the members follow in more or less coordinated fashion certain common patterns of habit which are called customs. Since the species lacks significant numbers or kinds of biologically inherited patterns of adjustment, culture takes their place. Two general types of adaptation or adjustment must be provided

by all cultures: (1) environmental adaptation, i.e., adjustment of the needs and wants of the group members to the possibilities presented by the natural environment; (2) social adaptation, or adjustment of the members of the group to other human beings, that is, to each other and to the members of other groups or societies. Although a single species, mankind exhibits a wide variety of cultures.

Numerous cultural principles have been discussed and need not be repeated here. It is only necessary to mention again that a scientific knowledge of culture places in our hands a powerful tool for the prediction of individual and group behavior. Since culture is invented, discovered, and learned by human beings, psychological principles of learning and behavior must be utilized in our explanations and predictions. These together with socalled purely sociological and cultural principles have been combined into a body of sociocultural theory which in one form or another seems to give us our only reliable scientific prospect of predicting social events or explaining them. Such theory is, of course, merely a refinement and extension of the expectations upon which we base our daily activities: each of us "reads" his own culture and expects others to interact with him in conformity to its patterns. By familiarizing ourselves with the content and organization of other cultures we may make similar, and more far-reaching, predictions regarding the activities of the people who practice them. In a word our scientific understanding of a people or a society depends upon our knowledge of their natural conditions, their social conditions, and their culture. Anyone who has glanced through the preceding pages of this book will realize, however, that the acquisition of precise knowledge of these matters is, in any given case, a complicated process. It is well to bear in mind that the determination of facts and the proper application of principles in all other fields of science are likewise seldom simple procedures.

Although the basic units of a culture are custom-patterns (mental, representational and actional), these patterned habits of the people tend to be organized into larger systems of activity, thought, fantasy and tradition. Each culture is itself a total system of custom, more or less well organized. But within the total configuration smaller subsystems covering certain areas of social experience develop. These are called social institutions. We have discussed some of the more common types found in many cultures as well as in our own, for example, family and kinship, economic, political, and religious institutions. And we have devoted special attention to analysis of some of their salient features in our own cultural tradition in order to promote that understanding of "what is going on" which is one of the

goals of science. All culture, since it is learned, is capable of change. The alterations now in progress in some of our own traditional institutions have alarmed many a citizen. A sober scientific examination of these changes, however, enables us to understand them and to assess their direction in the future. Understanding is, of course, one of the greatest enemies of anxiety, and "to be forewarned is to be forearmed."

Changes and, on occasion, instabilities in a social situation are often associated with what have been called "social processes." These are of two general types: associative processes, making for greater social unity and integration; and dissociative processes, tending toward division and opposition within society. It is necessary to be able to recognize the symptoms of each and to understand the general conditions under which they operate, if one is to understand the trend of developments in a given society or, perhaps, to take effective measures to alter the situation.

Each society endeavors to maintain social and cultural stability by mechanisms of "social control," which are really social procedures whose purpose is to induce individuals and subgroups to follow the approved patterns of the culture. Since a minimum degree of conformity is required for the functioning of any society the social engineer and the academic student alike must be familiar with methods of control and the principles on which they operate.

Human individuals differ among themselves in physical and psychological traits. Since the functioning of a society depends upon a certain uniformity and coordination in the activities of its members, the mechanisms whereby the individual is "socialized" are of crucial importance to an understanding of social life and problems. Many a society has disintegrated through failure properly to train or to motivate its members to follow the current patterns of the culture. A chapter has been devoted to the basic principles of socialization, and another to the relationship between culture and the individual. The processes whereby a society moulds a "raw individual" into a "person" are among the most fascinating in the field of cultural sociology. Here again the predictive value of science is of utility, for, if we know in detail the culture in which he was reared, we are able to predict with fair reliability the "average man's" outlook on life, his wants and ambitions, and his activities in situations falling within the ken of his culture.

Finally, we have explored some of the pathologies of social life, particularly in our own society. Conditions of poverty and of crime, for example, reflect some of the most glaring maladjustments of our own culture and are often regarded as among the major internal problems of our society. Failure

to make satisfactory adjustments to the patterns of other societies, international pathology, is the outstanding world problem of today. We have endeavored to show that merely calling attention to a "problem" does not often do much to solve it. Phenomena, from the scientific point of view, are always correlated with conditions. "If A, then B." Hence our emphasis has been placed upon analysis of conditions producing "problems" and upon methods for changing such conditions.

In summary, there does not seem to be much doubt that social science "knows enough" about society and culture to manipulate effectively many of the conditions under which men live together. Manipulation of any kind, however, is inextricably tied up with the question of values and goals. The techniques of science, considered simply as procedures for manipulating conditions, can usually be applied just as easily to the achievement of what are commonly thought of as socially undesirable goals as for general welfare. It would be no more difficult to develop a scientific plan for creating a slave state than for producing a democratic society. Physical science can produce atomic energy which can be used either for destruction or for building.

We do not mean to imply that there is nothing more to be learned in social science, for we would be the first to admit that this science is but imperfectly developed. Rather than lamenting the *lacunae*, however, it seems to us more important to emphasize the present possibilities. Modern psychosociological techniques and principles are used continuously in business planning, in advertising, in propaganda work during war time, in labor and industrial relations, in colonial government, in city and regional planning, etc., etc. Cultural sociology is by no means the helpless infant some cynics would have us believe. It is quite capable of tinkering with men's lives and thought, and very effectively, as anyone who is aware of the part it played under the Nazi regime in Europe can see for himself.

Science can be the enemy of man as well as his servant. This is particularly true of social science, for it deals with the patterns of behavior and the conditions of social life under which men live, rather than with inanimate subjects or lower forms of life. Because of this *cultural sociology seemingly should be the most democratic of all sciences*. It should be understood, at least in a general way, by all the people and it should be utilized in the interest of all the people."

Once the common man comes to realize that the customs and institutions under which he lives are neither sacred nor immutable, but are actually mechanisms for bringing him the satisfactions of life, he will realize that social science is his servant and that social scientists are capable of easing

the pains of the body politic in somewhat the same way as physicians assuage the distress of the body physical. And, more important, he will realize that scientific planning, just as scientific hygiene and preventive medicine, is capable of averting many of the social ills before they arise.

There was a time, even in our own tradition, when words were believed to do the work now done by scientific procedures. This is still true in some cultures. For example, in one village in Guatemala before men start to build a house a medicine man utters a charm the purpose of which is to prevent evil spirits and "bad airs" from weakening the house and causing it to fall down. In one community in Peru one of the authors saw a man before starting to plant his field deliver a rhetorical lecture to all witches (none were visibly present) warning them, on pain of dire counter magic, not to put a blight on his crops. In our culture architects and scientifically educated agriculturalists no longer rely upon exhortations and imprecations to control the course of events; they have learned that the quiet application of scientific principles and techniques is more reliable. Yet the magic word is still relied upon by some in the field of social affairs. Empty polemics, the



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"Insomnia, Johnson?"

AND WITH THIS QUESTION WE COME TO THE END OF THE BOOK

Sociology in cartoons

~~244~~
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830

Summary and conclusions

strident voice, the thunderous phrase, the verbal appeal to the past are in some quarters regarded as the necessary prelude to and accompaniment of social action. We do not argue against free speech, but we believe that in matters of crucial social importance the people will come to demand that free speech be better informed and that it be accompanied by disciplined scientific thinking as well.

Index of authors cited

- Abbott, E., 363, 366
Abrams, Ray H., 630
Alexander, Fritz, 815
Alihan, M. A., 258
Allee, W. C., 38, 258
Allen, F. L., 189
Allport, Floyd H., 326
Alverdes, Friedrich, 38, 43, 44
Anastasi, A., 682
Anderson, John E., 663
Angell, Robert C., 207, 372
Aptekar, Herbert, 330
Arensberg, Conrad, 272
Ariëns Kappers, C. U., 75
Aristophanes, 616
Aristotle, 694
Arnold, Oren, 245
Arnold, Thurman, 295, 398
Aschaffenburg, Gustav, 815
Ashley-Montagu, M. F., 44, 57, 61, 63, 72, 330

Baber, Ray E., 372
Bagehot, Walter, 699, 731, 732
Bailey, J., 169
Bailey, P. J., 714
Baillie, Joanna, 616
Bain, Read, 556, 588
Baldwin, James Mark, 521, 643, 663
Ballard, Lloyd V., 326, 372, 424, 425
Barnes, Harry Elmer, 295, 398, 407, 482, 560, 583, 585, 609, 815
Bartlett, F. C., 682
Barzun, J., 61
Bascom, William R., 557, 586
Batchelor, J., 232
Bateson, Gregory, 329, 683, 684
Bawden, Arthur T., 56, 72
Bean, R. B., 69
Becker, Frances, 609
Becker, Howard, 207, 251, 315, 320, 322, 327, 350, 372, 459, 505, 521, 560, 583, 586, 589, 592, 609, 611, 613, 624, 704
Beebe, William, 80, 86, 43

Bell, Howard M., 257
Benedict, Ruth, 61, 157, 162, 163, 187, 459, 464, 467, 556, 669, 677, 678, 682, 684, 703
Benington, R. C., 70
Berge, Wendell, 387, 398
Berle, A. A., Jr., 769, 781
Bernard, Jessie, 872
Bernard, L. L., 710, 732
Bews, J. W., 258
Bidgood, Lee, 23
Bidney, David, 191
Billings, J. S., 365
Blackmar, F. W., 457
Blinn, Robert, 347
Bloch, Marc, 378
Blockman, N., 680
Blumenthal, A., 274
Blumer, Herbert, 17, 427
Blythe, Irene T., 415
Boas, Franz, 69, 163
Bodenhafer, Walter B., 350, 752
Bogardus, Emory S., 743
Bogoras, W., 231, 463
Bonger, William A., 815
Booth, Meyrick, 257
Borchard, Edwin M., 512, 521
Bossard, James H. S., 95, 350, 585
Bowen, Howard, 99
Bower, William C., 482
Bowers, R. V., 179
Bowman, Henry, 350
Brandes, E. W., 566
Breasted, James H., 559, 756
Breckenridge, S. P., 363, 366
Brelsford, V., 335
Bridgman, P. W., 16, 17
Britten, Florence Haxton, 344
Brodt, Glenn W., 37
Bromley, Dorothy Dunbar, 344
Bronner, Augusta, 801
Brown, B. Warren, 221
Brown, Francis J., 257
Brown, Lawrence Guy, 752.

- Bruhnes, J., 570
 Brunner, E. de S., 270, 273, 274, 276, 287,
 482
 Bunzel, Ruth, 308, 398
 Burgess, Ernest W., 208, 209, 221, 309,
 310, 350, 489, 494, 496, 503, 521, 557,
 588, 609, 638, 663, 733
 Burgess, John W., 431
 Burnham, James, 398
 Burt, Cyril L., 798
 Bushee, F A., 221, 309
- Cadbury, Edward, 366
 Caldwell, Erskine, 274
 Callicott, Mary S., 815
 Cantril, Hadley, 262
 Carnap, Rudolph, 23
 Carpenter, C. R., 28, 29
 Carpenter, Edward, 704
 Carpenter, Niles, 287, 331
 Carr, L. J., 176
 Carr-Saunders, A. M., 62, 70, 111
 Case, Clarence M., 494, 503
 Case, Shirley Jackson, 482
 Chafee, Zechariah, 732
 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, 61
 Chapin, F. Stuart, 315, 317, 318, 320, 326,
 409, 503, 585
 Chapline, W. R., 565
 Chapple, E. D., 191
 Charters, W. W., 427
 Chase, Stuart, 398, 769, 781
 Cheyney, Edward P., 556
 Child, C. M., 95
 Childs, Hardwood L., 212
 Cicero, 714
 Clague, Ewan, 125
 Clark, C. D., 309
 Clemmer, Donald, 815
 Cleveland, L. R., 43
 Coghill, G. E., 79
 Colbert, R. J., 108
 Cole, G. D. H., 326
 Commons, John R., 432, 433, 457
 Conant, James B., 733
 Cook, Lloyd A., 416, 428
 Cooley, Charles H., 199, 201, 211, 221,
 326, 487, 503, 592, 605, 609, 638, 650,
 663, 752
 Coon, C. S., 62, 68, 191
 Corey, Lewis, 297
 Cornill, C. H., 473
 Cottrell, Leonard S. Jr., 122, 345, 350
 Cuber, John F., 745
 Cummings, Parke, 461
 Cunningham, Bess V., 372
 Curry, W. B., 428
- Cushman, Robert E., 733
 Czaplicka, M. A., 463
- Dalton, H., 99
 Darwin, Charles, 591, 703
 Dashiell, J. F., 95
 Davenport, F. M., 482
 Davie, M. R., 280
 Davis, Allison, 80
 Davis, Jerome, 398, 457
 Davis, Katherine B., 343
 Davis, Kingsley, 111
 Dawson, Carl A., 326, 503, 521, 638
 Dealey, J. Q., 6
 Dedrick, Calvert, 743
 DeLaunay, Louis, 567
 Delboy, Emilio, 566
 Dennis, W., 683
 Deutsch, Albert, 344
 Dewey, John, 96, 162, 428
 Dittmer, C. G., 108
 Dixon, R. B., 163, 178, 191
 Doane, Robert R., 769, 781
 Dodd, Stuart C., 16, 17
 Dollard, John, 80, 86, 206, 237, 575, 659,
 660, 663
 Doob, Leonard W., 603
 Douglas, J. W. B., 88
 Douglass, H. Paul, 482
 Dowd, Jerome, 733
 Doyle, Conan, 27
 Dublin, Louis I., 133
 DuBois, Cora, 668, 683
 Dunham, H. W., 669, 679
 Dunlap, Knight, 96
 Durkheim, Emile, 165, 460, 518, 521, 585,
 593, 649, 663, 702, 733
 Duvall, Evelyn Millis, 372
- Eaton, Allen H., 524, 556
 Edman, Irwin, 96
 Edwards, Corwin, 398
 Eggen, Fred, 205, 237, 557, 586
 Ekwall, Robert G., 545
 Elderton, E. M., 365
 Eldridge, Charles David, 482
 Eliot, George, 616
 Elliott, Mabel A., 752
 Ellwood, Charles A., 663
 Elmer, M. C., 6, 373
 Elton, Charles, 258
 Ely, R. T., 295, 296
 Emerick, Charles F., 367
 Erickson, E. H., 684
 Eubank, E. E., 6, 23, 191, 221, 313, 326
 Everett, Helen, 733
 Eyre, E. J., 267

- Fairchild, H. P., 6, 101, 133
 Falk, I. S., 764, 774, 781
 Faris, Ellsworth, 200, 221
 Faris, R. E. L., 669, 679
 Firth, Raymond, 266
 Fletcher, J. F., 482
 Fleure, H. J., 72
 Flexner, Bernard, 785, 815
 Foley, J. P., 682
 Folsom, Joseph K., 343, 372
 Ford, C. S., 683
 Forde, C. Daryle, 96, 176, 191
 Forel, A., 44
 Fortune, Reo, 308
 Foster, Robert G., 372
 Fowler, W. W., 457
 Frampton, M. E., 373
 Frank, L. K., 326
 Frazier, E. Franklin, 254
 Freeman, G. L., 77, 78
 Freud, Sigmund, 655, 663
 Freyre, Gilberto, 568
 Friedman, Herbert, 44
 Fromm, Eric, 684
 Fry, Luther P., 477, 478
 Fulton, J. F., 77
- Garth, T. R., 69
 Gennep, Arnold van, 248
 Gesell, A., 79
 Gettys, Warner E., 284, 326, 503, 521, 638
 Giddings, Franklin H., 6, 326, 394, 431, 434, 457, 460, 503, 526, 556, 609, 638, 695, 721, 733, 743, 781
 Gilfillan, S. C., 176
 Gillen, F. J., 401
 Gillin, John, 33, 155, 157, 163, 169, 184, 192, 206, 212, 294, 330, 464, 536, 547, 566, 670, 680, 704, 743, 745, 752
 Gillin, John Lewis, 108, 128, 255, 257, 541, 556, 614, 616, 638, 644, 663, 763, 781, 785, 791, 815
 Gist, Noel P., 279, 281
 Givens, Meredith B., 357
 Globus, J. H., 77
 Glotz, Gustave, 559
 Glueck, Eleanore T., 816
 Glueck, Sheldon, 798, 816
 Gobineau, Arthur de, 60
 Goldenweiser, A. A., 23, 190, 237, 459, 463, 556
 Goodrich, Carter, 512, 521
 Goodsell, Willystine, 350, 372, 409
 Goror, Geoffry, 169, 684
 Gowen, E. B., 615, 638
 Grant, Madison, 61
- Green, J. R., 540, 556
 Greenberg, Joseph H., 557, 586
 Gregory, Edward W., 23
 Gregory, T. E., 99
 Griffin, Helen C., 122
 Groves, E. R., 350
 Gruener, Jeanette R., 753
 Gumplowicz, Ludwik, 431, 432, 457, 557, 638
 Guzman, Jessie P., 264
- Haddon, A. C., 62, 70
 Halbert, L. A., 279, 281
 Hall, F. S., 351
 Hallenbeck, W. C., 482
 Halverson, H. H., 79
 Hambly, W. D., 428
 Hamilton, G. V., 342, 343
 Hamilton, Walton H., 315, 607, 609
 Hankins, F. H., 61, 70, 246, 315, 326, 733
 Hansen, Philip M., 427
 Hardenburg, W. E., 566
 Harnack, Adolf von, 396, 482
 Harper, Ernest B., 350, 753
 Harris, Jack, 573
 Harrison, Shelby M., 750
 Hart, E. B., 350
 Hart, C. W., 6, 503, 506, 588, 609
 Hart, Hornell, 350, 638
 Haskins, Caryl P., 35
 Hauser, P. M., 123
 Healy, William, 796, 798, 800, 801, 816
 Hegel, G., 583
 Heitzler, J. O., 284, 313, 327
 Herrick, C. J., 77
 Herskovits, Melville, J., 173, 398, 536, 557, 586
 Hilgard, Ernest R., 80
 Hill, Reuben, 350, 372
 Hiller, E. T., 6, 557
 Hintze, Hedwig, 286
 Hoag, Ernest B., 798
 Hobhouse, L. T., 585
 Hogbin, H. I., 232, 401
 Hollingsworth, Harry L., 287
 Hooton, Earnest Albert, 44, 47, 50, 68, 72, 130, 134, 784, 816
 Hoover, Calvin B., 451, 457
 Horney, Karen, 602, 680
 House, Floyd N., 733
 Howells, William, 57, 72
 Hrdlička, Ales, 67
 Hull, C. L., 80, 96
 Hunt, J. McV., 80, 692
 Huntington, Ellsworth, 564
 Hurlin, Ralph G., 357
 Huxley, Julian S., 34, 62, 70

- Ives, George, 785, 816
- James, William, 463
 Janney, J. E., 248
 Jászi, Oscar, 398
 Jenks, Jeremiah W., 557
 Jennings, H. S., 96, 132, 134
 Jensen, Howard E., 23
 Jevons, W. Stanley, 8, 9
 Johnson, E. A. J., 398
 Johnson, Guy B., 254, 550
 Jones, Frederick Wood, 47
 Joseph, Alice, 683
 Judd, Charles R., 416
 Junker, W. J., 215
- Kallen, Horace M., 733
 Kandel, I. L., 407
 Kardiner, Abram, 192, 668, 683, 684, 692
 Kastler, Norman M., 108
 Kelbanoff, S. G., 680
 Keller, Albert G., 557
 Keyserling, Hermann, 350
 King, Irving, 469, 482
 Kinsey, Alfred C., 331, 344, 350
 Klapper, Paul, 428, 772
 Klineberg, Otto, 69, 72, 257
 Kluckhohn, Clyde, 80, 692
 Kocourek, Albert, 309
 Köhler, Wolfgang, 47
 Kolb, J. H., 270, 273, 276, 287
 Koo, T. Z., 578
 Krikorian, Y. H., 162
 Kroeber, A. L., 173, 174, 189, 537, 557, 602, 669
 Krogman, W. M., 44
 Kropotkin, P., 44, 703
 Krzywicki, Ludwik, 98, 267, 268
 Kuczynski, R. R., 111
 Kuhlen, R. G., 248
 Kulp, Daniel H., 237
 Kyk, Hazel, 372
- LaBarre, Weston, 464, 684, 752
 Landes, Ruth, 268, 684
 Landis, C., 679
 Landis, J. M., 733
 Landis, Paul H., 126, 134, 372
 Landman, J. H., 132, 134
 Landry, Robert, 426
 Lange, Johannes, 816
 Langford, H. D., 428
 LaPiere, Richard T., 327
 Lashley, K. S., 79
 Laski, Harold J., 733
 Lathrop, Julia, 760, 781
- Laubscher, B. J. F., 679
 Lauck, W. Jett, 557
 Laufer, B., 215
 Laurance, William L., 106
 Lehman, N. H., 248
 Leighton, Alexander H., 557
 Lerner, Max, 487
 Leven, Maurice, 760, 781
 Lichtenberger, James P., 347, 350
 Liefmann, Robert, 398
 Lind, A. W., 743
 Linton, Ralph, 89, 154, 163, 173, 185, 192, 234, 237, 253, 258, 327, 536, 539, 557, 562, 572, 583, 585, 658, 663, 683, 687, 692, 742, 752
 Lippmann, Walter, 733
 Livingston, Donald, 215
 Lorimer, Frank, 134
 Lotka, Alfred J., 133, 364
 Lowie, R. H., 164, 237, 241, 250, 257, 269, 377, 401, 459, 460, 482
 Lowrie, Donald, 805
 Lumley, Frederick E., 23, 609, 638, 710, 715, 717, 733
 Lumpkin, Katharine D., 372
 Lundberg, George A., 17
 Lynd, Helen M., 294
 Lynd, Robert S., 294
- MacCurdy, G. G., 72
 MacGregor, Gordon, 684
 MacIver, R. M., 6, 19, 144, 191, 267, 287, 292, 309, 315, 560, 561, 580, 585
 MacLachlan, John, 284
 MacLear, Anne B., 270
 Maddox, John Lee, 467
 Malinowski, B., 164, 375, 401, 682
 Maller, J. B., 602
 Malthus, T. Robert, 108
 Man, E. H., 249
 Mandelbaum, David G., 557, 576, 586
 Mannheim, Karl, 733
 Marden, Charles F., 245
 Markham, C. R., 249
 Marquis, Donald G., 80
 Marsh, C. S., 243
 Martín, Clyde E., 331, 344, 350
 Martin, Everett Dean, 287
 Martin, Rudolph, 44
 Maslow, A. H., 684
 Mason, Otis, T., 241, 257
 Mather, William G., Jr., 287
 Matheson, M. C., 366
 Maxwell, Bertram W., 457
 May, Geoffrey, 347
 May, Mark L., 603
 McCown, Keith A., 57

- McCown, T. D., 57
McDonagh, Edward C., 351
McGregor, J. H., 56
McKay, H. D., 743
McKenzie, R. D., 258
McWilliams, Carey, 557
Mead, G. H., 581, 650, 663, 723, 733
Mead, Margaret, 188, 192, 228, 399, 573,
 577, 602, 672, 683, 684
Means, G. C., 769, 781
Menninger, Karl A., 96
Merker, M., 250
Merrill, Frances E., 752
Merton, R. K., 144
Métraux, Alfred, 204
Meyerand, Gladys, 242
Miles, C. C., 239
Miles, W. R., 248
Miller, Herbert A., 237, 541, 557
Miller, Neal E., 80, 86, 575, 659, 660, 663
Miller, Spencer F., Jr., 482
Mills, Alden B., 764, 781
Mitchell, A. M., 427
Moore, F., 216
Moore, Harry E., 175
Morris, C. W., 581
Moulton, Harold G., 760, 770, 781
Mowrer, Ernest R., 752
Mowrer, Harriet R., 372
Mowrer, O. H., 80, 86, 692
Mukerjee, R., 287
Mumford, Lewis, 287
Muntz, Earl E., 279
Murchison, Carl, 44
Murdock, George P., 192, 205, 282, 351
Murphy, Gardner, 663
Murphy, Lois Barclay, 663
Myers, A. F., 428
Nadel, S. F., 682
Nelson, Lowry, 272
Nelson, Victor, 805
Newcomb, Theodore, 343, 663
Niebuhr, H. Richard, 482, 756
Nimkoff, Meyer F., 287, 372, 561, 692
Nissen, H. W., 88
North, C. C., 237, 257
Notestein, Frank W., 122, 367
Nudd, Howard W., 798
Nugent, F. S., 427
Odum, Howard W., 23, 175, 284
Ogburn, William F., 189, 287, 346, 348,
 350, 357, 371, 560, 561, 574, 577, 585,
 692, 752
Opler, Morris, 684
Oppenheimer, Reuben, 785, 815
Overholzer, Winfred, 816
Page, J., 679
Panikar, K. M., 228
Panunzio, Constantine, 316, 609
Parenton, Vernon, J., 557
Park, Robert E., 208, 209, 221, 287, 309,
 310, 489, 494, 496, 503, 521, 541, 557,
 588, 609, 638, 663, 733
Parker, C. H., 75
Parsons, Talcott, 19, 23, 315, 649, 663,
 702, 720, 733
Parten, Mildred, 361
Peake, Harold, 72
Pearl, Raymond, 134
Pearse, A. S., 258
Pearson, Karl, 12
Peck, M. W., 343
Pemberton, H. E., 178, 179
Penrose, E. F., 99, 134
Piaget, Jean, 643, 663
Plath, O. E., 35, 44
Plato, 694
Platt, Robert S., 287
Polo, Marco, 216
Pomeroy, W. B., 331, 344, 350
Popenoe, Paul, 332
Pressey, S. L., 248
Price, A. Grenfell, 569
Price, R., 565
Queen, Stuart A., 350, 753
Quinn, James A., 92
Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 269, 327
Radin, Paul, 459, 463
Randall, John H., 482
Ranson, S. W., 76
Raper, A. F., 287
Redfield, Robert, 186, 553
Reeves, Ruby J., 361
Reuner, F. C., 565
Reuter, E. B., 6, 134, 257, 503, 506, 588,
 609
Rhyme, J. J., 274
Rice, Stuart A., 23
Richmond, Mary, 351
Riley, H. A., 77
Rivers, W. H. R., 205, 231, 237
Robbins, Lionel, 99
Roberts, J. A. Fraser, 372
Robinson, James Harvey, 378, 559
Rockwood, L. D., 372
Ross, E. A., 6, 134, 260, 320, 327, 487,
 503, 504, 513, 521, 585, 592, 598, 609,
 614, 638, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710,
 712, 715, 720, 733
Roucek, J. S., 257

- Rougemont, Denis de, 334
 Rowe, J. H., 232
 Russell, Bertrand, 733
 Sait, U. R., 372
 Salomon, Albert, 221
 Sanderson, Dwight, 221
 Sapir, Edward, 207, 221
 Sarasin, F., 169
 Sarasin, P., 169
 Sayce, R. U., 178, 191
 Sayles, Mary B., 798
 Schjelderup-Ebbe, T., 44
 Schoenfeld, Margaret H., 567
 Schwesinger, Gladys, 96
 Seldes, George, 733
 Seligman, Edwin R. A., 22, 23
 Shakespeare, William, 616
 Shapiro, H. L., 45
 Shaw, C. R., 743
 Shaw, George, 366
 Sheldon, W. H., 667
 Sherif, Muzafer, 96, 581, 663
 Sherman, I. C., 87
 Sherman, M., 87
 Silone, Ignazio, 272
 Simmel, Georg, 521, 611, 617, 638
 Simmons, Leo W., 253, 683
 Simpson, George, 585
 Sims, Newell, LeRoy, 585
 Skinner, B. F., 80
 Skinner, H. D., 173
 Sleyster, Rock, 796
 Small, Albion W., 6, 310, 487, 521, 638
 Smith, J. Russell, 565
 Smith, Margaret G., 800
 Smith, Robertson, 482
 Smith, Rufus D., 126
 Smith, Russell Gordon, 733
 Smith, T. Lynn, 287, 557
 Snider, Luther C., 56, 72
 Snow, William F., 364
 Snyder, Louis L., 61
 Snyder, T. E., 44
 Sonntag, C. F., 47
 Sorokin, Pitrim, 6, 560, 584, 585, 609, 638,
 649, 663
 Speck, F. G., 268
 Spencer, A. G., 257
 Spencer, B., 401
 Spencer, Herbert, 10, 430, 583, 772, 781
 Spencer, Lyle M., 346, 349, 351, 364
 Spengler, Oswald, 560, 583, 585
 Spier, Leslie, 162, 464
 Spykman, Nicholas J., 489, 521, 609, 638,
 664
 Stocking, George W., 387
 Squiers, B. M., 511, 521
 Staub, Hugo, 815
 Stefanson, Vilhjalmur, 37, 214
 Steiner, Jesse F., 287
 Stern, Bernhard J., 237, 242, 409
 Stevenson, George S., 130
 Stix, Regine K., 344
 Stoddard, T. Lothrop, 61
 Stonequist, Everett V., 541, 557
 Stouffer, Samuel A., 122, 346, 349, 351,
 364
 Strong, E. K., 248
 Sturgis, Wesley A., 512, 521
 Stutsman, Jesse O., 816
 Sullivan, Louis, 44
 Sullivan, Mark, 189
 Sumner, William Graham, 148, 164, 203,
 205, 315, 319, 320
 Sutherland, Edwin H., 753, 792, 816
 Sutherland, Robert L., 262, 609, 638
 Taeuber, Conrad, 123
 Tannenbaum, 816
 Tappan, Paul Wilbur, 521, 638
 Taussig, Frederick J., 345
 Tawney, R. H., 482, 601
 Tax, Sol, 557, 586
 Taylor, Griffith, 564
 Terman, Lewis M., 239
 Terpenning, Walter A., 272
 Thomas, W. I., 13, 14, 23, 151, 214, 215,
 327, 542, 557, 581, 704, 753
 Thomas, Warren K., 123
 Thompson, H., 79
 Thompson, Laura, 683
 Thompson, J. Arthur, 34, 36, 44
 Thompson, Warren A., 120
 Thompson, Warren K., 125, 126, 134
 Thompson, Warren S., 113, 125
 Thorndike, E. L.
 Thrasher, Frederick M., 250, 257
 Thurnwald, Richard, 144, 268, 377, 399
 Tibbitts, Clark, 346, 348, 357, 371
 Tilney, F., 77
 Tinbergen, N., 38
 Tocqueville, A. de, 309
 Todd, C. Wingate, 70
 Toennies, Ferdinand, 734
 Tourneur, Cyril, 616
 Townsend, Charles W., 215
 Tozzer, A. M., 237, 248
 Tryon, F. G., 567
 Uhrbrock, R. S., 602
 Usher, Abbott, 176
 Van Waters, Miriam, 798
 Veblen, Thorstein, 574

- Wagley, Charles, 570
Walker, C. Lester, 134
Walker, Kenneth M., 351
Walker, Stanley, 189
Waller, Willard, 331, 333, 351, 372
Wallis, W. D., 23, 178, 191, 459
Warburton, Clark, 760, 781
Ward, Lester F., 5, 6, 327, 431, 434, 472,
 482, 557
Warden, Carl J., 164
Warner, W. Lloyd, 206, 237
Watkins, Myron W., 387
Watson, J. B., 87
Weaver, J. E., 258
Webb, Beatrice, 457, 609
Webb, Sidney, 457, 609
Weber, Alfred, 144
Weber, Max, 482, 601, 720, 734
Webster, Hutton, 241
Weeks, H. Ashley, 800
Weiner, A. S., 63
Wells, F. W., 343
West, James, 684
Westermarck, Edward, 214, 329, 338, 351
Weyer, E., 403
Wheeler, W. M., 36, 44
Whelpton, P. K., 125
Whiffen, Thomas, 169
Whiting, John W. M., 660, 683, 686
Whitney, David D., 68
Whitty, C. M. W., 88
Wiese, Leopold von, 207, 221, 315, 320,
 322, 327, 459, 504, 505, 521, 522, 586,
 589, 592, 609, 611, 613, 624, 639, 704
Williams, C. O., 428
Williams, Edward H., 798
Williamson, Robert W., 462
Willoughby, W. W., 430, 457
Wilson, Margaret, 816
Wilson, Woodrow, 432, 457
Winning, James R., 805
Winston, Sanford R., 164
Wirth, Louis, 283
Wissler, Clark, 155, 164, 178, 176
Witty, P. A., 248
Woodward, Julian L., 262, 638
Work, Monroe N., 264
Wright, V., 6

Yerkes, A. W., 38, 44, 47
Yerkes, R. M., 38, 44, 47, 88
Young, Kimball, 6, 96, 187, 221, 309, 423,
 513, 522, 557, 586, 609, 638, 666, 692,
 710, 717, 734, 743

Zeleny, L. D., 208
Ziff, William B., 457
Zimmerman, Carle C., 373
Znaniecki, Florian, 13, 14, 19, 23, 208,
 211, 542, 557, 581, 639, 753
Zorbaugh, H. W., 287
Zuckerman, S., 38, 44, 47

Index of subjects

- Abnormality, 677-681
Accommodation
 definition, 505
 methods, 508-515
 results, 517-521
 types, 506-508
Acculturation
 biological parallels, 535
 by conquest, 539-540
 conditions, 547-549
 definition, 536-537
 of friendly contiguous groups, 537-539
 of immigrants, 539
 results, 540-547
Acquired drives, 86-87
Aesthetic groups, 303-304
Age
 differentiation, 245-248; 253
 groups, 249-253
Aging
 in the individual, 245-248
 of the population, 119-127
Amalgamation, 531-532
Ameliorative groups, 306-307
Anger, 86-87
Animal societies
 colonies, 34-35
 instinctive, 34ff.
 physiological, 35ff.
 types, 34
Annulment of marriage, 349
Anthropology
 cultural, 22 and *passim*
 physical, 45-72
Anticipation, in habit formation and culture, 86
Antiquity of man, 55
Ants, social life among, 30-31
Anxiety, 86-87
Apes, 46-49
Appetites, 86-87
Arbitration, 510-512
Aryan language, 62
Assimilation
 factors hastening, 527-532
 factors hindering, 532-533
 illustrations, 523-527
Audience, as grouping, 265
Bands, as groups, 267-269
Beneficium, 378
Birth control, 367-368
Birth rates, 103-105; 119-122
 effects of World War II, 122-124
Brain
 organization, 78-79
 size, human and ape, 50-51
British Guiana, types of societies in, 27-34
Caste, 238; 498
Change, *see Social Change*
Cities, 277-281
Civilization and culture, 144
Clans, 238
Coercion, 509
Comitatus, 297
Communication, and social interaction, 494-496
Competition
 as social process, 587-608
 determinants, 600-603
 economic, 391-392
 forms, 594-598
 functions, 591-593
 meaning, 589
 results, 603-608
 types, 594
Compromise, 509-510
Conciliation, 510-512
Configuration, of stimuli, 85
 and the family, 371
 and educational institutions, 403-404
 of cultures, 156-157
Conflict, 625-638
 forms, 625-632
 of values, 699-702

Congeniality, a group former, 293-294

Contact

- economic, 391
- marital, 338

Contact, social, 34-35; 491-492

Contravention

- associative aspects, 624
- border types, 618-625
- nature of, 611-612
- subprocesses, 612-613
- types, 613-618

Control, social *see Social Control*

Conversion, 513-515

Cooperatives, 392

Corporations, 384-389

Courts and crime, 804; 807-809

Courtship, 328-334

Credit, 384

Crime

- casual factors, 794-806
- cost, 791
- definition, 784-785
- effects, 814-815
- methods of dealing with, 806-812
- Cross-cultural evidence sociocultural influences, 681-683
- Crowd, 258-261
- Crowd-like behavior, 261
- Cultural
 - alternatives, 186-187
 - areas, 173-174
 - behavior, 140
 - equipment, 143-145
 - form, 158-163
 - function, 158-163
 - interest groups, 289-309
 - interests, 289-290
 - meanings, 158-163
 - moulding of children, 684-686
 - specialties, 185-186
 - types, 171-173
 - universals, 185-186
 - values, 157-159
 - variability, 168-169; 190
- Cultural maladjustment and social control, 696-698
- Culture, 138-190
 - adjuncts of customs, 146
 - analysis of, 152-156
 - and crime, 799-806
 - and geography, 175-176
 - and individual, 150-151; 166-167; 185-187
 - and learning theory, 157-162
 - and personality, 665-691
 - and regionalism, 175
 - and society, 139-140; 188-189

Culture—Continued

- applications to, 686-691
- approaches, 678-674
- artifacts as products, 146
- complexes, 154-155
- definitions, 94
- distributions, 173-183
- function for group, 149
- function for individual, 150-151
- integration of, 156-157
- origins, 165-169
- participation in, 185-187
- superindividual aspects, 167-168
- traits, 154-156
- types of customs, 153-154

Death, causes of, 121

- non-combat mortality World War II, 109-110
- world combat deaths World War II, 109

Death rates, 105-106; 119-122

Delinquency, 783-815

- defined, 783-788

Dependency, 756-779

- defined, 757-758

Differentiation in social process, 575-576
in conflict, 632-634

Diffusion, 178-183

Discovery, 176-178

Discrimination of stimuli, 85-86

Disorganization, social

- of culture, 748-749
- indices, 742-743
- and personality, 746-748
- rates, 742
- types, 749-751

Distinctive human traits, 50-51

Divorce, 347-349

Domestic institutions

- American, 352-371
- courtship, 328-334
- marriage, 334-349

Drive, 81-83

- acquired, 86-87
- innate, 83

Earth

- age, 55-56
- generalized environment of, 90ff.
- geological history, 55-57

Ecology, human, 90-92

Economic groups, 294-302

Economic institutions

- factors affecting, 374-375
- medieval, 377-380
- modern, 383-398

institutions—Continued
 ave, 375-376
 tion
 id crime, 801
 extent in United States, 404-407
 Educational groups, 304-305
 Educational institutions
 development, 407-409
 objectives, 411-413
 patterns, 414-416
 preliterate, 400-401
 trends, 416-421
 Endogamy, 232-233
 Environment, 90
 Environments
 biological, 92-93
 geographical, 90
 natural, 90
 physicochemical, 90
 sociocultural, 93-94
 Ethnocentrism, 212-214
 Eugenics, 181-183
 Extinction of habits, 84
 Factory system, 384
 Fallacies to avoid, 18-15
 Family
 conjugal, 228
 consanguine, 230
 immediate, 223-224
 relationships within, 227-228
 Family groups
 characteristics, 225
 extension, 231
 instability of, 229
 Family institutions
 American, 352-354
 changes in, 352-371
 functions in America, 369-371
 Farming, 171
 Fascism, 443-449
 Feudalism, economic institutions of, 377-378
 Fief, 379-380
 Fishing, 170
 Folkways, 148-149
 Foot and upright posture, 51-52
 Fossil man, 54-58
 Fraternal organizations, 243-246
 Frustration, 87
 Gathering economy, 170
 Generalization, gradient, 85
 of habits, 84-85
 Gens, 233
 Glacial age *see* Pleistocene

Groups
 and habit systems, 214-215
 based on blood relationship, 230
 based on physical proximity, 258ff.
 definition, 195
 general aspects, 194-220
 ranked, 206-207
 possessions, 211
 types, 203-206
 Guilds, merchant and craft, 381-382
 Herd groups, 264-265
 Herding, 170-171
 Higher mental abilities, 87-88
 Historical accidents, 190
 Holding company, 387-388
 Honeymoon, 340-341
 Hooking pattern, 38
 Howling monkeys, social life, 28-30
 Human, species
 antiquity, 55-58
 distinctive traits, 50-54
 zoological classification, 46-50
 Hunting economy, 170-171
 Immigrants and emigrants
 (United States) during World War II,
 117
 Immigration, 115-116
 Immigration laws
 in United States, 113-115
 periods, in United States, 116-117
 social problems of, 117-119
 trends, 111-126
 Incest taboo, 328
 Income groups, 299-302
 Indeterminate sentence, 810
 Individual
 and culture, 150-151; 165-166; 185-187
 and groups, 211-212
 personality patterns, 187-188
 Individual maladjustment and social control, 698-699
 In-groups, 203
 Insanity, *see* Mental illness
 Insects, group life, 30-31
 advantages of group life, 35-37
 Institutions, 148-149; 156; 313-326
 characteristics, 315-319
 functions, 321-325
 types, 319-320
 Integration
 cultural, 156-157
 definition, 551
 social, 552-556
 Intellectual groups, 304

- Interaction, as a general social process, 487-503
 conditions, 491-498
 individual, 488-489
 social, 489-491
- Interests
 cultural, 289
 from point of view of learning theory, 88
 in group formation, 289-290
 types, 291-292
- Invention, 176-177
- Isolation, 496-499
- Jaws, of man and apes, 52-53
- Jungle, social life in, 27
- Kinship
 groups, 205-245
- Language, 147-148
- Leadership, and social control, 710-712
- Learning, evolution of, 89
 principles, 80-88
- Local groups, 266-281
- Logic
- Magic, 464-465
- Malthus' theory of population, 107-108
- Marriage
 annulment, 349
 changing patterns, 342-346
 definition, 334
 effects of World War II, 122-123
 forms, 336-338
 institutions, 334-349
 rates, 346-347
 rites, 340-341
- Mating, 328-329
- Men's groups, 243-248
- Mental abilities, higher, 87-88
- Mental defect and population quality, 128
- Mental illness
 disorder and population quality, 128-130
- Metropolis, 281
- Mob, 262-264
- Money, 384
- Mores, 148-149
- Motion pictures, 426-427
- Motivations, *see* Drives
- Naziism, 449-453
- Neighborhood, 275-276
- Nervous system, 75-80
 autonomic, 76
 central, 76
- Neurology, 75-80
- Nordic, 60
- Nordicism, 60-61
- Open-country neighborhood
- Operational, procedures
 language, 15-18
- Organism and environment
- Other groups, 207
- Outgroup, 203
- Parole, 810-811
- Participation in culture, 1.
 in cultural interest groups
- Partnership, 383
- Pathology, social, 739ff.
 Pathology
- Pecking order, 38
- Personality
 aspects of, 665-671
 cultural patterning of, 117-120
 definition, 665-666
 levels and facts, 670-671
 social, 674
 sources, 666-670
 types, 674-677
- Pleistocene, fossil men of, 54-55
- Police, 806-807
- Political groups, 305
- Political institutions, social functions, 454
- Population
 age composition, 104; 125
 and cultural standards, 100-101
 and land resources, 99-100
 and law of diminishing returns, 100
 and natural resources, 99-100
 and techniques, 100
 general principles of growth and decline, 102-106
 law of stationary population, 107
 optimum, 97-98
 quality, principles, 127-131
 reciprocal relations, 101
 sex composition, 105
 trends, 111-126
- Posture, upright, human, 51
- Press, 423-425
- Primary
 contact, 493-494
 groups, 198-203
 social phenomena, 216-220
- Primates, 45-50
- Primitive cultures, reasons for study
- Prison, 805; 811-813
- Probation, 809
- Process, social, *see* Social Processes

Index of subjects

- academic, 1-296; 383-384
analytic theory of socialization, 655-
267-298

global aspects, 68-69
group, 65-67
political aspects, 68-72
cultural aspects, 68-72
of Europe, 60-68
groups, 27-255
60-63
125-126
main groups, 305-306
topics
14-9
12, 810
178
non-economic, 392-393
non-antecedent responses, 83
time, 80-804
1, 459
cultural aspects, 463-464
religion, 469-477
social groups, 302-303
social institutions, 459-482
rites, 461
social techniques, 464-465
social objects 467-468
in America, 477-482
cultural aspects, 463-464
social relations, 469
Nietzsche, 468
role in habitformation, 81-82
non-social responses, 208-209
of habits, 83-84

habit, 21
active, 19-22
fixing, 19-22
18
habit: 18-19; 227
and fact, 20
approach, 6-7
cons, 79
10-13
socialization, 643-662
Sartre's theories, 650
Schwartz's theories, 655-659
Schein's theories, 650-655
negotiation, 239-240
1, 239-246
2-236
- Social change, 559-584
and social values, 581-582
definitions, 560-562
environmental factors, 564-570
ideological factors, 578-581
interrelatedness of changes, 576-579
new cultural patterns, 573-575
personality factors in, 575-576
population factors, 570-572
sociocultural factors, 572-573
theories of, 583-584
war and, 576.
- Social control
definitions, 693-694
factors determining methods, 721-727
functions, 702-703
means of achieving and organizing, 719-
721
methods of, 703-721
need for, 694-702
results, 727-732
- Social norms, 676-677
Social pathology, 793ff.
definition, 740-742
indices, 742-745
- Social processes
accommodations, 505
acculturation, 536-549
assimilation, 528-535
competition, 587-608
conflict, 618-638
contravention, 611-624
general interaction, 487-508
integration, 551-556
- Social Responses, 208-209
- Socialization
definition, 643
individual, 643-649
and learning theory, 659-661
and psychoanalytic theory, 655-659
and the "self," 643-662
theories, 649-661
- Sociology
approach, 6-7
definition, 5
and science, 6-18
- Sovietism, 439-443
- Species, 63
- Speech, distinctive human trait, 52-53
as culture, 147-148
- State
as a group, 285-286
modern, 436-438
nature, 429-433
recent developments, 439-452
theories of origin, 430-433
- Sterilization, 131-132

844 Index of subjects

- Stimulus, 81
Stimulus situation, 85
Stock companies, 383
Subsistence economies, 170-173
Subunfeudation, 380
Supernatural beliefs, 460-463
Symbolic aspects of
 culture, 162-163
 learning, 87-88
 response, 160
 stimuli, 160-163
Symbols, 162-163
Synapse, 77-80
- Technological groups, 302
Territorial groups, 282-286
Toleration, 513
Towns, 277-281
- Trade unions, 390-391
Tribe, 282
- Values, cultural, 157-18
 predictive, 151-152
Vassalage, 379
Villages, 270-275
- Wage system, 389
War, 539; 632-633; 74; 777-77
We-group, 203
Women's groups, 241-23
- Youth groups, 250-251
 in peace and war, 25.
- Zoological classification of man, 4

Data Entered

27 MAY 2001

V94

